

A N
Universal HISTORY,
FROM THE
Earliest Account of Time to the Present:
COMPILED from
ORIGINAL AUTHORS;
And ILLUSTRATED with
Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and
Other Tables.

V O L. VIII.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχισθαι μὴ καταόει, ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ ἐννήσεις ἀπόκρυφ
αἰσῶς ἱστορίαι συνῆξαι ἱκανότης. Basil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



D. Pomarede Sc.

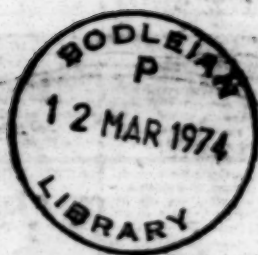
D U B L I N:
Printed by EDWARD BATE, for the EDITORS:
M, DCC, XLV.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LIBRARY

2707 URBAN

LIBRARY



CONTENTS

O F

VOLUME VIII.

CHAP. II.

A Continuation of the History of the Macedonians.

SECT. IV.

The reign of Philip,

Page 1

SECT. V.

The reign of Alexander the Great,

58

SECT. VI.

The division of the Macedonian empire,

252

SECT. VII.

*The history of the reign of Antigonus, and his son Demetrius,
in Asia,*

297

SECT. VIII.

The history of the kingdom of Macedon, from the death of Alexander the Great, to the conquest thereof by the Romans,

316

SECT. IX.

The history of the Seleucidæ in Syria, to the reduction of their dominions by the Romans,

432

Directions to the Book-binder for placing the Maps.

	Page
A Map of the Extent of <i>Alexander's</i> Conquests,	58
A Map of <i>Syria</i> after the Death of <i>Alexander the Great</i> ,	432

A N

Universal History.

C H A P. II.

*A continuation of the History of the
Macedonians.*

S E C T. IV.

The reign of P H I L I P.

IT was the peculiar felicity of this prince, of whom we are now to record the actions, that his fame suffers no diminution, which ever end of his reign we consider, and whether we enquire from what condition he raised his kingdom, or to what height under his auspice it arrived. When he went suddenly and secretly from *Thebes* to *Macedon*, on the news of his brother's death, he found the people dejected, and the state in the utmost confusion, a king just slain, the whole strength of the kingdom routed, the *Illyrians* preparing for a new invasion, and the *Peonians* on the point of making one; a child on the throne, and two powerful competitors contriving to dispossess him; *Pausanias*, supported by the *Thracians*, and *Argæus*, to whose assistance the *Athenians* had sent their general *Mantias* with an army: Yet was *Philip*, tho' but twenty two years old, so far from sinking under this mighty load, that he not only kept up his own spirits, but invigorated and re-encouraged his despairing countrymen. He applied especially to the army, whom he caref-

The miserable state of Macedonia at Philip's accession.
Year of the Flood, 2639.
Before Christ, 360.

Vol. VIII. A fed

fed with the tenderest expreffions, and the nobility, whom he bound to his interest by the ftrongest testimonies of confidence, and vast promifes. Things a little quiet at home, he began immediately to provide for what was requifite to put foreign affairs in a better fituation. In order to abate the vigour of the *Athenian* army, king *Philip* caufed *Amphipolis* to be declared a free city, and left it to its inhabitants to govern it how they would. By this ftep, tho' it feemed a leffening to his kingdom, on account of the importance of the place, yet he was a great gainer; for chiefly for the fake of this city the *Athenians* undertook the war, and fupported his competitor, and by leaving it free, he took away all ground of quarrel with refpect to himfelf; and yet added nothing to the power of the *Athenians* in thefe parts. To the chief men in *Peonia* he made confiderable prefents, and thereby avoided a difpute in the field, for which as yet he was unprovided. By the fame arts he took off *Paufanias*, his friends knowing well, that to a feeble ftate, gaining time is gaining all ^a (A).

THAT

^a DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 5.

(A) The difcerning reader will eafily perceive, that we have taken the liberty to difcourfe at large on the policy of *Philip*, which is indeed a liberty we ought to account for, this work being intended for an univerfal register of facts, not of lectures upon them. Firft then, let it be obferved, that this was the moft glorious reign which was ever feen in *Macedon*; for *Alexander* cannot be faid to have reigned in *Macedon* after his conquelts; on the contrary, he rather defpifed it; and of his fucceffors none, in point of prudence, fortune, or true greatnefs, can be compared with *Philip*. It is requifite therefore, that this reign, which laid the foundation of the *Greek* empire, fhould be copioufly treated of. Secondly, the reign of *Philip*, though crowded with wars, and adorned with many remarkable victories, was, however, a reign of policy, in which the judgment of the prince wrought more than the force of the people. The *Macedonians* were a brave and generous nation before his time; but it was he who fixed fortune to their arms, and, by making a right ufe of their valour, procured them thofe advantages they had deferved, but had fcarce tafted before. He found them a nation inured to war; yet he taught them a new difcipline, incomparably better than any at that time in ufe, by which they were enabled to bear away the victory, not only from more numerous armies, but from the beft troops in *Greece*, having alfo numbers on their fide; fuch as the *Phocians*, who made war a trade; and the *Athenians*, in pitched battles held, till then, the experteft among the *Greeks*. He found his fubjects low, beaten, and alike without

THAT the best use might be made of this interval of *His prudence in settling of affairs civil and military.* quiet, *Philip*, who at first acted as guardian only to his nephew *Amyntas* the son of *Perdiccas*, laying the youth aside, stepped into the throne, with the unanimous consent of the *Macedonians*, who declared, that necessity ought to supersede loyalty; and that, since the public safety required a man, they ought not to pay allegiance to a child. He then proceeded to introduce a new and stricter discipline among the troops, which probably he had learned from the *Thebans*, at least in part. He particularly instituted, or rather modelled, the phalanx, and taught the soldiers how to become more

without spirits and without allies. He left them feared by their neighbours, dreaded by the great king, and sovereigns of *Greece*, and all this by dint of genius. Thirdly, they who opposed *Philip*, considered him rather as a politician than as a hero (unless we take that in the oriental sense, and conceive it to signify a person distinguishable alike for the excellence of his wisdom and for his extraordinary valour). His enemies, I say, considered him in this light, and so ought we, otherwise we shall have but an imperfect idea of his character, as is ingeniously hinted by a great *French* writer, who says, *Philip is in esteem only with such as understand history* (1). Our political reflections are inserted for that very purpose. We have collected them from the best authors, not invented them ourselves; and we have inserted them in such places only, as with great difficulty would be intelligible without them. Thus much on this subject may suffice; let us close this note with a few words on the school wherein *Philip* learned this extraordinary wisdom: It was the house of *Polymnus* the father of *Epaminondas*, the greatest man among the *Greeks*, if we will subscribe to the opinion of the most judicious of the *Romans* (2), frequented by the most learned and the most virtuous citizens of *Thebes*, wherein *Lyfidas* of *Tarentum* read his lectures (3). In all probability *Philip* rather studied *Epaminondas*, than any system of philosophy. That great man raised *Thebes* to be mistress of *Greece*; *Philip* did the same by *Macedon*. *Epaminondas* looked on discipline as the main skill of a general, as well as the main strength of an army; *Philip* taught it his *Macedonians*, and took care they should not forget his lessons. *Epaminondas* was secret and sudden in all his enterprizes; so was *Philip*. We might easily carry the parallel farther; but this is enough to shew, that what *Plutarch* (4) and others of the anti-ents have advanced on this head, is well founded, and that we ought to regard this *Macedonian* statesman as a copy of the *Theban*.

(1) *Mr. Turreil in his preface to Demosthenes.*

(2) *Cicer.*

Tuscul. l. i.

(3) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. & xvi. Ælian. Hist.*

Var. l. iii. Pausan. in Bæotic. D. Chrysost. Orat. inscript. Re-

insatio magistratus.

(4) *In vit. Pelopid.*

formidable from order and a just conception of the rules of war, than from force ; and by the help of frequent instructions, kind language, and, when it was necessary, some bold strokes of severity, he attained his end. Most authors attribute all things in the *Macedonian* discipline to *Philip*, which in one sense is certainly true, but in another false. *Philip* fixed the rules of discipline amongst his troops ; but it is not likely he invented them, which though a new opinion, is yet probable, as we shall shew in a note ^b (B). *Argæus* with a
body

^b DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ÆLIAN. l. xiv. OROS. l. iii.

(B) It is certain, that in a strict sense *Philip* could not be the inventor of the *phalanx*, since we find the *Purgos* or *Tower*, which was a kind of phalanx, and the very reverse of the *plinthion* or *tile*, mentioned by *Homer* (5). To say the truth, the phalanx was in use among the *Greeks* in general, as our present learned and venerable primate has fully demonstrated (6), though it is probable, that the *Macedonian* phalanx was better disposed, and those who composed it better disciplined, than any of the *Greek* armies had been before. Officers usually improve one on the other. The *Spartans* were famed in the earliest times of *Greece* for exact order ; then the *Athenians* came into high reputation from the improvements made by *Iphicrates* ; after these came *Epaminondas*, or rather *Pelopidas*, who taught war as an art to the *Thebans*, from whom *Philip* learned it, and quickly surpassed his masters. That he was not, however, the first who introduced the phalanx into *Macedon*, seems evident from the testimony of *Diodorus*, who tells us, the *Illyrians*, when first attacked by *Philip*, had their *plinthion* (7) ; and inasmuch as they lay farther from *Greece* than the *Macedonians*, it would be unreasonable to suppose them better skilled in the *Greek* discipline ; we must therefore conceive, that the phalanx was known to his countrymen before the reign of *Philip*, tho' it was new-modelled, and received a fresh set of rules from him ; which discipline became peculiar to them, rendering the *Macedonian* infantry invincible then, and admirable yet. Whoever reads *Ælian* (8) will discern, that the whole doctrine of drawing up armies conformable to the ground assigned for the line of battle, the methods of changing these forms, marching, countermarching, charging, retreating, and encamping, was thoroughly studied by the *Grecians*, and practised by the *Spartans*, *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Thessalians*, &c. with great facility and success. As this art of discipline was of great consequence and public utility, it was taught by public professors, stiled *Tactici*, or *masters in military exercise*, from a verb signifying *to exercise*. That what we have advanced may be justified, as well by authority as from probable con-

(5) *Iliad.* μ'. ν'. 43.

(7) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi.

(6) *Potter's Archæol.* l. iii. c. 6.

(8) *Tactici cum Binghamii notis.*
jecture

body of mercenaries advancing as far as *Ægæ*, and being constrained by the citizens to retire, *Philip* determined to try the mettle of his troops by pursuing them; which accordingly he did, and coming up with them, engaged and defeated them with great slaughter; an action which mightily revived and encouraged the *Macedonian* army, taught them to confide in their prince, and to discern the singular advantages they received from regular discipline. The king, however, shewed on this occasion the moderation which distinguished his character from most of the chieftains of his age, by admitting a great body of troops, which had retired to an eminence, to a composition. By this method he secured a present victory, and established a reputation of clemency, which proved of infinite service. ^c

IMMEDIATELY after this victory, he dispatched ambassadors to *Athens*, and having instructed them to give up all his right to *Amphipolis*, he easily procured a peace; for tho' the *Athenians* drew great benefit from their colonies and conquests in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, yet the vast expence of sending and of maintaining armies there, discouraged them much, and inclined them to make peace whenever it was offered them, especially on honourable terms, which, as they consisted chief-

He makes peace with the Athenians, subdues the Peonians, and vanquishes the Illyrians.

^c DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

jecture, it will be necessary to remark, that *Ælian* before-mentioned expressly mentions the alterations introduced by *Philip* in the evolutions of the *Macedonian* phalanx; whence it is evident, he did not either invent or introduce the phalanx itself. The great change he made was in the mode of their altering their wings at the beginning of an engagement. According to the old method, the motion contrived to effect this purpose had the air of a retreat; *Philip* had penetration enough to perceive, that this motion reversed would effect the same thing, and yet shew rather as an onset. As all things are of the utmost consequence which have a tendency to encourage the soldiery, *Philip* laid aside the old method, and brought in this which had been practised by the *Lacedæmonians* (9). To these remarks we may add one general one, that discipline, under the eye of an able general, renders troops invincible; but, under officers of small abilities, it is far from being of such high advantage. Men of inferior *genii* have no ideas of those changes which the alterations induced by time require, and therefore, by adhering too scrupulously to old rules, ruin themselves and those under their command, as we shall have occasion to shew, when we come to speak of the conquest of *Macedonia* by the *Romans*.

(9) c. xii.

ly in words, *Philip* failed not in gratifying them^d. Another thing which contributed to the speedy conclusion of this peace was, the mean opinion the *Athenians* had of *Philip's* power, which inclined them to believe all his ambassadors told them, and made them little apprehensive of his breaking the peace. Thus delivered from one potent enemy by his own address, nature quickly freed him from another, by taking off *Agis* king of *Peonia*. This news no sooner reached the ears of *Philip*, than he determined to lay hold of this opportunity of revenging himself of the *Peonians*, and accordingly invaded their country, took their cities, and reduced them to such extremities, that they were constrained to submit to him, and become his subjects. This war thus happily concluded, he without delay marched against the *Illyrians*, with an army of ten thousand foot and six hundred horse. This was one of the boldest and most martial nations in those parts, and had within a few years often beaten the *Macedonians*. *Bradylis*, however, who was their king, offered to treat with *Philip* of a peace, on this condition, that each should keep what he possessed. *Philip* answered, that he always preferred peace to war, but could not think of obtaining it, by quitting his claim to those places in *Macedonia* at present in the hands of the *Illyrians*. *Bradylis* upon this encouraged his troops, from the consideration of their victories, to behave gallantly; and with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse, offered *Philip* battle. The engagement was both bloody and obstinate, and, as *Diodorus Siculus* intimates, the *Illyrians* had their phalanx as well as the *Macedonians*. In the end, however, chiefly thro' the conduct of *Philip*, who brought a body of horse to charge the *Illyrians* in flank, whilst himself with the phalanx charged in front, the enemy was routed, and the *Macedonians* pursued, and slew in the whole no less than seven thousand men, which exceedingly broke and disordered the *Illyrians*, and constrained them to buy a peace at the expence of all their conquests^e.

Takes Am-
phipolis,
Pydna,
Potidæa,
&c.
Year of
the Flood
2641.
Before
Christ
358.

By this time the affairs of *Macedon* were in a tolerable posture, and *Philip*, from the success which he already had experienced, animated to greater things. It is not probable, that he already meditated the subjection of *Greece*, because as yet he was master of no force adequate to such an undertaking, but it is most likely he proposed even now the rendering his kingdom not only independent, but raising it to a state of pre-eminence over its neighbours. Whatever his views were, he did not continue long at rest, but suddenly,

^d POLYÆN. Stratag. l. iv.

^e DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
and

and when it was least expected, attacked *Amphipolis*. This city, as we have already seen, was always a mighty curse to the *Macedonian* princes, and therefore, from the beginning of his reign, *Philip* had kept his eye continually thereupon, watching for a fit time to reduce it. The *Amphipolitans*, sensible of the danger to which they were exposed, sent *Hierax* and *Stratocles* to *Athens*, to offer themselves and their city to that commonwealth. *Demosthenes*, and those who, with him, foresaw how formidable *Philip* would one day become, seconded the deputies of *Amphipolis*; but the agents of *Philip* giving out, that the king intended to deliver it up to the *Athenians* when taken, they suffered themselves to be amused, and denied the *Amphipolitans* relief. *Philip* prosecuted the siege briskly, both by force without, and by negotiation within. At last he took it by storm, and treated it as he did other places, that is, he put to death or banished such as were not in his interest, and treated the rest of the inhabitants kindly. This blow once struck, he proceeded to reduce *Pydna* and *Potidæa*, in the last of which was an *Athenian* garrison, which he drew out, and dismissed with all the marks of honour. After this he delivered the city to the *Olynthians*, according to his maxim, *That those are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome*. These conquests made a great noise, and *Philip* now began to grow terrible to all his neighbours †. If this terror had engaged them in a league, in all probability they had set very narrow bounds to the *Macedonian* king; but as it produced a desire of obliging the conqueror, and turning his arms from themselves, the bordering nations concurred to ruin each other; and this they did the more effectually, because *Philip* was so perfect a master in dissimulation, that he seemed to give implicit credit to whatever was told him, though at the same time he communicated his real sentiments to nobody, his success being known as soon as his design.

WE have heretofore shewn, in our description of *Macedonia*, that the tract of country between the river *Strymon* and *Nessus*, was extremely rich in gold. Indeed the fame of its mines had made it often change its masters. When the *Athenians* were first powerful at sea, it belonged to the *Thasians*, from whom they conquered it. This republic declining, it fell into other hands; and a few years before this time the *Thracians* possessed themselves of it, and fortified *Crenides* its capital city ‡. *Philip*, who looked upon gold as the best weapon, and the best servant in the world, resolved

Subdues the country between the rivers Strymon and Nessus.
Year of the Flood, 2642.
Before Christ,

† DEMOSTH. *Olynth.* i. DIODOR. SIC. l. xvi. ISOCRAT. ad Phil. 357.

‡ See. Vol. vii. p. 563.

to seize upon this country, and to extract out of its bowels a treasure sufficient to buy that empire for which he so passionately longed. He executed this scheme before it was known that he had formed it, and having taken *Crenides*, he not only altered the city, but in a manner rebuilt it, changing also its name into *Philippi* ^h. He likewise gave directions for working the gold mines to greater advantage than had been made of them before, and having by this means established a certain revenue of a thousand talents *per annum*, which was in itself a large sum, and so much the larger in that it was extracted out of the earth, and not from his subjects, he began to turn his eyes towards other conquests.

The birth
of Alexander the
Great.
Year of
the Flood
2643.
Before
Christ,
356.

IN the first year of the one hundred and sixth olympiad, *Philip*, being then in the field received advice, that his wife *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus* king of *Epirus*, was brought to bed of a son at *Pella*. This son was the famous *Alexander*, justly surnamed *the Great*. At the same time *Philip* received advice, that his chariot had gained the prize at the olympic games; and upon the heels of this a third courier came, with an account that *Parmenio* had beaten the *Illyrians*. This surprizing run of good fortune is said to have affected *Philip* so much, that he wished it might be tempered by some slight mishap, not that he was insensible of felicity, but because he was afraid that his fortune might decline as swiftly as it had risen ¹ (C).

AT

^h DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. DION. CASS. l. xlvii. ¹ PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. l. xii. PLUT. Apophthegm. USSER. Annal. A. I. P. 4358.

(C) The birth of *Alexander* we have fixed to the first year of the one hundred and sixth olympiad. Antient authors are much divided on this head, and therefore it is but reasonable to shew on what grounds we have adhered to some, and rejected the authority of others (10). *Arrian* from *Aristobulus* informs us, that *Alexander* died in the month of *Thargelion* the last but one of the *Attic* year, in the close of the first year of the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, being then thirty-two years and eight months old (11). This plainly refers his birth to the year wherein we have fixed it. *Ælian* indeed says expressly, that he was born and died on the sixth day of the month *Thargelion* (12). *Plutarch* places his birth in the month *Hecatombeon*, which, he says, answered to the *Macedonian* month *Lous* (13); but in this he was mistaken, for it appears clearly from a letter of *Philip's* still preserved in the orations of

(10) *Euseb. Chronicon.*
(12) *Var. Hist. l. ii. c. 25.*

(11) *Arrian. expedit. Alex. l. ix*
(13) *In vit. Alex.*

Demosthenes,

AT this time all Greece was in confusion; the Phocian, or, King Philip as it was otherwise called, the sacred war, of the cause and consequences of which we have spoken elsewhere ^k, then raged with prodigious fury, which gave Philip an opportunity of securing and extending his frontiers without interruption. It also produced various applications from the contending parties in order to incline his assistance, the effects of which we shall hereafter see. In the mean time, let us follow the track of his conquests. The little city of Methone had given him some umbrage; he conceived that his conquests in Thrace might be in some danger, if it fell into the hands of his enemies; to prevent which he immediately invested it. The inhabitants made a very stout defence, and submitted at last, on condition, that they might have free leave to quit the place, which was agreed to and executed; after which Philip caused the city to be razed, and divided its territories among his soldiers ^l. At this siege he had the misfortune to lose an eye, by a very extraordinary accident, if the circumstances transmitted to us may be believed (D). This evil was, however, in some measure alleviated by the skill of his surgeon, who,

lip proceeds, and extends his conquests towards Thrace and the sea-coast.

^k UNIVERS. HIST. Vol. VI. p. 245, & seq.
SICUL. ubi supra. DEMOST. Phil. i.

^l DIODOR.

Demosthenes, that at this time the Macedonian month *Lous* did not answer to the Attic month *Hecacombeon*, but to the month *Boedromion* (14). In after-times indeed the month *Lous* answered to *Hecatombeon*, which, without doubt, was the source of *Plutarch's* mistake in this point. *Plutarch* hath fallen also into another mistake on this subject; he says, that *Philip* received this news immediately after he had taken *Potidæa*; yet, without doubt, *Potidæa* was taken two years before, viz. In the third year of the one hundred and fifth olympiad, where we have placed it, on the authority of *Demosthenes*, who was *Philip's* contemporary (15), and of *Diodorus Siculus*, a more accurate writer in point of chronology than *Plutarch* (16). There is one thing which may be urged against thus settling the birth of *Alexander* as we have done, and that is, his father's receiving the news of his victory in the olympic games on that very day (17). But admitting that this is improbable, had we not better allow that *Philip* received this news a little before, than depart from a fact so clearly and so exactly settled by *Aristobulus*, who is acknowledged to have been the most authentic historian in whose works the actions of *Alexander* were found?

(D) There is something so fabulous in the story we are told of *Philip's* losing his eye before this place, that we could not judge it

(14) In *Oratione de Corona*. (15) In *Oratione contra Leptinem*.
(16) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.* (17) *Plut. ubi supra. Justin. l. xii.*
VOL. VIII. B

who, tho' he could not save its sight, preserved the form of the king's eye from suffering any disfigurement^m; yet the king was so much chagrined thereat, as never afterwards to hear the word *Cyclop*, or even an *Eye*, mentioned with patienceⁿ; a strange weakness in so great a man!

*Marches
into Thes-
saly.
Year of
the Flood,
2646.
Before
Christ,
353.*

As soon as *Philip* was recovered, he began to think of marching into *Thessaly*, where the petty princes of the country earnestly desired his presence, to redress those mischiefs which the ambition of a single family had brought upon all *Thessaly*. *Alexander of Phærea*, the original tyrant, had been murdered, for his insupportable arrogance, by his wife and his brethren, who thereupon grew into great reputation with the *Thessali-*

^m PLIN. Hist. Nat. l. vii. c. 37.

ⁿ DEMET. PHALER.

de Elocut. c. 3.

fit to appear with those circumstances in the body of our history. The reader, when he has perused the relation as it is commonly told, will judge of the propriety of our conduct. It is said, that when *Philip* invested *Methone*, one *Aster*, a most excellent archer, was recommended to him with this commendation, that he could strike the swiftest bird in its flight. *Very well*, replied *Philip*, *we will call for him, when we make war with starlings*. This so stung the archer, that he immediately threw himself into the city besieged, from the walls of which, when *Philip* was one day viewing the place, he discharged an arrow with this inscription, *For the right eye of Philip*; which it accordingly struck, and put out. The king shot back the same arrow with this answer on the opposite side, *Philip, when the town is taken, will cause Aster to be hanged*; which he also performed (18). It was not here only that *Philip* felt the effects of war; his courage pushed him into all places of danger; and darts, stones, and javelins make no distinction of persons. *Demosthenes* therefore, who cannot be suspected of flattering *Philip*, could not forbear, when the subject afforded him a proper occasion, painting his personal bravery in such a light, as might have roused the *Athenians* to emulation. "I will shew you, said that glorious orator, this same *Philip*, with whom we dispute for sovereignty and empire; I will shew him to you as he is covered with wounds, blind of an eye, his skull cracked, lame of a hand and of a leg, ready to throw himself into the midst of new dangers, and to put it into the power of fortune to deprive him of some other limb, in hopes with the remainder of his body to live with glory and honour; such, *Athenians*, is *Philip* (19)!" It must be owned, that if in the rest of his orations *Demosthenes* had shewn this monarch to be a very bad man, he has here acknowledged him to be the greatest prince of his time; which it is certain was a character so much his due, that how much soever they might seek to lessen, even his enemies could not deny him.

(18) *Suidas in voce ασπών.*

(19) *Orat. pro Ctesiphon.*

ans; but *Lycophron* the elder brother assuming the government, and acting no better than *Alexander* had done, the *Alluadæ*, so the *Theſſalian* chiefs are called, addreſſed themſelves to *Philip*, and beſought his protection. He, having ſettled his affairs in *Thrace* and on the ſea-coaſts, marched into *Theſſaly*, and made war on *Lycophron*; who, finding himſelf too weak to conteſt with the *Macedonian* foot, joined with the *Theſſalian* cavalry, demanded aid of the *Phocians*, or rather of *Onomarchus* their general, who ſent his brother *Phayllus* with ſeven thouſand men, to preſerve *Lycophron* in his dominions. The tyrant, after the junction of theſe troops, no longer declined battle; yet his ſucceſs no way answered his expectation, for he was defeated by *Philip*, and the *Phocians* driven out of *Theſſaly*. *Onomarchus* hearing this marched with all his forces to ſupport *Lycophron*, and in two general engagements vanquiſhed *Philip*, and compelled him to retire out of *Theſſaly* in great diſtreſs. But tho' his army was beaten, his ſpirit remained unconquered ſtill; ſo that perceiving the reduction of *Theſſaly* was abſolutely neceſſary to his propoſed empire, he applied himſelf with all diligence to the recruiting of his army; and, as ſoon as it was in a tolerable condition, marched immediately againſt *Lycophron*. The tyrant did not wait his coming; but withdrawing his troops to a ſecure camp, ſent again to invite the *Phocians* to his aſſiſtance. *Onomarchus*, being determined to put an end to the war, marched with twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to oppoſe the *Macedonian*. *Philip* in the mean time had prevailed on the *Theſſalians* to make their utmoſt efforts in his favour; ſo that at length his forces conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, and then he no longer delayed a general battle. This action proved deciſive, chiefly through the valour of the *Theſſalian* horſe; for the princes who commanded them, knowing that they were to expect nothing but deſtruction from *Lycophron*, if he prevailed, fought with deſperate reſolution; inſomuch, that ſix thouſand of the *Phocians* were ſlain upon the ſpot, and amongſt them their general, and three thouſand were taken priſoners. There had been ſtill a greater ſlaughter, if the engagement had not happened on the ſea-ſhore, when the *Athenian* fleet commanded by *Chares* paſſed by, and thereby afforded ſuch of the *Phocians* as could ſwim a refuge. *Philip* cauſed the body of *Onomarchus* to be ſearched for, and when it was found, he directed it to be hung up with ignominy, denying alſo funeral rites to all that were ſlain, looking on them as ſacrilegious perſons for having violated the temple at *Delphi*. *Lycophron* and his brother *Pitholaus*, ſeeing now no hopes of retaining their prin-

city, were content to resign it; and being dismissed on giving their oaths to be quiet, they delivered up the city of *Phœrea* into the hands of *Philip*, who, as he had promised the *Thessalians*, restored all the cities to liberty, and having thereby secured the friendship of so powerful a nation, he attempted to pass through the *Pylæ*, in order to make war upon the *Phocians*°. This was a very bold attempt; for since the defeat of the *Persians* at *Platæa*, no *Macedonian* prince had ever set foot in *Greece*. The *Athenians* therefore, having notice of his design, marched with the utmost expedition, seized the passes, and obliged him for this time to abandon his purpose, and return into *Macedon*².

*Meditates
the ruin of
the Athe-
nian pow-
er.*

WE may reasonably look on this retreat as the æra of *Philip*'s hatred to the *Athenians*. He saw, that they were the only people in *Greece* capable of defeating his projects, or of giving him uneasiness in his own kingdom; he therefore provided with much diligence a fleet composed of light ships, which continually disturbed their trade, and at the same time enriched his subjects by bringing in wealthy prizes. He also increased his army by new levies, and projected the destruction of the *Athenian* colonies in *Thrace*. Besides these preparations at home, he practised very successfully in *Athens* itself; and by large appointments secured some eminent orators to charm the people with delusive hopes of peace, or to frighten them with very expensive estimates, while they pretended a zeal for carrying on the war. *Demosthenes* was the only man in *Athens*, who had a just idea of the danger his country was in from the growing power of *Philip*, and who had likewise capacity enough to point out the proper methods for reducing his exorbitant greatness³. He shewed the *Athenians*, that the measures they had hitherto pursued were unworthy of them, and would never answer their ends. He told them, that running hither and thither, according as they heard that *Philip* marched this way or that, looked more like following him as their general, than making war upon him as their enemy; he therefore advised transporting two thousand foot and two hundred horse into *Macedonia*, assuring them, that if they had once an army, how small soever, there, the enemies of *Philip* would soon advance it to a formidable greatness⁴. The *Athenians* approved, but they did not follow, his advice; all the effect it had was this, that *Philip*, being informed of it, provided with greater vigour,

° DIODOR. SICUL ubi supra. ² DEMOSTH. *Philip*. i. JUST. l. viii. ³ PLUT. in vit. *Demosth.* & *Phocion*. ⁴ DEMOSTH. *Philip*. i.

and determined at all events to have neither state nor prince independent of himself within the limits of *Macedon*, that the *Athenians* might be deprived of all hopes of treating him as they had done his ancestors, viz. compelling them, by the assistance given to their neighbours, either to put all to the hazard of an unequal war, or to become absolute dependents on their republic ^c.

Olynthus had now, in a great measure, recovered that power and authority, which it had when *Amyntas* the father of *Philip* called in the *Lacedæmonians* to assist him in making war against it. *Philip* himself had contributed to this recovery, by giving up thereto certain cities and territories, when he first began his conquests; but this was only to lull the *Olynthians* asleep, and to save himself the expence of garisons, when it suited not his circumstances to maintain them ^c; but now, when his affairs were altered, he began to think not only of resuming what he had bestowed, but of making himself master of *Olynthus*, and thereby subverting a republic, which had been heretofore an over-match for *Macedon*. The *Olynthians* were too discerning not to suspect *Philip's* design, before he actually put it in execution; as soon therefore as they observed that he was advancing towards the *Chalcidian* region, they put themselves on their guard, and sent ambassadors to *Athens* to intreat a considerable and speedy assistance. *Demosthenes* failed not to espouse the cause of the *Olynthians*. He began with putting the *Athenians* in mind, that till now they had held the balance between the kings of *Macedon* and this state; and that, if they held it not still, they were as sure to be ruined as the *Olynthians* themselves. Hence he inferred, that a prompt and considerable succour should be sent according to the request of the ambassadors, and that commissioners should be appointed for abrogating such laws, as hindered the settling the necessary funds for carrying on a war of such importance with vigour ^u. *Demades* and the rest of the orators, who were corrupted by *Philip*, opposed this proposition with all their eloquence: but as they had not either truth on their side, or a power of speaking equal to *Demosthenes*, the people inclined to follow his advice ^w, and accordingly decreed, that relief should be sent to the *Olynthians*. *Philip* in the mean time took *Zeira*, a town in the *Chalcidian* region, and razed it to the ground. He soon after marched against *Mycaberna* and *To-*

Makes
war on
Olynthus.
Year of
the Flood
2649.
Before
Christ
350.

^c DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

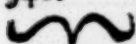
^c DEMOSTH. Philip.

ii. ^u DEMOSTH. Olynth. ii.

^w DIODOR. SICUL. ubi

supra. SUIDAS in voce *Δημοσθένος*.

Year of
the Flood
2651.
Year be-
fore
Christ
348.



rone, both of which he subdued. After this he openly attacked the *Olynthians*, defeated them twice in the field, and at last shut them up in their city^x. The *Athenian* succours consisted of mercenaries, which therefore did the *Olynthians* but little service, and were besides so much suspected, that they were little less dreaded than the *Macedonians* themselves; the citizens therefore sent ambassadors a second time to *Athens*, to intreat fresh assistance, and that it might be of *Athenian* troops. *Demosthenes* seconded this proposition with his usual vehemence, and on his motion *Chares* was sent a second time with seventeen galleys, and a land army of two thousand foot and three hundred horse, all citizens of *Athens*; but, alas! the cordial came too late. It did indeed revive the fainting spirits of the *Olynthians* for a time; and the *Athenians*, hearing of some slight successes of theirs, grew so elate, that they took no farther care of the war, as appears from an oration of *Demosthenes* yet remaining^y; but in the end *Olynthus* was taken, not so much by the bravery of the *Macedonian* troops, as by *Philip's* corrupting its principal magistrates, *Euthykrates* and *Lasthenes*, who basely betraying their country, after the city had made a glorious defence, secretly opened its gates, and let in *Philip* and his army. The king on this occasion proceeded with great feverity; he gave up the houses of the citizens to be plundered, and exposed their persons to sale, acquiring thereby an immense treasure, at the same time as he ridded himself of such as were his implacable enemies. After this he celebrated olympic games in honour of this victory, which happened in the first year of the one hundred and eighth olympiad, causing splendid shews to be exhibited for the diversion of his army, making magnificent feasts, at which they might be merry, and giving great rewards to such as had signalized themselves during the siege, that his soldiers might be encouraged to serve him both gallantly and faithfully^z.

Remarkable incidents at the olympics instituted by Philip.]

Two incidents happened amidst these solemnities, which deserve to be recorded, because they shew the temper of *Philip* on both sides, and consequently must enable us to form a better idea of the motives on which he acted, than we could possibly have done without them; for without doubt the reasons of actions are better found by knowing the mind of the actor, than by the most circumstantial accounts of the things acted. The first of these incidents was a complaint brought

^x DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
iii. PLUT. in vit. Demosth.

^y DEMOSTH. Olynth.
^z DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

by *Euthycrates* and *Lasthenes* against the *Macedonian* soldiers for calling them traitors. To which *Philip* gave this answer, *You must never mind what such fellows say; they are a sort of clownish people, who will call a spade a spade*^a. As to the other remarkable incident, *Satyrus* a player, whom *Philip* had admitted to a great familiarity with him, was the only person who wore a grave countenance, and reached not out his hand to receive any of the gifts which *Philip* bestowed upon his friends. The king observed it, and with his usual complacency asked him, How he came to look so dull? and why he would not suffer himself to be obliged as well as other people? To which *Satyrus* answered, *I don't either affect gravity, Sir, or put any slight on your presents; on the contrary, I should be extremely glad if you would give me yonder girls*, pointing to two young women who were among the slaves; *they are the daughters of a man in whose house I lodged. I ask them not out of greediness, but with an intent to give them such portions as may procure them honest husbands.* *Philip* commended his generosity, granted his request, and loaded him with presents of great value^b. This affability, and particular care in rewarding every man who served him, gained *Philip* friends in every city, and made them eager to run any risque to obtain his favour. He was sensible of this, and was so far from being ashamed of it, that he was wont to say publicly, that he was no less indebted to his purse than to his sword.

THE *Phocian* war was still unextinguished, and *Philip*, tho' he affected a neutrality, placed all his hopes in putting an end to this war, and thereby making himself the arbiter of *Greece*. His hopes were well founded. The *Thebans*, who were at the head of the league formed for reducing the *Phocians*, solicited him on one side; the states confederate with the *Phocians* sought his friendship on the other. He answered neither, yet held in dependence both. In his heart he favoured the *Thebans*, or rather placed his hopes of favouring his own cause on that state; for he knew well enough, that the *Athenians*, *Spartans*, and other states allied with *Phocis*, would never suffer him to pass *Thermopylae*, and lead an army into their territories^c; yet he shewed so much respect to the ambassadors from these states, particularly to *Ctesiphon* and *Phrynon*, who were sent from *Athens*, that they believed the king was in their interest, and reported as much to their masters. The *Athenians*, who were now dissolved in ease and luxury, and consequently were afraid of

He over-
reaches the
Atheni-
ans.

^a PLUT. in Apophthegm.
DEMOST. Philip. ii.

^b DIODOR. Sicul. ubi supra.

being disturbed with wars, received this news with great satisfaction, and named immediately ten plenipotentiaries to go and treat of a full and lasting peace with *Philip*. Of the number of these plenipotentiaries were *Demosthenes* and *Æschines*, the most eminent orators in *Athens*. The king of *Macedon* gave directions, that these embassadors should be treated with the utmost civility, naming at the same time three of his ministers to confer with them, viz. *Antipater*, *Parmenio*, and *Eurylochus*. *Demosthenes* being obliged to return to *Athens*, recommended it to his colleagues not to carry on their negotiations with *Philip's* deputies, but to proceed with all diligence to court, there to confer with the king himself. On this, he told them, all things would depend, as on what they did depended the safety of their country. The embassadors, however, were so far from following the instructions of *Demosthenes*, that they suffered themselves to be put off for three months by the arts of *Philip* and his ministers. In the mean time the king took from the *Athenians* such places in *Thrace* as might best cover his frontiers, giving their plenipotentiaries in their stead abundance of fair promises, and the strongest assurances, that his good-will should be as beneficial to them as ever their colonies had been. At last a peace was concluded; but then the ratification of it was deferred till *Philip* had possessed himself of *Phærea* in *Thessaly*, and saw himself at the head of a numerous army; then he ratified the treaty, and dismissed the plenipotentiaries with assurances, that he would be ready at all times to give the *Athenians* proofs of his friendship. On their return to *Athens*, when this matter came to be debated before the people, *Demosthenes* plainly told them, That in his opinion, the promises of *Philip* ought not to be relied on, because they appeared to be of little significance in themselves, and came from a prince of so much art and so little fidelity, that they could derive no authority from their maker ^d. *Æschines*, on the other hand, gave it as his sentiment, that the king of *Macedon's* assurances ought to give them full satisfaction. He said, That, for his part, he was not politician enough to see any thing of disguise or dissimulation in the king's conduct; that there was great danger in distrusting princes, and that the surest method of putting men upon deceit, was to shew that we suspected them of it. The rest of the plenipotentiaries concurred with *Æschines*; and the people, desirous of quiet, and prone to pleasure, easily gave credit to all that was said, and decreed that the peace should be kept. All this was the easier

^d DEMOST. Orat. de falsa legat:

brought about, because that *Phocion*, the worthiest man in the republic, did not oppose *Philip*; which was owing to his having a just sense of the state his country was in. He conceived, that the *Athenians* of those times were nothing like their ancestors, and therefore, as he expressed himself on another occasion, he was desirous, since they would not be at the head of *Greece* themselves, they would at least be upon good terms with that power which would be so^e.

Philip, who knew how to use, as well as to procure, opportunity, while the *Athenians* were in this good humour, passed *Thermopylae*, without their knowing whether he would fall on *Phocis* or *Thebes*; but he quickly undeceived them, by commanding his soldiers to put on crowns of laurel, declaring them thereby the troops of *Apollo*, and himself the lieutenant-general of that god. He then immediately entered *Phocis*, with an air of triumph, as if thunder and lightning had been at his command; which so terrified the *Phocians*, whom he had caused to be proclaimed sacrilegious persons, that they immediately dismissed all thoughts of defence, and without more ado submitted to his mercy. Thus the *Phocian* war, which had so long employed all *Greece*, was ended without a stroke, *Phalæcus*, with eight thousand mercenaries, being permitted to march off into *Peloponnesus*, and the judgment on the *Phocians* remitted to the *Amphictyons*, or grand council of *Greece*. By their decree the walls of three *Phocian* cities were demolished, the people were forbid to inhabit in any but villages, to pay a yearly tribute of sixty talents, and never to make use either of horses or arms, till they had repaid to the temple of *Apollo* the money they had taken sacrilegiously from thence. Their arms were taken from them, broken to pieces, and burnt; their double voice in the council was taken from them and given to the *Macedonians*. Other orders were made for resettling the affairs both of religion and state throughout *Greece*, all of which were executed by *Philip* with great exactness and moderation, paying the most profound respect to the council; and when he had performed its commands, retiring peaceably with his army back to *Macedon*, which gained him great reputation^f. This seems to have been one of the greatest achievements of his life, and that which laid the foundation of his empire. Hence one historian remarks, that the *Grecians* paid the next honours to divinity, to a prince who had vindicated the honour of the gods^g; and another tells us, that from this time forward *Philip* prospered

He enters Phocis, and puts an end to the sacred war.

Year of the Flood 2653.
Before Christ 346.

^e PLUT. in vit. Demosth. & Phocion. ubi supr.

^g JUSTIN. lib. viii. c. 2.

^f DIOD. SICUL.

in all things, which was thought to be the just reward of his piety, and the care he had taken in restoring the worship of *Apollo*, and a general quiet to *Greece* ^h.

Athenians
ready to de-
clare a-
gainst him.

AT *Athens* alone the justice and piety of *Philip* was not understood. The people began to see, tho' a little of the latest, that they had been abused and deceived by those who had negotiated the late peace; they saw, that, through their acceptance of it, the *Phocians* were destroyed, that *Philip* was become master of *Thermopylae*, and might enter *Greece* when he pleased; that in abandoning their allies they had abandoned themselves; and that, in all probability, they might soon feel the weight of his power, whom they had so foolishly trusted: They therefore began to take new and violent measures; they ordered, that the women should retire out of the villages into the city, their walls should be repaired, and their forts new strengthened. They seemed inclined to question *Philip's* election into the council of the *Amphictyons*, because it had been done without their consent, and even to proceed to an open war. In all likelihood they had carried things to extravagancy, if *Demosthenes* had not interposed. He told them, that tho' he was not for making the peace, he was, however, for keeping it; and that he saw no manner of occasion for their entering into so unequal a contest as would needs ensue, if they took up arms, not only against *Philip*, but against all the states concurring with him in the late transactions. This seems to have cooled the rage of the *Athenians*, and to have brought them to think of ruining *Philip* by degrees, as by degrees they had raised him ⁱ (E).

THE

^h DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ⁱ DEMOSTHEN. Orat. de Pac.

(E) *Libanius* and *Photius* have taken pains to prove, that the oration to which we refer above, ought not to be ascribed to *Demosthenes*. We might well enough defend ourselves by alledging, that it has been generally esteemed his, and, as such, as constantly maintained its place in his works. This would be sufficient for our purpose; but, in truth, the arguments on which the opposite sentiment is built are so easily overturned, that we might be justly blamed for neglecting so favourable an occasion of setting this point in its true light. *Demosthenes*, say those who will not allow this oration to be his, charged *Æschines* with betraying his country on account of his recommending warmly a peace with *Philip*; they cannot therefore think, that *Demosthenes* would run openly into those measures, which he had so lately and so warmly decried, or that he, who, on every other occasion, singly opposed *Philip*, and run

THE fame of his atchievements without the bounds of Diopithes *Macedon* having disposed the subjects of *Philip* to hope every thing from his conduct, and the several states of *Greece* to desire above all things his friendship; that prudent monarch laid hold of this favourable situation to fix his dominion on such a stable foundation as that a reverse of fortune should not immediately destroy it. To this end, while he carried on his negotiations through *Greece*, he likewise kept his army in exercise by taking several places in *Thrace*, which terribly incommoded the *Athenians* *. *Diopithes*, who had the government of the *Athenian* colonies in those parts, perceiving well what end *Philip* had in view, did not stay for any instructions from home; but having raised with much expedition a considerable body of troops, taking advantage of the king's being absent with his army, entered the adjacent territories of *Philip*, and wasted them with fire and sword. The king, who on account of the operations of the campaign in the *Chersonese*, was not at leisure to repel *Diopithes* by force, nor indeed could divide his army without eminent hazard, chose like an able general rather to abandon his provinces to insults, which might be afterwards revenged, than by following the dictates of an ill-timed passion to hazard

with an
Athenian
army en-
ters Mace-
don, while
Philip in-
vades
Thrace.
Year of
the Flood
2655.
Before
Christ,
344.

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

run all hazards to bring him into odium with the people, should now be single on the other side, and attempt to cross the disposition of the *Athenians* in favour of peace and *Philip* (20). These objectors forget, that *Demosthenes* was a patriot as well as an orator; that he did not pursue *Philip* with implacable hatred, because he was king of *Macedon*, but because he thought him both willing and able to obstruct the designs of *Athens*, and even to reduce her from that splendid pre-eminence which she now held in *Greece*, to the ordinary rank of a state in name free, but in truth dependent upon him; this was the motive of *Demosthenes*'s heat on other occasions; and the motive to his coolness now was the strict alliance between *Philip* and the other *Grecian* states, which rendered it a thing impracticable for *Athens* to contend with him and them alone. Besides, as he rightly observes in the harangue, it would have been ridiculous for those, who refused to enter into an equal war for rich cities and fertile provinces, to have rushed suddenly into a most unequal contest about an empty title, or, as he emphatically expresses it, *To take away the shadow of Delphos from him who was master of Delphos itself* (21). We therefore acknowledge this to be the oration of *Demosthenes*, because he was worthy of it.

(20) Phot. Biblioth. cod. 265.
1acif.

(21) Demosthen. orat.

the loss of his veteran army, whereon lay all his hopes. He contented himself therefore with complaining to the *Athenians* of *Diopithes's* conduct, who in a time of peace had entered his dominions, and committed such devastations, which could scarce have been justified in a time of war. His partisans supported this application with all their eloquence; they told the *Athenians*, that unless they recalled *Diopithes*, and brought him to a trial for this infringement of the peace, they ought not to hope either for the friendship of *Philip*, or of any other prince or state; neither could they justly complain, if, prompted by such a precedent, others should break faith with them, and fall without the least notice upon their dominions. *Demosthenes* defended *Diopithes*, and undertook to shew, that he deserved the praise, and not the censure, of the *Athenians*. Those of the other party began to charge him then with crimes of a different nature; they alledged, that he had oppressed the subjects, and mal-treated the allies of *Athens*. *Demosthenes* replied, that of these things there were as yet no proofs; that when such should appear, a single galley might be sent to bring over *Diopithes* to abide their judgment, but that *Philip* would not come if they sent a fleet; whence he inferred, that they ought to be cautious, and to weigh well the merits of this cause before they took any resolution. He said, that it was true, *Philip* had not as yet attacked *Attica*, or pretended to make a descent on their territories in *Greece*, or to force his way into their ports; when it came to that, he was of opinion they would be hardly able to defend themselves, wherefore he thought such men were to be esteemed as sought to protect their frontiers, in order to keep *Philip* as long as might be at a distance; whereupon he moved, that instead of disowning what *Diopithes* had done, or directing him to dismiss his army, they should send him over recruits, and shew the king of *Macedon*, they knew how to protect their territories, and to maintain the dignity of their state as well as their ancestors. These arguments had such an effect, that a decree was made conformable to his motion ¹.

*An account
of the
sources of
the conti-
nual differ-
ences be-
tween*

THE reader must certainly be somewhat at a loss as to the grounds on which these parties proceeded; nor is it easy to set them in a clear light. *Philip* is, generally speaking, represented not only as a politic and over-reaching, but a fraudulent and perfidious, prince, one who had small regard

*Philip,
and the
Athenians.*

¹ DEMOSTHEN. Orat. de Chersones. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ARISTOT. de Rhetor. lib. ii. Orat. 8.

to treaties, and who set no bounds to his ambition. But then it must be considered, that we have all these reports from the sworn enemies of *Philip*; he had the misfortune to have been at variance all his reign with the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* were at that time the most eloquent, as their authors are yet esteemed the most excellent, among the *Greeks*. The orations of *Demosthenes* many of them remain, but for any answers that were made to them, time has swallowed them up; and we have scarce any apologies for *Philip*; yet in spite of these cross accidents, it may be discerned, that *Philip's* character ought not to be considered in altogether so bad a light as the orator has placed it. For, first, all speakers in popular assemblies are wont to exaggerate the subjects on which they declaim, and like the painters of domes and cupolas make large allowances for the distances between their pictures and those who are to look up to them. Secondly, The *Athenians* naturally hated kings, and conceived all nations to be barbarians who were governed by them. Thirdly, they held their territories in *Thrace* by a very dubious title, which we shall take this occasion to explain. When the republic was in the zenith of its glory, they had possessed themselves of the *Chersonese* by force. When *Lyfander* destroyed *Athens*, the inhabitants of the before-mentioned country put themselves under the protection of the *Lacedæmonians* ^m. *Conon* afterwards reduced them to the obedience of their antient masters ⁿ, and *Cotys* king of *Thrace* conquered them once more from *Athens*. *Chersobleptes* his son, finding himself unable to oppose *Philip* of *Macedon*, gave up this place again to the *Athenians*, reserving only the city of *Cardia* which stood on the isthmus ^o. *Philip* having now dispossessed *Chersobleptes* of his kingdom, the citizens of *Cardia*, unwilling to fall under the *Athenian* yoke, submitted themselves voluntarily to *Philip*; whereupon *Diopithes* began the war, on a supposition, that so enterprising a prince would not stop here, but would make use of the advantages he had already gained, utterly to dispossess the *Athenians* of their colonies in these parts ^p. Such were the sources of those differences, which so long embroiled the *Athenians* and *Philip*; sources which, lying as they did in the constitutions of *Macedon* and *Athens*, could never be dried up; for the prudence of *Philip* giving him to understand, that till he

^m PLUTARCH. in vit. *Lyfand*. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. ii.

ⁿ CORN. NEPOS, vit. *Conon*.

Aristoc. DIOD. SICUL. ubi supra.

de *Chersones*.

^o DEMOSTHEN. Orat. adv.

^p DEMOSTHEN. Orat.

was master of *Greece*, he would never be able to keep the *Athenians* under ; and till that was done, knowing himself to be unsafe at home, and scarce to be called a king ; he chose to run all hazards in order to be the *former*, chiefly because of all situations he dreaded to be in the *latter* (F).

His expedition in repressing the Illyrians, and his negotiations in Greece.

WHILE affairs stood thus, the *Illyrians*, recovering courage, and seeing *Philip* at such a distance, harassed the frontiers of *Macedon*, and threatened a formidable invasion ; but this attempt of theirs prejudiced none so much as themselves, for *Philip* by quick marches arrived on the borders of *Illyrium*, and struck this barbarous people with such a panic, that they were glad to compound for their former robberies

(F) The extended country of *Thrace* was inhabited by many nations. The reader will meet with what can be collected respecting their history hereafter, at present it will be necessary to say something of the families of those kings with whom *Philip* had to do. *Teres* king of the *Odrysians*, by the conquest of many little princes, raised himself to a very high rank, and swelled his dominions to a large extent ; he had two sons, *Sitalces* and *Spartocus* (22). The descendants of these sons were engaged in continual wars amongst themselves, which extremely broke and ruined all their principalities, till at last *Seuthes* raised a considerable kingdom out of the conquests he made, and left it to his son *Cotys* the father of *Cersobleptes*, as *Demosthenes* tells us (23) ; but *Diodorus* will have him to be his brother (24). After the death of *Cotys*, his dominions were shared by *Cersobleptes*, *Berisades*, and *Amadocus*. *Cersobleptes* quickly dispossessed the other two, and, flushed with these conquests, and the hopes he had of the friendship of the *Athenians*, he began to contend with *Philip*, who, falling upon him with a veteran army of well-disciplined troops, defeated and dethroned him. This *Cersobleptes* we shall hear much of hereafter : The *Athenians* granted him the honour of being inrolled in their city-register, and he, when he found *Philip* too strong for him, resigned a part of his dominions to them. The truth is, conquest was the best title that any of them had, except the *Thracians*, who may be said to have had a birth-right in their own country. *Philip* therefore wisely added that tract of land he conquered, between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*, to *Macedonia*, without pretending to make himself absolute master of *Thrace*. His son *Alexander* indeed did conquer it, but after his death, it fell again under the obedience of a native, viz. *Seuthes* the son or grandson of *Cersobleptes*, who defended his right and his possession against the *Macedonians*, more successfully than his ancestors had done (25).

(22) *Aristot. Polit. lib. v. c. 10.*
Aristoc. (24) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.*
ubi supra. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. § x.x.

(23) *Demosthen. adv.*
 (25) *Demosthen.*

at the price he was pleased to set⁹. Most of the Greek cities in *Thrace* now sought the friendship of the king, and entered into a league with him for their mutual defence. As it cannot be supposed, that each of these free cities had a power equal to that of *Philip*, we may therefore look upon him as their protector. This is exactly conformable to the account which *Diodorus* gives us of this matter; but *Demosthenes* represents this transaction as downright robbery, insinuating, that to have *Philip* for a protector, was to own him for a master; and that consequently his proceeding in this manner was making a conquest of so many cities, and an injury to all *Greece*[†]. About this time *Philip's* negotiations in *Peloponnesus* began to come to light; the *Argives* and *Messenians*, growing weary of that tyrannical authority which the *Spartans* exercised over them, applied to *Thebes* for assistance; and the *Thebans*, out of their natural aversion to *Sparta*, sought to open a passage for *Philip* into *Peloponnesus*, that, in conjunction with them, he might humble the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philip* readily accepted the offer, and resolved to procure a decree from the *Amphietyons*, directing the *Lacedæmonians* to leave *Argos* and *Messene* free; which if they complied not with, he, as the lieutenant of the *Amphietyons*, might, with great appearance of justice, march with a body of troops to enforce their order. When *Sparta* had intelligence of this, she immediately applied to *Athens*, earnestly intreating assistance, as in the common cause of *Greece*. The *Argives* and *Messenians*, on the other hand, laboured assiduously to gain the *Athenians* to their side, alledging, that if they were friends to liberty, they ought to assist those whose only aim was to be free. *Demosthenes* at this juncture out-wrestled *Philip*, if we may borrow that king's expression; for by a vehement harangue, he not only determined his own citizens to become the avowed enemies of the king, but also made the *Argives* and *Messenians* not over-fond of him for an ally[‡]; which when *Philip* perceived, he laid aside all thoughts of this enterprize for the present, and began to practise in *Eubæa*.

THIS country, now called *Negropont*, is separated from *Greece* by the *Euripus*, a streight so narrow, that *Eubæa* might easily be united to the continent. This situation made *Philip* call it, *the Fetters of Greece*, which he therefore sought to have in his own hands. There had been for some years great disturbances in that country, under colour

The causes of the war in Eubæa.
Year after the Flood, 2659.
Year before Christ,

⁹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
Philip. iii. iv.

[†] DEMOSTHEN. Orat. 340.
[‡] DEMOSTHEN. Philip. ii.

of which *Philip* sent forces thither, and demolished *Porthmos*, the strongest city in those parts, leaving the country under the government of three lords, whom *Demosthenes* roundly calls tyrants, established by *Philip*¹. Shortly after the *Macedonians* took *Oreus*, which was left under the government of five magistrates, styled also tyrants at *Athens*. Thither *Plutarch* of *Eretria*, one of the most eminent persons in *Eubœa*, went to represent the distresses of his country, and to implore the *Athenians* to set it free. This suit *Demosthenes* recommended warmly to the people, who sent thither their famous leader *Phocion*, supported by formidable votes but a very slender army; yet so well did he manage the affairs of the commonwealth and her allies, that *Philip* quickly found he must for a time abandon that project, which, however, he did not, till he had formed another no less beneficial to himself, or less dangerous to *Athens*². It was the prosecution of his conquests in *Thrace*, which he thought of pushing much farther than he had hitherto done, or could be reasonably suspected to have any intention of doing (G).

THE

¹ PLUT. in vit. Phocion. DEMOSTHEN. Philip. iii. ² DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUTARCH. ubi supra. DEMOSTHEN. ubi supra.

(G) We have shewn above of what importance *Eubœa* was both to *Philip* and to the rest of *Greece*; we shall here take occasion to speak of the form of government which *Philip* would have established there. We no-where find, that he had any idea of annexing it to his dominions, or of obliging the people to live under new laws, or new modes of rule. *Eubœa* was full of great cities, each of which was a kind of republic, and, together with the benefits of freedom and independence, were sometimes disturbed by that spirit of dissension which frequently enters where liberty is adored. In these disputes both parties were wont to have recourse to foreign assistance, the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Lacedæmonians*, all in their turn, had sent auxiliaries to support their friends in this island; and now it seems the king of *Macedon* thought fit to do the like, without doubt on a principle of interest, for when do princes act from any other? We have very imperfect accounts of this war, which ended at last to the disadvantage of the *Athenians*: Instead therefore of drawing together all the jejune passages in antient authors, wherein the *Eubœan* war is mentioned; we will from *Demosthenes* himself give a succinct detail of the tyranny which *Philip* set up in *Oreus*, one of the principal cities of *Eubœa*. *Philistides*, *Menippus*, *Socrates*, *Agapeus*, and *Tboas*, were at the head of affairs, and were professed friends to *Philip* of *Macedon*; *Euphreus*, who had

THE preparations he made for the campaign were extraordinary, his army larger than he was wont to make use of, and the precautions he took for the safety of his dominions in his absence, by appointing his son *Alexander* regent, such as shewed he had vast designs in his mind. At length when the season of the year permitted, he marched with thirty thousand men and invested *Perinthus* *. This city was one of the most considerable in the *Propontis*, always firm to the *Athenians*, and consequently both dreadful and dangerous to *Philip*. The siege was hardly formed before the king received advice, that his restless neighbours had taken arms, supposing that they could easily deal with forces commanded by a child; for *Alexander* was not above fifteen. But before he had leisure to reflect on this danger, he was farther informed, that *Alexander* had marched against them with such secrecy and expedition, as to fall upon them before they were aware, and thereby struck them with such consternation, that, making a precipitate retreat, they covered themselves with shame, and crowned the youth they despised with laurels: *Philip*, however, sent for his son immediately to the camp, fearing that this success might make him adventurous, and that fortune might not be always so favourable as, upon this occasion, she

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. viii. DEMOSTHEN. pro Ctesiphon.

had formerly dwelt at *Athens*, began to treat these magistrates as traitors; he alledged, that they were entirely devoted to the *Macedonian*, and would betray the city into his hands, *Philistides* and his colleagues immediately threw this man into prison; the people it seems concurred with their magistrates, and looked upon him as a disturber of the public peace. When the disorders in the rest of *Eubœa* had occasioned *Macedonian* troops to be sent thither, the magistrates of *Oreus* owned them for their protectors, banished such as had confederated against them, and assumed the direction of public affairs to themselves, which had such an effect on the patriot they had imprisoned, that he laid violent hands upon himself. *Philistides* and his colleagues are qualified by the *Athenian* orator with the name of tyrants, and *Philip*, who was their protector, is made the tyrant of tyrants (26). This was the true style of *Athens*, where all power, underived from, or unexercised for, them, was held tyrannical. It is very possible, the *Eubœans* might speak another language, and without question the partizans of *Philip* protested loudly, that he interested himself in the affairs of *Eubœa*, in order to preserve the people from being oppressed by foreign states.

(26) *Demosthen. Orat. Philip. iii.*

had been. The *Perinthians*, however, made a gallant defence, their city being well fortified, as well as remarkably strong from its situation. *Philip* on his side pressed it closely both by his artillery, that is, *Battering engines*, and by sap: he caused also moveable towers to be erected, and bringing them near the walls, his soldiers from thence threw all sorts of missile weapons into the city¹. *Athens*, for whose sake *Perinthus* thus suffered, heard the complaints of her ambassadors, supported by the pathetic orations of *Demosthenes*, with compassion. Succours were immediately decreed in spite of all the arts which the friends of *Philip* could make use of; however, *Chares* was made choice of to command them, and if *Philip* had been to have appointed a general, he would probably have been the man. He was vain, luxurious, haughty, insolent, and unjust; was very indifferently skilled in military matters, yet so full of promises of what he would perform, that the promise of *Chares* became a proverb, to signify an undertaking which would never be fulfilled. This commander in chief set sail with a small squadron of galleys, a considerable body of land-forces, and an excellent band of music, which he chose with great care, and paid at an extravagant rate. His character was so well known, that the *Perinthians*, in as bad a state as they were, refused to admit him into their port, so that he was forced to return home, without doing any thing more than plundering the allies, and thereby bringing disgrace on the *Athenian* name².

Philip
writes a
letter to
the Athenians.

As *Philip* was perfectly well acquainted with the state of *Athens* at that time, and knew that the engaging it in a war would in all probability revive that spirit of ambition and that appetite of glory, which had in former times rendered it so powerful; he had recourse to those mighty talents which distinguished him in that age, and which may be said to have distinguished him from all kings. He wrote the *Athenians* a letter, which is still extant, and which it would be injurious to his memory to abridge, or to publish in any other than his own words. It was intended as a manifesto to the commons and to his enemies in *Athens*, and as a scheme of instruction to his friends; how well it answered both purposes, the reader will discern, and form from thence a just Idea of a prince, who was his own secretary, as well as his own general, his own minister, and his own treasurer; not that

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.
Phocion. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

² PLUTARCH. in vit.

he was opinionated of his own parts, but because he was a perfect judge of those of other men, as appears from a saying of his relating to these *Athenians*. He was told they elected annually ten generals: *They are a happy people, said he, who every year can find ten generals, since I in my whole life have found but one, which was, Parmenio* ^a. But to the letter, thus it ran:

Philip to the senate and people of *Athens*, greeting;

“ After applying to you often, though always in vain, by my ambassadors, in order to engage your paying the same regard to your oaths and treaties that I do to mine; I am determined to explain to you myself the mischiefs I sustain by your persisting in a contrary conduct. Do not be surprized at the length of my letter; to enter into a detail of your infractions and my patience, requires no small room.

“ I begin with *Nicias* my herald, taken out of my dominions. Instead of punishing such as were concerned in this fact, you were pleased to detain him in prison for no less a time than ten months before you sent him back, neither did you make any difficulty of taking from him, and reading in the public assemblies, the letters with which he was intrusted by me. After this the ports of the isle of *Thasus* were opened to the *Byzantine* gallies, or rather to all sorts of corsairs, which you saw with the same indifference, as if this practice did not involve you in the guilt of evident perjury. Then your general *Diopithes* entered my territories in a hostile manner, carrying into slavery the inhabitants of *Crobilus* and *Tiristafas*, pillaging and sacking all the villages in that part of *Thrace*. When *Amphylochas* my ambassador went to treat for the ransom of the prisoners. *Diopithes*, to crown his worthy exploits, clapped him up, and forced him, to rescue himself from ill usage, to pay down nine talents, and all this he did with your participation and countenance. Ought the violating the respect due to a herald at arms, or an ambassador, to be borne rather from you than from other people? What think you of the business at *Megara*? As soon as its inhabitants had injured *Anthemocrates*, cloathed by you with a public character, you thought yourselves obliged to take a public and proportionate revenge; you excluded such as were guilty from any commerce with you; and you e-

^a PLUTARCH. *Apophtheg.*

“ rected a pyramid before your gates to perpetuate the memory of your justice and their crime. Well then! an outrage held so intolerable, when done to yourselves, doth it pass for nothing when you yourselves do it?

“ *Callias*, one of your generals, made not the least scruple of reducing under your obedience all the towns seated on the *Pegasean* gulph, though they were expressly comprehended in our treaty under the name of my allies. This done, he attacked all the vessels bound to *Macedonia*; passengers, merchants, all were held good prize, and sold for slaves. These piracies you have applauded and justified by your decrees; for my part, I don't see what you could have done worse, if you had declared open war against me. Nay, heretofore, when the sword was drawn, you contented yourselves with carrying on hostilities in an open manner; you made reprisals on my subjects; you did all you could to injure their trade; you supported my enemies, and endeavoured to make descents on my territories; but now, while we are at peace, you stop not at these things, your rancour and your injustice have pushed you on to stir up a barbarian to become my enemy; and your ambassadors have solicited the king of *Persia* to over-whelm *Macedonia*. What strange conduct is this? to beseech that monarch to ally himself with you against me, without remembering, that before he had subdued *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, you resolved to invite me and the rest of the *Greeks* into a confederacy against him as the common enemy. Very consistent! T'other day you were for going with me against him, now you desire him to go with you against me, Your ancestors, as I have been informed, objected it as an unpardonable crime to the children of *Pisistratus*, that they invited the great king into *Greece*; yet the same thing is done by your modern politicians. You are not thus it seems ashamed to injure me by methods you condemned even in your tyrants, so that all things become lawful and laudable, as soon as it is discerned they will spight *Philip*. You have given me a signal mark of this in your decrees, in joining me to put *Teres* and *Chersobleptes*, as citizens of *Athens*, into quiet possession of their estates. I shall not inquire whether they were comprized in our treaty of peace, whether their names are to be found in your list of citizens, or whether they are natives or descendants of *Athens*; this I know very well, that I have seen *Teres* serving in my armies against you, and *Chersobleptes* being on the very point of swearing to a treaty concluded with my ambassadors, declined it, terrified by the menaces of your general,

“ who

“ who threatened to proclaim him an enemy to your republic,
“ What justice ! what equity ! what consistency is here !
“ when he was about to become my friend, you threatened
“ to declare him your enemy ; after doing me all the mischief
“ he could, now truly he is your citizen. You who hereto-
“ fore received and protected a murderer, while yet *red* with
“ the *blood* of *Sitalces* ! *Sitalces* king of *Thrace* ! *Sitalces*,
“ whom you called your citizen ! yet in regard to this title,
“ you are now for taking *Chersobleptes* under your protection,
“ and for making war on me on his account ; however,
“ upon other occasions, you have more than once regarded
“ in another light these adopted citizens, your laws, and
“ your decrees. But to cut short this dispute, you cannot
“ deny, that you have seen dethroned, and ignominiously
“ banished, *Evagoras* of *Cyprus* and *Dionysius* of *Syracuse*,
“ two kings, who for themselves and their descendants were
“ honoured with the high titles of citizens of *Athens*. If
“ your eloquence can be so effectually employed as to per-
“ suade those who have driven these tyrants from their thrones
“ to replace them again, you may be assured, that you will
“ find me no less tractable in resettling *Teres* and *Chersoblep-*
“ *tes* in all and several their dominions in *Thrace*. If you
“ look upon that to be a crime in me, with which you
“ will not so much as upbraid others, can you wonder, that
“ I pay little regard to your censure ? I could say many
“ things more upon this head, but I chuse rather to suppress
“ them.

“ WITH respect to other things, be it known to you, that
“ if you attack the *Cardians*, they shall be succoured ; I
“ will and I ought to do it, not only in respect to the strict
“ alliance there has been between us, long before I conclud-
“ ed the treaty with you, but on account also of your ob-
“ stinacy in refusing to submit the differences between you
“ and them to arbitration, as they and I have often desired
“ you to do. Would you not take me for the meanest
“ creature in the world, if upon this occasion I should de-
“ sert my old and constant friends, for the sake of people
“ who thwart me in every thing I do ? I can no longer be
“ silent, your insolence is come to a height not to be borne ;
“ your late proceedings are of such a cast, that moderation
“ is no longer a virtue. The *Peparethians* did but tell you
“ they were oppressed by me ; and, without further inquiry,
“ you direct your generals to avenge these islanders, whom I
“ had chastised more mildly than they deserved. These
“ faithless people had in full peace surprized *Halonnesus*, nor
“ would they part either with the island or the garison, tho’
“ I often

“ I often solicited them by my ambassadors. When I was
“ thus insulted, you said not a word ; but when I came to
“ do myself justice, what a clamour have you set up ? You
“ know very well, that I took this *Halonnesus* neither from
“ them nor you, but from *Sofrates* the pirate. If you say
“ that he held it under your protection, you declare your-
“ selves his accomplices : If you disown him and his robbe-
“ ries, why should you think of depriving me of my just
“ reward, for clearing the seas and protecting trade ? I be-
“ lieve I can guess the reason. All things I do offend you,
“ kindnesses not excepted. I offered you this *Halonnesus*
“ merely out of the great respect I had to your friendship ; this
“ did not please your demagogues, they talked you into a
“ refusal of my offer, and which was somewhat singular, they
“ talked you into reclaiming what they made you refuse to ac-
“ cept. Would you know the reason ? Come, I’ll tell it you :
“ Either I must have restored the island, which you know
“ would have been a full proof of my taking it unjustly ; or
“ I must have refused to restore it, and thereby have opened
“ a way to those violent motions which they long to make
“ in your assemblies. Well, I penetrated all this, and, to
“ be even with them, offered to submit our disputes to arbi-
“ tration, resolving to make you a present of the island, if
“ it was adjudged to me, and to have yielded it up, if judg-
“ ment had gone against me. Many a time did I offer this,
“ and as often did you reject it. The *Peparethians* in the
“ mean time seized the island. Well, what was I to do
“ then ? Was I bound not to punish those violators of their
“ oaths ? Was I patiently to submit to injuries of such a na-
“ ture, offered in such a manner ? Consider a little ; if *Ha-*
“ *lonnesus* belonged to these people, how came the *Athenians*
“ to demand it ? If it belonged to you, why did you not
“ attack the usurpers ? Things came at last to such a pass,
“ that, to secure the passage of *Macedonian* vessels from the
“ privateers, fitted out from your colonies by order of *Poly-*
“ *crates*, authorized so to do by your decrees, I was constrain-
“ ed to come in person before the ports of these corsairs,
“ in order to keep them in awe. I had little reason to act
“ with all this caution, when that general at the same time
“ sent to the *Byzantines* to join with him, and declared pub-
“ licly, that, when occasion should offer, he would make
“ war upon me. All this did not engage me to act with a
“ violence proportioned to yours. I attempted nothing
“ against you ; I seized not either your gallies or your domi-
“ nions, though it was in my power to have taken a part, if
“ not the whole, of both ; and all this time I continued to
“ solicit

“ solicit you, that our differences might be put to arbitra-
“ tion. Judge for yourselves, whether equity is best award-
“ ed by reason or the sword, and whether it be fit, that
“ you or I should be judges in our own causes ; consider too
“ with yourselves, how unreasonable it will appear, that
“ the *Athenians*, who forced the *Thasians* and the *Maronites*
“ to be content with an arbitration made on their respective
“ claims to the city of *Stryma*, should refuse to submit to
“ the decision of their own differences with me in the same
“ way. Your obstinacy must appear still more unreasona-
“ ble, when it is remembered, that the arbitration I offered
“ would not have left you exposed to the incertainties which
“ usually attend such judgments. If it went against you, you
“ were to lose nothing ; a decree in your favour would have
“ given you my conquests.

“ To crown all your oddities, you refuse to hear my em-
“ bassadors, who are impowered, in the name of me and
“ my allies, to assure you that we are willing to compro-
“ mise upon reasonable terms whatever differences subsist
“ between us and other *Greeks*. Could you take any bet-
“ ter method than complying with this proposition ? At all
“ events, it must have been beneficial to you ; for I must
“ either have acted conformable to my offers, or not : In
“ the first case, you would have had the honour of protect-
“ ing all the *Greeks*, who, you say, have taken umbrage at
“ my power : In the second, you would have had the great-
“ est advantage over me ; my want of faith could not have
“ been concealed, I must have passed for a traitor convict
“ throughout *Greece*. To say the truth, my propositions
“ were perfectly suited to your people ; but, alas ! your de-
“ magogues could not find their accounts in them. Those
“ who are best acquainted with your government say, that
“ these sort of people know no sort of war so cruel as a
“ peace, and never taste so much of peace as in the midst
“ of war. When the sword is drawn every *Athenian* ge-
“ neral is tied down to compound with them ; and must ei-
“ ther pay for their crying him up, or for their not crying
“ him down. Your dealers in words carry it still far-
“ ther : In order to have reputation, a man’s character
“ must be publicly given by them. This is a general bu-
“ siness, nor is it of any great consequence what country
“ he is of, who desires to be commended ; the noble
“ citizen, the illustrious stranger, a whole string of these
“ sort of epithets are at their command ; and, once bestowed
“ in the assembly, those who are honoured with them become
“ most excellent commonwealth’s-men in the opinion of
“ the

“ the vulgar. I could upon very reasonable terms have
 “ silenced their invectives or even have converted them into
 “ eulogies ; but I scorn to acquire your friendship in so
 “ scandalous a manner. I should be ashamed to have any
 “ thing to do with these mercenaries, who, because they
 “ did not sell me *Amphipolis*, have the impudence to say,
 “ I usurp it. I am positive, my title to that city is built
 “ on reasons too strong for them with all their eloquence
 “ to overthrow. For, if *Amphipolis* ought to belong to its
 “ most antient possessors, how do I hold it unjustly ? *Alex-*
 “ *ander*, one of my ancestors held it first : witness the riches
 “ taken by him there from the *Persians*, the first fruits of
 “ which he consecrated in a statue of gold, set up in the
 “ temple at *Delphi*. Well, if you don’t like this reason,
 “ shall *Amphipolis* belong to its last master ? I am content,
 “ for by this title also it is mine. I took it from the *Lace-*
 “ *dæmonians*, who, after they had driven you out, settled
 “ in it a colony of their own. As I take it, all cities are
 “ held either by a right of succession or a right of con-
 “ quest. Now both these rights have I ; you have neither
 “ the one or the other ; and yet, because you held the
 “ city some time, you are pleased to set up a claim to it,
 “ though you have confessed my right in the most authentic
 “ manner in the world. For in your answers to my letters
 “ on this subject, you have over-and-over acknowledged me
 “ for the lawful sovereign of *Amphipolis* ; besides you have
 “ recognized me for its master by your last treaty of peace.
 “ Is it possible to have the possession of a place better gua-
 “ ranteed than I have this ? My ancestors held it formerly,
 “ I have conquered it, you have acknowledged my right,
 “ you who never parted with any thing, to which you
 “ had so much as the colour of a title. You see then the
 “ grounds of my complaints. Because you are without
 “ contradiction the aggressors, because I have spared no pains
 “ to prevent your having any reason for a rupture, you
 “ load me with reproaches, and make it your business to
 “ blacken me all you can. I take the gods to witness the
 “ goodness of my cause, and the necessity I am under of
 “ doing myself that justice which you have refused me ^b(H)”.

THE

^b Vide apud DEMOSTHEN. Orat. hanc Literam & Refutat.

(H) There are some few passages in this eloquent letter which may be illustrated from antient authors. *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus* was originally a private citizen of *Salamis*, but descended of a no-

†

b^{le}

THE judicious reader will not be displeased at the extraordinary length of this letter, when he considers, that it is an accurate and authentic history of many curious events, and at the same time an artful apology written by the most potent prince and most consummate politician of his time. Happy would it have been for us, if more such letters as these had been preserved; but time has swallowed them up, and we have only a few short epistles, which serve barely to demonstrate, that this is truly *Philip's* from the conformity of its stile, as it must be allowed worthy of him from the consideration of its matter.

IN all probability, this epistle had wrought its desired effect, if *Demosthenes* the constant adversary of *Philip* had not ^{Measures} taken by ^{the Athe-}

ble family, and a man of great spirit; he persuaded his fellow-citizens to throw off the *Persian* yoke, which they did under his conduct, and conquered a great part of the island; he was afterwards slain by *Nicocles*; however his son *Evagoras* the younger pretended to the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and was supported by the *Athenians* against *Protagoras* the successor of *Nicocles*. The *Athenians* were induced to take his part on account of the great assistance his father had given their admiral *Conon*, when he laboured to restore *Athens* to her former grandeur (27). As to *Dionysius* the younger, the reader has had his history already; there is, however, a passage relating to him, which deserves to be mentioned here. It is said, that *Philip*, having an interview with this prince, could not help asking him, how in so short a time he had lost the flourishing kingdom left him by his father? *Dionysius* answered frankly, *Because, Sir, my father did not leave me his fortune with his kingdom* (28). When the king of *Macedon* wrote in a high strain to the *Lacedæmonians* to leave the *Argives* and *Messenians* free, he received this *Laconic* answer: *Dionysius* at *Corinth*; by which they intimated, that he was no less a tyrant than *Dionysius*, and no more out of fortune's power than he (29). The islands of *Peparethus*, *Halonnesus*, and *Sciathus*, lie in the *Ægean* sea, where they form a triangle. *Philip*, as he tells us in the letter, would have given up *Halonnesus* to the *Athenians* as a present, but *Demosthenes* engaged them to refuse it in that light, alledging, that their acceptance would be injurious to them as a republic (30). *Æschines*, however, told them plainly, that it was foolish to refuse an island, and dispute about words; that these sort of proceedings would do service to *Philip*, and afford him an opportunity of charging them with haughtiness and insincerity, as often as they upbraided him with breach of faith (31).

(27) *Pausan. in Attic. Diodor. lib. xv. xvi.*

Var. Hist. lib. xii. c. 60.

(30) *Orat. adv. Ctesiph.*

(28) *Ælian.*

(29) *Demet. Phaler. de Eloc. c. 8.*

(31) *Æschin. de fals. legat.*

undertaken to open the people's eyes, and to convince them, that the king's design was only to suspend their judgments, and to hinder their taking any vigorous resolution, till he had subdued such places in the country where his army now lay, as would leave him without apprehensions from that quarter ^c. It happened, that about this time the news arrived at *Athens* of *Chares's* being excluded the ports of the allies; this occasioned great heats in the assembly, the partizans of *Philip* insisting warmly on the contempt shewn towards the republic, by first soliciting supplies, and then refusing to admit them. *Phocion* cleared up this; he told them in few words, that the allies had not insulted the people of *Athens* by endeavouring to secure themselves from a rapacious *Athenian*; and that, if they would retrieve their reputation, they ought to send back their succours under the command of some man of honour ^d. According to the wonted flexibility of popular councils, this motion was approved, and *Phocion* himself named admiral and captain general. In this flow of their good humour, the *Athenians* did every thing that could be expected from them; as, on the other hand, *Phocion* shewed himself a true patriot by accepting readily this command, when he found it in his power to execute it with honour to himself and to the state; though upon other occasions he had opposed their declaring against *Philip*, when he judged those declarations would only serve to irritate him and do themselves no good. Such were the enemies of *Philip* on this side. The *Persian* kings, as we have already frequently noted, were wont to regard the *Macedonian* princes, not only as their tributaries, but as their faithful allies. The fortune of *Philip*, the continual clamour of the *Athenians* against him, and his dethroning at his pleasure the petty princes of *Thrace*, concurred to make the *Persian* view him in another light. When therefore he led his troops against *Perinthus*, the great king, as he was stiled by the *Greeks*, sent his letters mandatory to the governors of the maritime provinces, directing them to supply the place with all things in their power; in consequence of which they filled it with troops, granted large subsidies in ready money, and sent besides great convoys of provisions and ammunition. The *Byzantines* also, conceiving their own turn would be next, exerted their utmost force for the preservation of *Perinthus*, sending thither the flower of their youth with all other necessaries for an obstinate defence ^e. Thus

^c DEMOSTHEN. ubi supra.

^d PLUT. in vit. Phocion.

^e DIODOR. SIGUL. lib. xvi.

Philip found all this part of the world either open enemies or suspicious friends.

THESE difficulties, which would certainly have made a strong impression on a prince of less firmness or more moderate abilities, served only to stimulate the ambition of the *Macedonian*. As soon therefore as he saw a small breach made in the wall, he proceeded to the attack, and stormed *Perinthus* with a vast effusion of blood on both sides. It is not likely that, with all these advantages, the *Perinthians* would have been able to have sustained many such efforts, if the situation of the city had not proved of greater use to them, than either themselves or *Philip* foresaw. For standing as it did on the side of a hill, and their houses being built with great regularity, every street, with the help of a few works, was converted into a new wall, which, while the besiegers battered, they were exposed to all the shot of the besieged; which, as the houses rose gradually one above another, did prodigious execution. *Philip* seeing this, and being informed by his engineer named *Polindus*, that nothing but time could overcome these difficulties, he instantly bethought himself of a method, whereby he hoped to indemnify his army for their long and great fatigue, though for the present he increased it; for marching suddenly with a great corps of troops, he blocked up *Byzantium*, which as it was in a manner exhausted by the succours sent to *Perinthus*, had well nigh fallen into his hands immediately, and could never have endured a siege even of a moderate length. But while *Philip* dreamt of gaining two cities at a time, he was compelled to leave them both; for *Phocion*, arriving with his fleet, quite changed the face of affairs. The inhabitants of the *Chersonese* declared immediately for the *Athenians*, and *Philip*, seeing all hopes of succeeding taken away, raised both his sieges, and marched off with an army excessively harassed, and not a little dispirited^f. *Phocion* made the best use of his absence, he retook such places as the *Macedonian* had garrisoned, took many of his ships, and by frequent descents raised contributions throughout the maritime provinces of *Macedonia*^g.

THIS reverse of fortune served only to aggrandize the character of *Philip*; he sent immediately to treat of a peace, and that the reputation of his arms might not suffer from his late disappointment, he turned them instantly on a *Scythian*

Philip
compelled
to raise the
sieges of
Perinthus
and *By-*
zantium.
Year of
the Flood
2660.
Before
Christ
339.

Makes
war on the
Scythians
and defeat,
the *Tri-*
balli.

^f PLUTARCH. in vit. *Phocion*. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra
^g DEMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH. PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

prince, who sought to take advantage of his misfortune; and, having totally defeated his forces, made the *Macedonians* rich with their plunder. The *Triballi*, a fierce and barbarous nation, refused him passage through their country, unless he would share with them the spoil he had taken. *Philip*, considering rather the wound his reputation would have received by complying with such a proposition, than the worth of what they required, absolutely rejected their demand, and marched to give them battle. The engagement was obstinate and bloody, and had well-nigh been fatal to the king; for after receiving a wound in his thigh, his horse was killed under him, and himself trampled to the ground. This being perceived by the young *Alexander*, he flew immediately to his assistance, and having covered his father's body with his shield, slew or put to flight such of the *Barbarians* as were got about him. *Philip* being remounted gained a signal victory, and returned into *Macedon*, as he was wont, covered with laurels, and received with loud acclamations, tho' in himself he was much dissatisfied, and began to form new projects for depressing the *Athenians*, who, kept continually warm by the orations of *Demosthenes*, were far from being so ready as they had formerly been to clap up a peace^b.

Philip

succeeds in more insupportable to the subjects of *Philip*; for, as the
his project *Macedonians* were never very powerful at sea, the *Athenians*
of entering now deprived them of all their trade, by keeping continually
 Greece. such squadrons on their coasts, that their vessels durst not
 Year of stir out of port. If *Philip's* design had succeeded in *Thrace*
 the Flood, and on the *Hellepont*, he would have starved *Athens*, her
 2661. provisions as well as her revenues being chiefly drawn from
 Before those countries; the *Athenians* were now even with him
 Chriss, in the same wars, with this unlucky circumstance, that
 338. the king knew not how to relieve himself^c. Yet he
 did not despair; he formed, on the contrary, a project
 of invading *Attica*, though he had no fleet to transport
 his troops, and notwithstanding that he knew well enough the *Thessalians* were not to be depended on, if he attempted to march through the *Pylæ*, and that the *Thebans* would even then be ready to oppose his march. To obviate all these difficulties, he had recourse to *Athens* itself, where, by means of his partizans, he procured *Æschines* his old friend to be sent their deputy to the *Amphictyons*; this seemed a small matter, and yet this was the

^b JUSTIN. lib. ix. c. 3.
 PLUTARCH. in Phocion.

^c DEMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH.

hinge on which his whole project turned. By that time *Æschines* had taken his seat, a question was stirred in the council, whether the *Locrians* of *Amphissa* had not been guilty of sacrilege in plowing the fields of *Cyrrha* in the neighbourhood of the temple at *Delphi*. Sentiments being divided, *Æschines* proposed a view, which was accordingly decreed. But when the *Amphictyons* came in order to see how things stood, the *Locrians*, either jealous of their property, or spurred thereto by the suggestions of some who saw farther than themselves, fell upon these venerable persons so rudely, that they compelled them to secure themselves by flight. The *Amphictyons*, considering this matter in council, decreed, that an army should be raised under the command of one of their own number to chastise the delinquents; but as this army was to be composed of troops sent from all the states of *Greece*, the appearance at the rendezvous was so inconsiderable, that the *Amphictyon* sent to command them durst undertake nothing. The whole matter being reported to the council, *Æschines* in a long and eloquent harangue shewed, how much the welfare and even the safety of *Greece* depended on the reverence paid to their decrees; and after inveighing against the want of public spirit in such as had not sent their quotas at the time appointed by the council, he moved that they should elect *Philip* for their general, and pray him to execute their decree. The deputies from the other states, conceiving that by this expedient their respective constituents would be freed from any farther trouble or expence, came into it at once; whereupon a decree was immediately drawn up, purporting, that ambassadors should be sent to *Philip* of *Macedon* in the name of *Apollo* and the *Amphictyons*, once more to require his assistance, and to notify to him, that the states of *Greece* had unanimously chosen him their general, with full power to act as he thought fit, against such as had opposed the authority of the *Amphictyons* ^k. Thus of a sudden, and before any body foresaw it, *Philip* by this round-about method acquired all that he sought; and having an army ready in expectation of this event, he immediately marched to execute the commands of the *Amphictyons* in all appearance, but in truth to fulfil his own deligns; for having passed into *Greece* with his army, he meddled not with the *Locrians*, but seized immediately *Elatea*, a great city in *Phocis*, on the river

^k PLUTARCH. in Demosthen. & DEMOSTHEN. in Orat. supr. citat.

Cephalus ¹. This amazed all *Greece*, nor was there any body who could pretend to say what step he would take next (H).

The Athenians and Thebans resolve to oppose him.

THE *Athenians* were in the utmost confusion on the news of *Philip's* march; an extraordinary assembly was called, in which the people demanded advice of *Demosthenes* by name. That great orator with much presence of mind exhorted them to send^r ambassadors throughout all *Greece*, but especially to the *Thebans* to engage them to rise at once and oppose the *Macedonian* torrent before it bore down all.

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi. PLUTARCH. in *Phocion*. & *Demosthen*.

(H) This was *Philip's* master-piece; upon this occasion he shewed that he was able to over-reach all the statesmen in *Greece*; for it is morally certain, that if any of the *Grecian* states had suspected his design, they would never have consented to the decree, which gave him a passage into the heart of their country. By seizing *Elatea*, he provided himself the fittest place in the world for his head quarters, since it awed *Boeotia*, and opened him a passage into *Attica*. It is true, the *Thebans* barred his passage, but that was what he could not foresee; for inasmuch as he had done them very considerable services, particularly in the *Phocian* war, he might better have reckoned upon them than upon any of the *Grecians*. These were not the only people who were not over-grateful to the king of *Macedon*; the *Peloponnesians*, for whom he had done much, openly hissed his chariot at the *Olympic* games, offering him thereby the highest affront in the sight of all *Greece*. When it was reported at the court of *Philip*, there wanted not some to declare, that such insolence ought to be chastised; but *Philip*, who was practised in the art of swallowing injuries (32), answered very mildly: *If the Peloponnesians hiss us for doing good turns, what will they not say, if we should do them ill ones* (33)? This calmness of his had its desired effect. His enemies, while they indulged their tongues, never thought of acting to his prejudice: When therefore he seized *Elatea*, they stood amazed, instead of running to arms, and, as if they had been fascinated by the charms of *Philip*, stood gazing on his army, expecting where it would march next. This sight was doubtless as pleasing to *Philip* as his subsequent victory at *Cheronæa*, since it was the avowed maxim of this sagacious monarch, that an advantage gained by policy was more glorious than a conquest by arms, because in the glory of the latter his whole army had a right to share, whereas in respect to the former the same resulting therefrom belonged to himself alone (34).

(32) *Longin. de Sublim. c. 25.*

(33) *Plutarch. in Apophthegm.*

(34) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi. prope fin.*

The people instantly assented, and *Demosthenes* went to *Thebes* at the head of the embassy ^m. *Philip* had sent to the same city *Pytho* as his ambassador; he was a man of great abilities, by birth a *Byzantine*, by his merit a citizen of *Athens*, by choice the minister of *Philip* ⁿ. This orator easily overcame the colleagues of *Demosthenes*; but *Demosthenes* himself who could overcome? His speeches had such an effect on the *Thebans*, that forgetting all the obligations they owed to *Philip*, they considered him no longer as their benefactor, but as one who sought to arrive at the sovereignty of *Greece*. Fired therefore with resentment, they concurred unanimously with the *Athenians*, and concerted with *Demosthenes* the measures proper to be taken in so nice a conjuncture. *Philip*, on the other hand, did not sit still, he sent his ambassadors to *Athens* to treat of peace, and he is said to have engaged the priests at *Delphi* to prophesy nothing but destruction to those who should make war against him. *Demosthenes* defeated both designs, he engaged the *Athenians* not to listen in any degree to his propositions, and encouraged them also to pay no regard to the oracle, by telling them that *Pythia Philipized*. An army was immediately raised, which marched with incredible diligence to *Eleusis*, where they were joined by the *Thebans*, who shewed a laudable zeal for the liberty of *Greece*. The confederates made the greatest appearance that had ever been seen in *Greece*, and the troops were without doubt exceedingly good, but, unfortunately generals were wanting. *Chares*, that scandal to his country, and *Lysicles*, a man without conduct, commanded the *Athenians*; the *Thebans* were without any general of note; however, they prepared for a battle, which all circumstances considered, could not but be decisive ^o.

Philip, when he found his arts defeated, and that all his negotiations could not hinder this extraordinary junction, ^{And are} resolved as his last resource to have recourse to an engagement. ^{defeated at} *Cheronæa*. Thus determined, he advanced to *Cheronæa*, in the neighbourhood of which city the confederates were encamped. The next day, by that time the sun was up, both armies were in the field. The king gave the command of the left wing to his son *Alexander*, then about nineteen years of age; but he placed about him his most experienced generals to prevent any accident his extraordinary courage, unsustain-

^m DEMOSTHEN. PRO CTESIPH. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

ⁿ DEMOSTHEN. Orat. pro. Coron.

^o DIODOR. SICUL.

ubi supra. THEOPOMP. apud. PLUT. in Demosthen. DEMOSTHEN. ubi supra.

ed by experience, might draw on him. The right he commanded in person. On the other side, the *Athenians* were on the left, the *Thebans* on the right. *Alexander* began the charge, and his troops seconded his ardor with an alacrity conformable to his wishes. The sacred band of the *Thebans*, however, made a steady and gallant resistance^p. The *Athenians* in the mean time had the better on the left, and having pushed the enemy from their ground, *Lyficles* their general had the imprudence to cry aloud, *Come on, my fellow soldiers, let us drive these cowards to Macedon*. On which the *Athenians* losing all order rushed on to the pursuit. *Philip*, who saw and heard this from the side of a hill, whereon his phalanx remained in excellent order, said coldly to those who were near him, *These Athenians don't know how to conquer*^q. Then bearing down upon them, all in confusion as they were, he obtained an easy, though a very bloody, victory; a thousand *Athenians* being slain on the spot. At the same time, and with a like effusion of blood, *Alexander* triumphed over the *Thebans*: Thus the confederates were totally overthrown, and the authority of *Philip* effectually established. *Demosthenes*, who had been so instrumental in bringing the *Athenians* and *Thebans* into the field, was there in person; but it seems he wanted military courage, for in the beginning of the rout he threw away his shield and betook himself to flight. We are farther told, that a stake catching hold of his robe as he fled, he, not doubting but it was an enemy, cried out, *Alas! spare my life*^r. On his return to *Athens*, he was well received, though *Lyficles* was put to death. As to *Philip*, in the first transport of his joy, he behaved very ridiculously; he caused the decree of *Demosthenes* to be sung in his presence, spoke contemptibly of the powers of *Greece*, and insulted his prisoners, till *Demades* the *Athenian* brought him to his senses, by telling him, *Heaven, O king, hath assigned thee the part of Agamemnon, and thou wilt needs play that of Therfites*^t (I). It was the peculiar felicity of this prince, that

^p DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. OROS. lib. iii. ^q POLYÆN. Stratagem. lib. iv. ARRIAN. lib. vii. ^r PLUTARCH. in vit. dec. Orat. ^t DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

(I) We need not wonder at *Philip's* intemperate joy on account of his victory. Heroes and kings are the greatest of men, but they are still men. *Demosthenes*, who alone preserved his courage, when *Thebes* and *Athens* were struck with terror, lost it when he came to engage those *Macedonians*, against whom he made it the

that he would hear advice, and receive those things kindly which to monarchs of a weaker brain would have sounded like treason. He instantly ordered *Demades* to be released, esteemed him as his friend, and loaded him with benefits ever after. His conversation, *Diodorus* tells us, gave *Philip* so high a relish of the *Athenian* civility, that he dismissed all his prisoners. But when they afterwards demanded their baggage, though he granted their request, he could not help saying, *These men, I believe, do not think we fought in earnest*. The reflection of *Polybius* on this act of clemency ought ever to accompany its recital, since it is no less honourable to its author, than the act itself was to *Philip*. By this, says that polite *Grecian*, he gained a second victory more glorious than his former; for whereas at *Cheronæa* he triumphed only over such *Athenians* as opposed him, he now vanquished the whole city.

† *PLUT.* in *Apophtheg.* *DIONOR. SICUL.* ubi supra. † *POLYB.* lib. v.

business of his life to excite enemies and raise armies. *Philip*, so wise in his designs, so cool in the execution of them, could not behold this success without transports. When the news of *Philip's* death reached *Athens*, *Demosthenes* put on a garland and appeared publicly in pomp, though his daughter was but just dead. He did that for the death of *Philip*, which *Philip* had done for the political death of *Athens*; both were mad from the same motive, and both, if either, were excusable alike (35). It is indeed alledged in favour of *Philip*, that his senses were overcome with wine; but methinks the joy of his victory might intoxicate him sufficiently. He had good sense enough to foresee that he should fight no more battles against *Greeks*; that this victory would establish the pre-eminence of *Macedon*, and leave him at liberty to pursue those vast designs he had formed. But if all that has been said will not wipe off the stain of his intemperance on this occasion, his future conduct ought to obliterate it; he buried the *Athenians* who fell in the battle honourably, and on all occasions afterwards acknowledged them to be the bravest and politest people in *Greece*. Nay, he was wont to do justice to the merit of *Demosthenes*, at whom when some of his courtiers were railing, *Let the man speak freely*, said *Philip*, *since he is not in our pay, though we would gladly give him a larger appointment than to any of our household* (36). At another time, speaking of the different kinds of eloquence, *Isocrates*, said he, *fences with a foil, but Demosthenes with a sword* (37). 'Tis plain, that if *Philip* had vices and follies, he had also many good qualities, and much good sense.

(35) *Plutarch. in vit. Demosthen.* *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*

(36) *Lucian. in laud. Demosthen.*

Isæo. Liban. in Demosthen.

(37) *Diomys. Halicarn. in*

He carried his moderation still farther; for he concluded a peace with *Athens* on their own terms, and leaving a good garrison in *Thebes* did the rest of the *Bæotians* no manner of hurt.

The consequences of this victory.

THUS *Philip* of *Macedon*, with an army of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, effected what *Xerxes* with his millions attempted in vain. He attained by one victory the sovereignty of *Greece*, though it cost the *Greeks* many to establish its liberty. He did not indeed disturb his countrymen with the rattling of their chains; but when there was a necessity, he did not spare to shew them that he was, and would be, their master. The *Athenians* in the mean time acted as they were wont, that is, violently and beyond all bounds of reason. They cried up the virtue of *Demosthenes* to the stars, they inveighed loudly against such as had any share in betraying *Greece*, they interred those who were slain at *Cheronæa* at the public expence. *Demosthenes* published their virtues in a funeral oration, and, if we may be allowed to express our sentiments in a metaphor, they shewed by the solemnity of its interment what a high value they set upon their liberty^w. The rest of the *Greeks* did not either so readily perceive, or did not think it prudent so publicly to lament, the change which this expedition had made in their affairs; instead of deploring their servitude, they rejoiced in the lenity of their sovereign, and seemed rather to regard the greatness of *Philip* as due to his merit, than acquired by his arts and arms.

Philip chosen generalissimo of the Greeks against the Persians.

We are now to behold the king of *Macedon* in a new light; hitherto we have seen him struggling with his neighbours, courting the *Athenians*, and practising as the times required with the other states of *Greece*. He was now lord of all, and the use he made of his power was to convoke a general assembly of the *Greeks*, wherein he was recognized generalissimo, and with full power appointed their leader against the *Persians*. Having by virtue of his authority settled a general peace amongst them, and appointed the quota which each of the states should furnish for the war, he dismissed them, and returning into *Macedon* began to make great preparations for this new expedition; an expedition which, beside the ancient hatred of the *Greeks* towards the barbarians, occasioned by the injuries received from them, he coloured with a new pretence relating particularly to himself, viz. the assistance given by the *Persian* to the cities of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*^x.

^w PLUTARCH. in Demosthen. DEMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH.
^x ALEXAND. ad Dar. ap. ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 14.

FROM the very time that *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, its inhabitants had projected a return of his visit, not in a piratical way, by making descents on his sea-coasts, for that they did immediately after they had driven him back into *Asia* ; but with a view of making an absolute conquest of his dominions, or at least so much of them as might suit them best ; of this we have seen already, that one of the *Spartan* kings had some thoughts, and actually gave ear to a plan laid before him for that purpose^a. One of his successors, *Agésilæus*, carried it still farther, and with an inconsiderable army gave law to the lieutenants of the great king. It is true, *Agésilæus* did not openly profess a design of conquering the whole empire, but that he really intended no less may be gathered from his affecting to sacrifice in the same manner with *Agamemnon*, when he went upon his expedition, and his reply to one who called the *Persian* emperor, as the *Greeks* were wont, the great king. In what, said *Agésilæus*, is he greater than I, if he be not braver or better. His sacrificing shewed, that he meant to emulate *Agamemnon*, who did not harass but subvert *Troy*, and his apophthegm, that he desired to make himself equal to him who was called the great king^a. *Jason* of *Thessaly* is thought to have been meditating the same thing when his thread of life was abruptly cut off through a domestic conspiracy^b. *Philip* seemed to have entered upon this momentous conquest with more probable and auspicious hopes ; he was by common consent elected general of *Greece*, and he had so effectually humbled the *Grecians*, that he had reason to expect they would obey him ; he had besides a numerous, well-disciplin'd, and victorious army, and, which might be justly reckoned his peculiar felicity, able and faithful ministers, brave and experienced officers : At the head of the former stood *Antipater*, whose character might have taken up a page, if his master had not summed it up in a line ; having risen later than usual one morning, he said, rubbing his eyes at his levee, *I have slept soundly to day, for I knew Antipater was waking* c. This was an eulogium worthy of the prince and of his minister ; yet *Alexander* described him better, when it was observed to him, that all his lieutenants except *Antipater* wore purple ; true, said he, but *Antipater is all purple within* d. In short, he was a man of prodigious abilities, but made no display of them. And, as his master rightly depicted him,

^a PLUT. in vit. Aristid. CORN. NEPOS, in vit Pausan. Thucyd. lib i. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xi. ^a HERODOT. lib vi. ^a PLUTARCH. in vit. Agesil. & in Apophtheg ^b DIODOR. SICUL lib. xv. ^c PLUTARCH. Apophthegm. ^d DIODOR. SICUL lib. xvii.

was alike aspiring in his thoughts, and humble in his manners. *Parmenio* was of another cast, *Philip*, the best judge in *Greece*, had pronounced him *the only general he ever met with* ^e. *Parmenio* returned his master's compliment upon another occasion, in a manner which shewed the penetration of a statesman and the frankness of a soldier. The ambassadors of the *Grecian* states expressed some uneasiness, that *Philip* came not out earlier in the morning. *Be quiet, gentlemen*, said *Parmenio*, *for while you slept he was waking*. *Antipater* would have thought this, but only *Parmenio* would have said it, who as he conceived justly is remarkably famous for speaking freely, which under *Philip* procured him the highest honours, under *Alexander* a violent death; such was the state of things in *Greece* and in the court of *Philip*, when he projected the conquest of *Asia* ^t (K).

How

• PLUTARCH. Apophthegm. † DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi.

(K) We have in the text attempted to make some discovery of those motives which induced *Philip* to undertake the conquest of the *Persian* empire. It may not, however, be amiss to put the reader in mind, that the *Persians*, by their foolish attempt to conquer *Greece*, had first inspired the *Greeks* with a thirst of conquering them, and by their subsequent proceedings cherished and kept up that desire, either thro' want of foresight, or from a fatal necessity. We do not mean by this any enevitable destiny, but such a necessity as is the constant attendant on imprudence and luxury: When governors, either through want of thought, or which is often the case, from a wrong turn of thought, suffer those of whom they have the care to sink into all the excesses of debauchery, they must not expect from these weak and effeminate men either generous thoughts, or gallant actions. When a people become slaves to their lusts, they are in the fairest train imaginable of becoming slaves to their neighbours. Politicians may for a time indeed ward off the blow; but how? Why, by making use of mercenary troops. Thus the cowardly spendthrift pays a bully to fight his quarrels, and when he pays him no longer, is beaten by him himself. This was the fate of the *Persians*; they hired *Greek* troops, maintained them in the exercise of their discipline, made them perfectly acquainted with their country and their manners, suffered them to see and to consider those errors in their government, which made it in spite of its grandeur appear contemptible; and then those very *Greeks* on their return home were continually prompting their countrymen to go and pull down that empire whose weight scarce permitted it to stand. If the *Persian* emperors had always encouraged feuds in *Greece*, the *Greeks* could never have turned their arms upon them; for we see, that till one state subdued the rest, an expedition into *Asia* might be talked of, but could not be executed. Instead of this,

How great soever he appeared there, how happy soever *Dissensions* he might be here ; in his family, he was not only uneasy, but *in Philip's* miserable. His wife *Olympias* was the daughter of *Neoptole-* *family.* *mus*, brother of *Arymbas*, king of *Epirus*, whom *Philip* raised to a participation in the kingdom ; his son *Alexander*, by the favour of the same monarch, was raised to the sole possession of the throne to the prejudice of *Æacidas* the son of *Arymbas* ; all which testifies how great a share *Olympias* once had in the affection of her husband. She was a woman of a high spirit, great abilities, a fine address, much cunning, and has been terribly wronged, if she had not more intrigues than that with *Jupiter*, to which *Alexander* sought to ascribe his birth^g. The reader must remember, that *Philip* in his letter to the *Athenians*, speaks with great heat of their seizing his herald, taking from him his letters, and reading them in a public assembly, in which if they shewed their disrespect to *Philip*, they shewed at the same time a high regard to *Olympias*, to whom they sent a packet of letters taken at the same time without presuming to open them^h. How this lady embroiled herself with her husband might be somewhat mysterious even in those days ; at present it is impossible to give a very distinct account of it. Whatever it was, the king was so extremely offended with her, that he proceeded to a repudiation, and married *Cleopatra* the niece of *Attalus*ⁱ. This conduct of his, added to some other slights, either real or so conceived, inspired *Alexander* with a warm dislike of his father ; and as young princes have seldom prudence enough to conceal their

^g JUSTIN. l. viii. c. 6. ^h PLUT. in vit. Demet. ⁱ DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ARRIAN. in præfat. expedit. Alex.

this, the necessity I before-mentioned compelled the *Persian* to compose the quarrels of the *Grecians*, that they might furnish him with troops. Peace enervated the *Greeks*, the facility of recruiting their mercenaries made the *Persians* neglect all martial discipline. In the mean time *Philip*, blessed with an excellent education, exercised with early troubles, endued with invincible fortitude, and full of restless ambition, raised the nation he governed from an indigent and dependent state to be first the terror of its neighbours, then the mistress of *Greece*, last of all a match for *Persia*. On this foundation stands the fame of *Philip* ; these were the causes of his being in a condition to pass into *Asia* ; and these the sources of that weakness and inability to resist, which afterwards appeared, in the *Persian* administration (37)

(37) *Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. in expedit. Alex. Remarques de M. Turreil sur les Philippiques.*

sentiments,

sentiments, he gave evident tokens of it, infomuch, that the whole court knew and observed it. An accident happened which put all things into a flame. At the nuptial feast, *Attalus*, the young queen's uncle, was so unpolite as to tell the king in the hearing of his son, that his *Macedonians* hoped he would give them now a lawful heir to the throne. *Alexander* in the heat of his resentment cried out, *What then, rascal, do you take me for a bastard?* And, while he spoke, threw a flaggon at his head. *Attalus* returned the compliment in the same way, and the king, extremely provoked at this disturbance, drew his sword, and, forgetting that he was a cripple, hastily made towards his son; but in his passage fell down, which gave the courtiers time to get between them. *Alexander* rising up, and forgetting that he to whom he spoke was both his father and his prince, had the assurance to say in quitting the room, *The Macedonians are likely to conquer Asia, when led out of Europe by a prince who cannot go from one table to another, without hazarding his neck.* He rightly conjectured, that it would not, after this, be proper for him to remain in *Macedon*, where his father *Philip* was both revered and beloved; he therefore retired with his mother into *Epirus* ^k (L).

A little

[^k PLUT. in vit. Alex. ARRIAN. I. iii. c. 6.

(L) *Philip's* greatest fault was his proneness to feasting and flattery. If we may believe a certain author, he made one of his flatterers, whose name was *Thrasidæus*, king in *Thessaly*, merely because he had a happy way of making his compliments. *Neoptolemus*, the *Athenian* poet, was at once his favourite and the chief manager of his affairs in that city. At this time of day a poet would be thought a very indifferent agent in politics; but it was quite otherwise at *Athens*. That writer knew how to manage the people so well, that he gave umbrage to *Demosthenes*, who failed not to raise a spirit of persecution against him, which constrained the poet to retire to *Macedon*, where he was extremely well received by *Philip*, and became the darling of the whole court (38). When his affairs required it, the king was patient, abstemious, and attentive to every thing; when they allowed of relaxation, he made great entertainments, drank hard, and talked very freely with his friends. It would have been well if nothing worse than freedom had mingled in his feasts; but, it is said, they were polluted with every kind of vice, and all the various debaucheries, which the most sensual wits could devise (39); yet it must be allowed, that,

(38) *Orat. pro pac. Joseph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 7.*
ap Athen. Deipnos l. vi.

(39) *Theopomp.*

A little after these disturbances at court, *Damaratus* the *Philip re-*
Corinthian, who had been *Philip's* host, and who lived with *calls his son.*
 him, not only in the strictest friendship, but with the greatest
 familiarity, came to make him a visit. When the first com-
 pliments were over, *Philip* asked him, If all things were quiet
 in *Greece*? *You have reason, Sir,* returned he, *to trouble yourself*
about the peace of Greece; you who have filled your own family
*with noise and dissention*¹. The king, who, tho' he liked
 flattery, loved truth, received this reproof as kindly as it was
 meant, immediately made up the breach between himself and
 his son, and thereby recalled *Alexander* to court. It is not
 clear, whether the king of *Epirus* engaged heartily in his sis-
 ter's quarrel or not. In all probability he temporized with
Philip, who in a short time after gave him his daughter *Cleo-*
patra in marriage, with an intent, it is likely, to preserve all
 things in quiet during his absence. It is time now to return
 to public affairs.

As *Philip* piqued himself on bearing the character of a reli- *Prepares*
 gious prince, he sent deputies to consult the oracle at *Delphi* for the *war*
 as to the success of the *Persian* war. *Pythia* returned for an- *in Persia.*
 swer a single line in verse, in *English* thus;

The ox's destin'd head now wreaths in thral,
To slaughter doom'd, and quickly shall he fall.

The king when he received this response, immediately con-
 jectured, that it portended his leading the *Persian* king as a vic-
 tim to be offered to the *Grecian* gods^m. But when the event
 shewed that he was mistaken, others held that to be clearly

¹ PLUT. ubi supra.

^m DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

in his graver moments, *Philip* saw the folly of this, and reflected
 severely enough on the inequality of his own conduct. He would
 often say, *That he was obliged to Messieurs the speech makers of Athens*
for pointing out his faults, and thereby giving him an opportunity to
amend them (40). Indeed he always heard reproofs, not only with
 patience, but with pleasure, and shewed, upon every occasion, a
 strong inclination to reward such as put him upon doing right.
 Once at a public sale of captives, a poor man, approaching the
 tribunal, whispered in his ear, *Sir, it would be more decent if you*
let your robe fall lower. Here, cried *Philip*, *set me this man at li-*
berly; I did not know he was my friend (41). The regard we owe
 to truth obliges us to record these things.

(40) Plut. in *Apophthegm.*

(41) Plut. ubi supra.

pointed

pointed out, which had been utterly unsuspected before (M). *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, who with an excellent corps of troops were detached to open the war, had orders given them to set the *Grecian* cities at liberty; for how much soever *Philip* might be esteemed a tyrant at *Athens*, he affected to pass for a lover of liberty at home, requiring that as a just respect from others, which the *Athenians* called a slavish submission. Without question the *Greek* cities, whose inhabitants had so readily libelled him, when *Phocion* forced him to raise the sieges of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*, were now as ready to load him with panegyrics, since they were entirely at his mercy, the *Athenians* having it neither in their power nor their will to afford them now any kind of assistance; on the contrary, *Athens* herself at this time sought to sooth the victor, and began, with

(M) There is no subject that hath been oftener treated, and remains yet less clear, than this of oracles and their responses. Some, struck with particular instances of the correspondence between their answers and the events which followed them, have been led to confess, that there were in them undeniable marks of supernatural assistance (42). Others, fixing their eyes on the many instances of doubtful, and even false, responses which are recorded in history, have attributed the whole to priestcraft, and have excluded the devil's having any further share in the answers of the oracles, than he may claim as the patron of fraud and the father of lies (43). We do not pretend to unravel in a note a knot twisted by so many volumes; on the contrary, we shall confine ourselves to the response mentioned in the text, and shall propose to the learned some difficulties which have occurred to us, and which, we cannot think, can be resolved by either of these systems. *Philip* had been, in a particular manner, the protector of the temple at *Delphi*; if therefore any dæmon delighted in the worship offered to him there, why did he not give this royal friend of his a fairer caution? Or, if the oracle was a mere engine of priestcraft, and, as *Demosthenes* alledged, had by this time learned to *philippize*, how came he to give such a response, as particularly enough pointed out, not only *Philip's* sudden death, but the very manner of it? It should seem, that a verse might easily have been contrived to have spoke the future success of *Philip*, without wearing that cloudy aspect, which was evident in the verse delivered. We shall enter no farther into this matter here; but when we come to speak expressly of the methods in use among the *Greeks* for penetrating into the mysteries of providence, we shall shew, that *Chance* was chiefly relied on in these cases, and that the clearness in some instances, the doubtfulness in others, and the falshood in many, resulted intirely from hence, and from nothing else.

(42) *Delrio, More, Beauchamp, &c.*

(43) *Van Dale, Fontenelle, &c.*

the rest of *Greece*, to *philippize*, as *Demosthenes* emphatically called it. Indeed *Philip* had been very kind to them, giving up the places they so much desired in *Eubæa*, and removing as far as was consistent with his own safety, whatever might be grievous to them, or afford them apprehensions. They seemed also to be highly pleased with the expedition he was about to take, and sent their deputies to compliment him upon that occasion. The rest of the *Grecian* states did the same thing; so that *Philip* had now need of a second monitor. He had already appointed one of his pages to salute him every morning with this sober compliment, *Philip, remember thou art a mortal*; a caution, which, as we shall see, he forgot long before night, being in himself much addicted to pleasure; tho', when it was necessary, no one was more indefatigable in business. Amongst the rest of his cares, that of making his family easy gave him a good deal of concern. He had not only a young wife, whom he had lately married, but several concubines also, by whom he had children. *Alexander* was very jealous of these, and *Philip* no less uneasy at his jealousy; he sought, however, to sooth him; and when the prince would sometimes break out into harsh expressions, *Philip* would say, *Be patient, my son, and let my having other children engage you to act in such a manner, as that the preference I give you may appear the effect of your own merit rather than of my choice* (N). To quiet also the relations and friends of *Olympias*,

(N) It may be justly said, that *Philip* was a better father than *Alexander* proved a son. As soon as the young man was capable of instruction in the sciences, *Philip* put him under the care of *Aristotle*, from whom, such was that monarch's modesty, he was contented to receive lessons in government himself. The king formed the design of educating his son thus on his very birth. Here is his letter to *Aristotle* on the occasion, alike concise and inimitable; "You are to know I have a son. I thank the gods for it; not so much for that they have given me one, as that he is born cotemporary with *Aristotle*. I promise myself, from your care, he will become worthy of succeeding us and of ruling *Macedon*" (44)". We have given some instances of his care of that young prince's person, of his concern for his reputation at the battle of *Cheronæa*, and of his desire to infuse into him noble and heroic principles. To these let us add, that tho' *Philip*, as a politician, had a great opinion of the force of gold, and was wont to say, that no city was impregnable, through the gates of which an ass laden with that metal could pass, tho' he was addicted to the retaining

(44) *Aul. Gel. l. ix. c. 3.*

pias, the king of *Macedon* thought it necessary to celebrate, in a public and splendid manner, the marriage between her brother *Alexander* and his daughter *Cleoptara*. He accordingly appointed *Ægæ* for the place wherein this solemnity should be performed, and also signified, that there, for the last time, he would regale the *Greek* ambassadors, before he marched into *Asia*. The concourse on this occasion was prodigious, not only the *Macedonians*, but all the *Grecian* states, striving to outvie each other in expressions of zeal and friendship, towards *Philip* and his government. Amongst the rest the *Athenians*, always ingenious in flattery, sent him a gold crown, which, when presented by their minister, he also declared, that if any plotter of treason against *Philip* should, for the future, endeavour to shelter himself in *Athens*, he should immediately be delivered up. The king was mightily pleased with this, and no less delighted with a dramatic entertainment composed by *Neoptolemus* the *Athenian*, a famous tragic poet and highly in *Philip's* favour. The title of this piece was *Cinyras*; and it was intended to represent the king as having already triumphed over the *Persian*, and made himself lord of *Asia*. The following lines, representing the pride of those antient enemies of *Greece*, particularly affected *Philip*, insomuch, that he caused them to be more than once repeated.

*Your tow'ring hopes above heaven's concave stray,
O'er all the globe of earth you seek to sway;
Palace to palace join, and, madly vain,
Think that no bounds should life or lands restrain.*

pensioners in every state, and also lavish of his money to domestic flatterers, yet he checked this humour as soon as he perceived it in his son. He wrote him a letter on the subject, full of excellent philosophy: "How came you, young man, said he, to reason so wretchedly with yourself, as to fancy those will serve you faithfully, whom daily you corrupt with money? Do you this, that the *Macedonians* may hereafter take you not for their king, but for their steward or pay-master? If you discharge these offices well, you must make but a pitiful prince. They are spoiled who take gifts, by being taught thereby a habit of taking (45)". Thus, as a father, he endeavoured to eradicate those vices, which he practised and boasted of as a prince. Perhaps he thought them lawful, or at least more excuseable, when done from political motives, than when springing from an idle inclination of wasting and throwing away.

(45) *Cicero de Offic. l. ii.*

*Alas! that lot, which ye wou'd far remove,
 With hasty step, your constancy shall prove.
 Secure in thought, a stroke doth now impend,
 Which to extended views shall give an end;
 Sudden and sure it falls, nor shall your pow'r defend*.*

}

The correspondence between the response of the oracle and this prediction of the poet gave *Philip* an unusual confidence, and spread an air of joy and satisfaction through the greatest part of his court. Some, it is said, there were, who suffered themselves to doubt of these omens; they thought the answer of the oracle equivocal; they held the compliment of the *Athenian* ambassador portentive of some secret conspiracy; they conceived those lines, which so much moved the king, descriptive, not so much of the *Persian* state, as of his own. Whether these conjectures were made before the king's death is a little uncertain; if they were, certain it is, that they were well grounded; for a plot there was against the king's life, a plot as dark in its circumstances as in its nature. We are indebted to *Diodorus* for the fullest account of it; and from him therefore we shall take it (O).

THERE

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

(O) We have different accounts of the manner in which *Pausanias* was injured. Some say, that *Attalus* himself abused him at a feast, and afterwards prostituted him to the rest of the guests (46). However it was, *Attalus* without question was much to blame, and so also was *Philip*, in not doing justice upon the complaint of *Pausanias*. On another occasion he shewed himself remiss in the same way, and was recalled to his duty by the quick answer of a poor woman. She had offered him a petition several times, and as often had been told, that he had not leisure to hear her. At last stung with this ill usage, she could not forbear replying, *If you have not leisure to do justice, be no longer a king*. The propriety of this reproof was at that time so visible to *Philip*, that he immediately heard her complaint, and redressed it. Happy had it been for this monarch, if the good woman's logic had made a deeper impression on his heart. Certain it is, that a politician could not have made a nicer distinction than this, *that a denial of justice is an abdication of magistracy* (46). At other times *Philip* was more strict, and would not sacrifice his duty to his passions. His courtiers once pressed him vehemently to interpose in favour of a man who was

(46) *Plut. in Apophthegm.*

*Pausanias
conspires
against
him.*

THERE were in the court of *Macedon* two young men of quality of the same name, viz. *Pausanias*. One of these was in great favour with the king, who treated him with such indulgence and familiarity, that it began to be suspected the king's inclination for him transgressed both the bounds of reason and of nature. This had reached the ear of the other *Pausanias*, who, having frequent quarrels with the favourite, was wont, by way of reproach, to call him *either sex*. The lad, stung with this terrible outrage, addressed himself to *Attalus* one of the king's friends, and whose niece *Cleopatra* he afterwards married, shewing him how he had been insulted, and wishing for some opportunity to wipe off the stain. Some time after this, in a general engagement against the *Illyrians*, this *Pausanias* fighting near the king, and perceiving that the enemy directed against him a shower of arrows, threw himself before his master, and received them into his own body, falling immediately afterwards dead upon the spot. The extraordinary courage of the youth, his fidelity, and the manner of his death, made him much spoken of. *Attalus* thought fit to inform the king of the cause from whence the young man grew desperate; he also took it into his head to revenge him upon the other *Pausanias*; which he did in a manner alike cruel and detestable. He invited him to an entertainment, and having taken care to drink him down, he exposed him, when void of sense, to the lust of his grooms, who abused him according to their beastly appetites. *Pausanias*, who was an *Orestian* by birth, and had all the haughtiness natural to his countrymen, applied himself frequently to the king, passionately demanding justice against *Attalus*. That monarch, always partial to his friends, and especially to the uncle of his young wife, put him off with good words; and, in order to make him forget his disgrace, made him captain of his guards. Herein he greatly mistook the temper of *Pausanias*, who was not to be wrought upon by such methods. Instead of growing easier he became more impatient, and, from hating *At-*

on the point of being condemned; and they gave this reason for it, *because, if judgment went against him, all the world would decry him. Very well, said Philip, I had rather the world should decry him than me* (47). *Attalus*, it seems, had a better interest than this man; but his interest cost *Philip* dear. His death however, ought to be a lesson to princes, and teach them, that injustice begets injustice; which therefore they should be afraid to commit, because it is the only means by which themselves can suffer.

(47) *Plut ubi supra.*

talus,

Attalus, began more grievously to hate the king. It happened, while he was in this sullen disposition, that conversing one day with *Hermocrates* the sophist, he put to him this question, *What must he do who would be famous?* He must, replied *Hermocrates*, kill him who has done the greatest things; for when the fame of him whom he slew shall make him often remembered, that remembrance will of course lead to the mention of him who slew him. *Pausanias*, after meditating some time longer on his own wrongs and the sophist's advice, came at last to a resolution of killing the king, in hopes thereby of restoring that reputation which *Attalus* had taken away from him; a strange resolution this! and a strong testimony of the weakness of human reason, both in the sage and in his disciple! A bad resolution is always easier executed than amended. *Pausanias*, having directed horses to be placed for him at the gates of the city, contrived within himself how to dispatch *Philip*, and afterwards how to preserve himself. These things busied his mind, while the king was taken up with the solemnities of which we have before given an account. We come now to the accomplishment of *Pausanias*'s plot, and the last scene of the king's life ⁿ.

THE next day, after the open audience of the ambassadors of *Greece*, *Philip* went in state to the theatre, where certain shews were to be exhibited in honour of his daughter's marriage. All the seats were early taken up, and the shews began with a splendid procession, wherein the images of the twelve superior deities of *Greece* were carried, as also the image of *Philip*, habited in like manner, as if he now made up the thirteenth. At this the people, who, as the humour takes them, readily make a man either a god or a devil, shouted aloud. Then came *Philip* alone, in a white robe, crowned, his guards at a considerable distance, that the *Greeks* might see he placed his safety not in them, but in the loyalty of the people. *Pausanias* had fixed himself by the door of the theatre, and, observing that all things fell out as he had foreseen they would, took his opportunity, when the king drew near him, to draw his sword from under his garment, and plunging it into his left side, laid him dead at his feet. He then fled as fast as his feet could carry him to the place where his horses were, and had escaped, if the twig of a vine had not caught his shoe, and thrown him down. This gave *Attalus*, *Perdiccas*, and *Leonatus*, who pursued him time to come up with him. *Perdiccas* threw himself on the assassin first, and wounded

Philip
murdered.
Year of
the Flood,
2663.
Before
Christ,
336.

ⁿ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

him with his sword, and then the rest quickly put an end to his life *. Thus fell this great prince by the hand of his own subject, not without strong suspicions, that *Olympias* and *Alexander* were not altogether ignorant of his death, being about forty seven years of age, and having reigned twenty four (P).

WE

* ARIST. Polit. l. v. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ZONAR. Annal. Tom. x. JOSEPH. l. xi. c. 7. JUSTIN. l. ix. OROS. l. iii.

(P) The deaths of kings, especially when violent, are usually attended with mysterious circumstances. From the account given above, it seems, as if *Pausanias* had, out of a mad pique, murdered his sovereign, without consulting any but his passions, and the sophist *Hermocrates* indirectly; yet, as we have hinted above, suspicions have not been wanting, that tho' the arm of *Pausanias* dispatched *Philip*, yet it received its direction from other minds than his own. If this had been only a flying rumour, or the suggestion of a single or suspicious historian, it would not have deserved a place here; but the fact is otherwise, and we shall shew from indubitable authorities, that *Philip* lost his life by a conspiracy, and not merely from the malice of *Pausanias*. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, judged to be in truth the son of *Philip*, who was the bosom confidant of *Alexander*, and afterwards king of *Egypt*, wrote the history of *Alexander's* reign. From this history *Arrian* chiefly took his; and in his history we have a letter from *Alexander* to *Darius*, wherein the former, setting forth the causes of the war, hath these remarkable words; *My father was slain by traitors, whom you had hired for that purpose, as you have publicly boasted in your letters* (48). The fact is now clearly established, that a conspiracy there was, which wrought the death of *Philip*. We can also name some of the conspirators, viz. the sons of *Eropus* the *Lyncestean*, *Alexander*, *Amyntas*, *Heromenes*, and *Arrabæus* (49). Of these *Amyntas* fled to *Darius*, and actually fought against *Alexander* at the battle of *Iffus*. As to the suspicion which tell on *Alexander*, it seems to have taken rise from two causes; the first, his embroiling himself with his father on account of his mother *Olympias*, which we have heretofore mentioned. This quarrel, it seems, went so far, that several persons of distinction, who were deep in *Alexander's* interest, were forced to quit *Macedon*, and durst not return till after the death of *Philip*: particularly *Harpalus* *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, *Nearchus*, and *Erigyus* and *Laomedon* brothers (50); all of whom were in high favour with *Alexander* afterwards. The second cause of sus-

(48) *Arrian*. l. ii. c. xiv.
Curt. l. iv.

(49) *Idem*, l. i. c. 25.

(50)

picion

WE ought now, according to the established method of *His* *cha-*
 historians, to enter into the character of this monarch, whose *rafter*.
 actions and whose death we have recorded ; but we have
 already taken so many opportunities of illustrating the recital
 of events during his reign, by manifesting their motives and
 consequences, not from conjecture, or to gratify a partiality
 which too frequently grows on writers, in favour of those of
 whom they write, but to render the narration clear ; that on
 this account therefore we have the less to say here, and shall
 content ourselves with a very short portrait of this glorious
 prince, of whom it may be reckoned his peculiar felicity,
 that he has been always most admired by the most knowing.
Philip of Macedon then was in the cabinet by very much the
 most sagacious prince of his time. He had a perfect idea of
 the state of his own country, the condition of *Greece*, and
 the weakness of the *Persian* empire. He was secret, with-
 out affecting closeness ; eloquent, without either being ready
 to speak or vain of speaking ; obliging in his deportment as a
 king, and yet never departing from the king in any act of
 complaisance. In the field he was in all things a complete
 general, an expert engineer, an indefatigable soldier. He stu-
 died war as an art, and acted as coolly in an engagement, as
 if he had been only attending to a praxis on the lessons he

picion resulted from *Alexander's* behaviour after his father's death ;
 for notwithstanding *Amyntas* the son of *Æropus* fled into *Asia*, and
 it was known that himself and his brethren were in the conspiracy
 against the king, yet he not only pardoned *Alexander* one of the
 brothers, on the slight pretence that he was the first who saluted
 him king, but made him afterwards general of his horse ; which
 had well nigh proved fatal to him ; for, as we shall see hereafter,
Alexander conspired against him too, and sought to deprive him at
 once both of life and kingdom. There is one circumstance more
 that deserves mention on this subject ; and it is this. *Alexander*,
 when he visited the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, inquired of the
 oracle, if all his father's murderers had been punished (51) ? To
 which the oracle answered in the affirmative ; but as every body
 knows there was no credit given to what passed at this interview,
 this question recoils upon him who put it ; the rather, because if
 the oracle really made that answer, it was certainly false, *Alexan-*
der the son of *Æropus*, who was a confederate in that business, be-
 ing at that time alive. There is this however, to be said for the
 oracle, that *Alexander* alone consulted it, and in justification of his
 own character, might report what answer he pleased (52).

(51) *Idem* *ibid.*
in vit. Alexand.

(52) *Arrian. l. iii. c. 3. Curt. l. iv. Plut.*

had given his soldiers. His discipline was strict, but without severity, which he effected by treating all who served under him with familiarity; whereby he convinced them of the necessity of order, which he exacted not more for his own service than for their safety. He was not so much the commander in the camp, as the father of those who were in it, the meanest of whom he treated upon all occasions with the endearing titles of comrade and fellow-soldier. If a private man distinguished himself, *Philip* personally praised and rewarded him; if he grew old, he provided for him; if he fell in the field he was interred with honour, and his family taken care of. In private life there was no man more affable, chearful, or kinder to his friends than *Philip*. He was himself learned, and a great patron and lover of learning. He esteemed wit in an enemy, and rewarded it amply in those who professed their respect for him. With these shining qualities he had some very dark ones. His ambition had no bounds; his treaties always gave way to his interest. He was the most finished dissembler of his time; he treated such as opposed his designs with great severity, when they fell into his hands. He was greatly addicted to women; and yet was suspected of a lust too foul to name. He would drink immoderately, took delight in flattery, was surrounded with pimps, panders, buffoons, pantomimes, and all that rabble of parasitical vulturs, which gnaw the bowels of the people through the folly of their prince. To sum up all, he was a great man, but had great vices (Q).

BEFORE

(Q) Throughout the whole of this life and reign of *Philip*, we have followed no direct guide, tho' such an one we might have had in *Theopompus*, who wrote fifty books upon this subject, all of which have been swallowed up by time. Some fragments indeed there are remaining, preserved by such authors as were happy enough to have perused his accurate work. It may seem strange, that *Plutarch*, who was so industrious in preserving the stories, and vindicating the characters, of the *Grecian* heroes, should altogether neglect *Philip's*; but for this an excellent *French* critic has accounted thus: "I doubt, whether *Alexander* can be compared to "*Cæsar*, notwithstanding that comparison has been generally received, or universally maintained. Neither the unanimous agreement of the antients and moderns upon this subject, nor my "*unwillingness to be singular in an opinion*, can hinder me from "*thinking, that this comparison is built upon a wrong principle.* "*I believe there will appear a greater resemblance between Philip* "*and Cæsar, at least if we ground it upon their manners and cha-*
racters,

BEFORE we conclude this chapter, it will be necessary to *And proge-*
 speak of the offspring of *Philip*. By *Olympias* he had *Alex-*
ander his successor, and *Cleopatra*, who married her uncle
Alexander king of *Epirus*. By an *Illyrian* lady, whose name
 was *Audaca*, he had a daughter named *Cyna*, who was mar-
 ried to *Amyntas* the lawful heir of the *Macedonian* crown,
 being the son of *Perdiccas* *Philip's* elder brother. By *Nica-*
sipolis, a *Thessalian* lady, he had *Nicæa* who became after-
 wards the wife of *Cassander*. By *Cleopatra*, the niece of *At-*
talus, he had a son named *Caranus* and a daughter *Europa*,
 both slain by *Olympias*, the last in her mother's arms. *Arfi-*
noe one of his mistresses he gave in marriage to *Lagus*, when
 she was big with child; which child proved a son, and was
 the famous *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. By *Philena* of *Larissa*, a
 dancer, he had *Aridæus*, who for a while was titular king of
Macedon; but afterwards put to death by the cruel *Olym-*

“rasters, rather than their successes. *Philip* perhaps had no place
 “in the lives of *Plutarch*, because that historian, pre-possessed
 “in favour of his own nation, wanted the conqueror of *Asia* to
 “oppose to him of *Rome*; and foresaw very well, that, in the
 “eyes of the multitude, the most illustrious of the *Romans*, mas-
 “ter of an empire that laboured under its own weight, would
 “be too great a match for a *Macedonian*, who acted in a narrow
 “sphere, and whose conquests had no other theatre than the ad-
 “jacent parts of a petty kingdom. At first glance indeed there
 “seems a resemblance in every thing between *Cæsar* and *Alexan-*
 “*der*; the extent of their conquests, their valour, activity, vi-
 “gilance, and that sublimity of soul, which made them sensible
 “that they deserved to command the rest of mankind, together
 “with an imperious passion that would let them endure no supe-
 “rior; but made them look on the world as their inheritance.
 “But when we come to examine them at leisure, trace them from
 “their cradles, study their inclinations, observe their proceedings
 “and their progresses, we shall find this resemblance to diminish
 “or fall to nothing (52)”. However, *Plutarch* in other treatises,
Diodorus Siculus in his most learned, comprehensive, and excellent work
Pausanias in his survey of *Greece*, *Polyænus* in his stratagems, with
 many other *Greek* writers and not a few of the *Latins*, have re-
 corded enough to shew, that *Philip* was indeed the greatest man
 of his age. And with respect to his son, *Cicero* has given such a
 judgment, as, we believe, none of the critics will reverse. *Phi-*
lip of *Macedon*, says he, *in deeds and glory was surpassed by his*
son; but, in point of disposition and humanity, he seems to me to have
surpassed him (53).

(52) *M. Turreil's preface to the Philip.*(53) *Cic. de Offic.*

pias ^P (R). If *Philip* had not fallen so suddenly, he would certainly have provided for the safety of these unhappy branches of his family; whereas, by his unforeseen death, they fell under the power of their greatest enemies; yet did they not immediately perish, the veneration the *Macedonians* had for *Philip* defending them. But by degrees, when the glory of *Alexander* had in some measure swallowed up that of his father, and again the miseries, which the *Macedonians* endured, had withdrawn their affection from the royal house, they fell apace, as will be seen in the subsequent part of this history; whence the propriety of treating so fully of the life and actions of *Philip*, as we have done, will clearly appear.

S E C T. V.

The reign of ALEXANDER the Great.

THE new-erected empire of *Macedon*, so formidable to the *Greeks* and so dreadful to the *Persians*, did not change its fortune with its prince; on the contrary, it seemed to reap new advantages therefrom, and to derive from the vigour of *Alexander* that exalted grandeur, of which it was rendered capable thro' the policy of *Philip*. How this came to pass, how so violent a shock went off without disordering the government; how a prince of twenty years old became truly the father of his country; how he so readily took up, and so happily conducted the thread of his father's design, without weakening or breaking it; and all this in spite of violent

^P REINEC. geneal. Alex. Mag:

(R) *Cleopatra*, the niece of *Attalus*, is by *Arrian* called *Eurydice* (54). There are also some variations, in respect to the rest of the proper names, to be met with in antient authors; but these, as they occur in the subsequent part of our work, we shall take notice of, without troubling the reader with a long critical detail here. However, it may not be amiss to take notice of some other princes of the blood of *Macedon*. *Amyntas* was the son of *Perdiccas*, the son of *Amyntas*, *Philip's* father. *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, were the natural sons of the same *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, by his concubine *Cygnæa*. There were besides several sons of *Æropus*, brethren of *Pausanias*, from whom *Amyntas* the father of *Philip* took the kingdom (55). We do not find, that *Philip*, in his life-time, either was uneasy, or had any occasion to be uneasy,

(54) *Arrian*. l. ii. c. 14.
Mag.

(55) *Reinec. geneal. Alex.*

*This Map Contains only the places which
prove the extent of this Empire according
to the System of the Author.*

A MAP of the EXTENT of ALEXANDER'S EMPIRE
*According to M. Delisle Geographer to Le
Modern Geographers*



ALEXANDER'S CONQUESTS

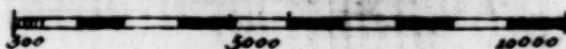
to Lewis is. Compared with those of other
raphers Ann: 1731.

NB. The dark lines show the plan of *J. Author.*
the light ones that of the *Modern Geographers;*
and the double stroke letters show the present
names of Countries Cities &c.

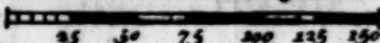
G R E A T T A R T A R Y

Scales

Stades of 4 to a Degree according to Aristotle
Measure used in Alexander's time



Common French Leagues



violent and obstinate opposition, leads us to the view of *Alexander's* character at this time, on which the understanding these passages intirely depends. This we shall draw from sober and authentic historians, leaving whatever favours of the *wonderful* to those rhetorical declaimers, who love to amaze their readers, and to illustrate with a pomp of words stories altogether incredible^a.

THE natural capacity of the *Macedonian* prince was every way suited to sustain the mighty fabric, which his father intended to raise thereon. It was lively, but not slight; solid, without being intractable, and tho' capable of judging by its own lights, inquisitive and fond of conversation. When the *Persian* ambassadors were at the court of *Philip*, *Alexander*, then a perfect boy, entertained them with much civility and politeness; but, instead of asking questions about the hanging gardens, the splendid palaces, the vast retinue of the king, or other marks of grandeur, for which the *Persian* court was famous, he inquired about the road leading into the *Upper Asia*, the forces which the great king could raise, their discipline, and the place in which the king took post when his army drew into the line of battle^b. This admirable genius was cultivated by an excellent education. *Philip* was a lover of letters, as some think, to a fault; but this hindered not his regarding other things necessary, as well as learning, to the forming of a prince. *Alexander* had therefore all sorts of

^a PLUT. in vit. Alex. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. l. i.

^b PLUT. ubi supra.

easy, about these princes; but we shall see, that it fared otherwise with his successor. The truth is, *Philip* was so kind to his people, and put them into so different a state from that in which he found them, that they could not avoid loving and admiring him. Whoever would see this placed in the strongest light, need only turn his eyes on a speech of *Alexander's* recorded by *Arrian*. It was otherwise with this son of his, who, great and glorious as he was, found it enough to do to keep the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* in obedience. In the very dawn of his reign he was vexed with conspiracies, and was never out of the fear of them during his life, though he did not spare very rigorous and cruel executions; a fault with which none can charge his father, whose conduct was so full of clemency, that he was accountable for no man's death except his own.

masters, according as his years and improvements required them. *Leonidas*, who was his mother's relation, a man of severe morals, and of a very exact behaviour, was his governor; *Lyfimachus* the *Acarnanian*, a man of very moderate abilities, his preceptor; and *Aristotle*, when he was grown old enough to receive his instructions, became not only his tutor in respect of literature, but his master also in respect of politics, which gave that wonderful perfection to his acquirements, which remain as unequalled as his conquests. In his exercises he distinguished the useful from the fanciful, in his diversions he declined whatever was unmanly, and in his studies despised alike whatever was trifling or pedantic. He diligently cultivated what may be stiled the art of speaking with dignity, or the rhetoric of kings, in which none ever exceeded him. He applied himself to metaphysics and natural philosophy; but morality especially pleased him, and the knowledge of the duties which are essential to social life. In order to understand these he studied *Homer*, *Aristotle* having corrected an edition of that poet's works for his use. This study made him the man he was; nor can any thing more truly speak his character than this short sentence, *Alexander was a hero formed on the principles Homer hath laid down*. Taking this as a key, we may easily decypher the actions of this prince, or rather trace them to their source; but we must have a care of thinking, that the sublimity of the verse, the beauty of the composition, the surprizing majesty of the poet's thoughts, captivated the mind of *Alexander*, and inclined him to doat upon this poem. On the contrary, his extraordinary regard for it was owing to the recommendation of *Aristotle*, who taught him the true merit of the piece. *Homer's* poems in such hands were a complete body of divinity, morality, and politics, delivered not in dry discourses, but set forth in strong, moving, and most natural characters; and so they were afterwards considered by the learned, particularly by *Horace*, who prefers them to the labours of all the philosophers. Such were the foundations of *Alexander's* magnanimity and prudence. They were continually strengthened by the conversation of the ablest men in *Philip's* court, and the superstructure carefully and quickly raised by a happy mixture of theory and practice. The turbulent transactions in the midst of *Philip's* reign served as a school of war to *Alexander*, as the last years of peace afforded an opportunity of teaching him true policy and the interests of *Greece*. Above all he was happy in the indulgence of a fa-

ther, the greatest statesman and the greatest captain of his age. He it was, who cast his eyes on *Aristotle* for the tutor of *Alexander*; he it was who taught the youth to execute what the philosopher laid down; and he it was who excited the *Macedonians* to turn their eyes on this rising sun, whom, in *Philip's* life-time, they began to stile their king, allowing his father only the title of their general. *Philip* himself carried the compliment still higher; for, embracing *Alexander*, who shewed more skill than all the grooms in *Greece* in breaking *Bucephalus*, O! my son, (said he) look thee out some kingdom as extensive as thy abilities; Macedonia will be too narrow for them. From a person thus accomplished all things were to be hoped; we may now therefore proceed to shew how he accomplished all things, and gave laws to *Greece*, at a time of life when modern princes are scarce held of age to govern themselves^d (A).

THE first act of *Alexander*, as a king, was doing justice on his father's murderers, it may be from a double motive, of shewing affection to *Philip's* memory, which he always honoured, and to wipe away the imputation of being concerned in it, which was not easily done, if we credit *Plutarch*. Next he turned his attention to matters of state, which in a moment were all in confusion. As soon as the

^d PLUT. ubi supra.

(A) If we were to record exactly every incident relating to the childhood and infancy of *Alexander*, it would undoubtedly swell our work excessively; we have therefore chosen as the more useful, and at the same time the conciser method, to throw together such circumstances as may serve to elucidate his character, and to refer the curious and inquisitive reader, for further information, to the life of *Alexander* written by *Plutarch*, and to the two orations of the same author, which treat of the virtue and fortune of *Alexander the Great*. As to the rest of the writers, who have transmitted to us the history of *Alexander*, they are such as either have written expressly of his actions, as *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, and *Curtius*; or they speak accidentally of particular actions of his, as *Strabo*, *Polyænus*, *Pausanias*, and many others. We shall make use of them all, preferring, however, *Arrian*, not only on account of his great impartiality, but also because his history is collected from those of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, which, of the many accounts of *Alexander's* expeditions once extant, were always preferred to the rest. But inasmuch as *Arrian* is sometimes very concise, and many circumstances, relating to the facts he speaks of, are preserved in other authors, we shall make use of their writings to supply what he has omitted, without pretending to set their authority on the same level with his.

neighbouring

neighbouring nations heard of the death of *Philip*, they conceived themselves intitled to liberty, and began to think of disclaiming the authority of *Macedon*. In *Greece* its respective states longed to throw off the yoke; and at *Athens Demosthenes*, by his example, drew the people into open testimonies of excessive joy, and into immediate negotiations against *Alexander*, whom he stiled a giddy boy, unfit for and unbecoming empire. As for the *Persians*, before the death of *Philip* they were contriving to transfer the war to *Macedon*; but now, as if all danger had died with that monarch, they thought nothing of his successor, till his fame grew so loud they were unable to think of any thing else. *Attalus*, who, with *Parmenio*, had the joint command of the *Macedonian* army on the frontiers of *Asia*, aspired to the crown, and sought to debauch the soldiers. Thus was the morning of *Alexander's* reign disturbed with the noise of foreign wars, and at the same time overcast with the gloom of domestic treasons^e.

IN the councils held on this distracted state of things, it was judged adviseable, by *Alexander's* best friends, that dissimulation should take place of force, and that he should cajole those whom he could not subdue. *Alexander* disliked this; he thought vigorous measures at first would check some present, and prevent many future inconveniencies; wherefore he betook himself to arms, and boldly looked every danger in the face^f. First he marched southwards into *Thessaly* with a numerous army, yet without committing any act of hostility. The princes assembling, he made a long and eloquent oration, wherein alledging their common descent from *Hercules*, the kindness between their ancestors, and the victories they had won together, he so strongly charmed them to his interests, that, as the son and successor of *Philip*, they declared him general of *Greece*. The neighbouring states he drew over in the same manner, partly by awing them with his army, partly by the charms of his eloquence; for being perfectly versed in their interests, he spoke home and warmly to their passions. Having restored tranquillity on this side, and procured the title of generalissimo of *Greece* to be conferred on him, he returned to *Macedon*. *Heccateus*, a person in whom he confided, was dispatched with recruits for the *Asiatic* army, with orders to seize *Attalus*, if it was practicable, or, if not, to dispatch him. As for that ambitious general, perceiving the presence of *Parmenio*, and the fame

^e ARRIAN. l. i. c. i. PLUT. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

^f PLUT. ubi supra.

of *Alexander* with-held the soldiery from following his purposes, he suddenly changed them, and sent to *Alexander* an epistle of *Demosthenes*, and professed himself wonderfully loyal; which professions, whether true or false, had no weight with the king, whose instructions *Heccateus* followed in putting *Attalus* to death^a. Thus the dawn of his government began to clear, and the first rays of his glory to display a pleasant prospect, which afterwards appeared brighter and brighter, till it overspread the noblest countries on the globe.

AT the approach of the spring, *Alexander* marched with Alexander his forces towards *Thrace*, intending to penetrate into the *invades the* country of the *Triballians* and *Illyrians*, now called *Bulgaria* *Tribal-* and *Sclavonia*. In this expedition he followed rather his own *lians and* sentiments, than the counsels of others, acting regularly on *the Illy-* the principle he had laid down, that the power of *Macedon* *rians.* was to be supported by the same vigorous measures by which it had been attained. In consequence of this resolution he ordered his army to assemble at *Amphipolis*, from whence he marched towards the river *Nessus*, and, leaving the city of *Philippi* and mount *Orbelus* on the left, he in ten days reached mount *Hæmus*^b. This post the barbarous nations, against whom he made war, had seized and fortified, in the best manner they were able. On the tops of the cliffs, and at the head of every passage they placed their carriages and waggons, so as to form a sort of parapet, with their shafts inwards, that when the *Macedonians* should have half ascended the rock, they might be able to push the heaviest of these wains upon them. They reckoned the more upon this contrivance, because of the close order of the phalanx, which, they conceived, would be terribly exposed, by the soldiers wanting room to stir, and thereby avoid the falling waggons. But *Alexander*, who had studied the art of war under the ablest masters, defeated their design; for, having directed his heavy armed troops to march, he gave orders, that, where the openness of the way would permit it, they should open to the right and left, and suffer the falling carriages to go through; but that, in the narrow passes, they should throw themselves on their faces with their shields behind them, that the carts might run over them. His contrivance had the desired effect, and the *Macedonians* reached the enemy's works without the loss of a man. Then the light-armed troops began the attack. The barbarians made an obstinate resistance for some time, till *Alexander* himself charged at the head of the targeteers. Then they began to break, and on the approach of the phalanx fled out-right, leaving their camp,

^a DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

^b ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. lib. i. c. 1, & seq. DIODOR. Sicul. ubi supra.

full of women, children, and cattle behind them. Three days after the king reached the river *Ister*, in an island of which, called *Peuce*, the *Triballians*, *Thracians*, and other barbarous nations, had conveyed their wealth and women, resolving to defend them with all their force. Some few ships there were, which, through the *Euxine* sea, had come to *Byzantium*; on board of these *Alexander* embarked as many of his troops as he could, and endeavoured to make a descent with them on the island before-mentioned; but the river being rapid, the shore steep, and the enemy pressing thither in great multitudes, he relinquished this design, and landed his forces at their old camp. *Alexander* observing, that the *Getae*, who inhabited on the other side the river, were inclined to give him all the trouble they could, and had for that purpose, raised an army of four thousand horse and ten thousand foot, determined to be before-hand with them, and by subduing them strike a terror into all their neighbours; the same night therefore he caused a considerable number of boats to be got together, and having ranged them from one side of the river to the other, he re-embarked his forces on board his small fleet, which made a line a little higher. He then caused the tents, which, as they were made of skins, floated in the water, and yet afforded firm footing, to be thrown into the middle space; whereby he passed over fifteen hundred horse and four thousand foot. He then marched through the standing corn, the spears of the phalanx being reversed, and the horse behind them, till they arrived in the open country; and then gave the command of the left wing, consisting of the foot, to *Nicanor*, drawing up his horse on the right, under his own command, with intent to give the *Getae* battle. These, tho' a brave and bold people, were so astonished at his passing the river, without either a bridge or a fleet, that they did not sustain even the first shock; but fled immediately to the next town, which they intended to defend; but when they saw that *Alexander* did not follow them impetuously, but drew his foot slowly along the side of the river, to prevent his falling into any ambuscade, they conceived that no place would protect them against such a general; and therefore abandoning the town, they placed all hopes of safety in the distance of their flight. *Alexander* entered the city, and having collected the spoil, delivered it to *Meleager* and *Philip*, officers of great rank in his army, that it might be conveyed to the sea, and then razed the place. Here he sacrificed to *Jupiter Soter*, i. e. the Saviour, to *Hercules*, and to the *Ister*, for affording him a safe passage¹.

¹ ARRIAN. *exped. Alex.* l. i. c. 2, 3, 4.

The next day he brought all his forces into his camp on the other side of the river, whither immediately ambassadors came from all the neighbouring nations to make peace with him; amongst the rest from *Syrmus* king of the *Triballi*, who saw that it was to no purpose to resist him; as also from the *Celtes*, a robust and high-spirited people. The king treated them all with great civility; but, as he was always inclined to indulge his vanity, he could not help asking the deputies from the last mentioned nation, *What, of all things, they feared most?* supposing they would have answered, his arms; but they very roundly told him, *That, except the falling of the clouds upon their heads, they feared nothing*; which so pleased the king, that, after saying the *Celtes* were a haughty people, he granted them his friendship, and ranked them in the number of his allies. Soon after he adjusted his differences with the rest of the neighbouring nations, and then prepared for his return into *Macedonia* *.

He makes a general peace with the barbarous nations.

As he passed through the countries of the *Agrians* and the *Peonians*, he was informed, that *Clytus*, the son of *Bradilis*, had revolted from him. This *Bradilis* had been king of *Illyria*; and his son, it seems, had a mind to remain no longer a dependent on the king of *Macedon*: He therefore entered into a league with *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, and into a treaty with the *Autariatae*, to defend themselves against *Alexander*, whom they looked upon as their common enemy. The king immediately resolved to attack these enemies, and began to enquire of the force and situation of the last-mentioned people. *Langarus* king of the *Agrians* being near him said aloud, *Sir, trouble not yourself about these people; I, with my own subjects, will make an inroad into their country and find them so much employment, that they shall be able to give no interruption to your march.* This accordingly he performed to so good purpose, that he put it absolutely out of the power of this nation to proceed in their defection. *Alexander* on his return to the camp, received him with great honour, and promised him his sister *Cyna* for a wife; but that promise did not take place, king *Langarus* dying soon after. The king being come into the neighbourhood of *Pellion*, a strong city into which *Clytus* had thrown himself with a great body of troops, resolved to besiege him therein; and accordingly caused the place to be invested; but *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, coming with a great army to the relief of *Clytus*, the king was obliged to raise his siege, and to give them battle, wherein, after a stout resistance, he was victorious. Three days

He defeats the Taulantii and Clytus, king of Illyria.

* Idem ibid.

after *Alexander* surprized *Glaucias* and *Clytus* in their camp, and after making a great slaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for shelter to the mountains ¹.

He makes
a very
quick
march into
Greece.

IN the midst of these victories, *Alexander* received advice, that all *Greece* was in commotion. This was occasioned chiefly through the indefatigable zeal of *Demosthenes*, the inveterate enemy of *Macedon*; and the several disaffected states were encouraged to shew their inclinations more openly, by a report confidently spread about, that *Alexander* was dead in *Illyria*. The *Thebans* laying violent hands on *Amyntas* and *Timolaus*, eminent officers in the *Macedonian* garison which held their citadel, dragged them to the market-place, and, without any form of process, put them to death. They then disposed all things for the siege of the citadel, and openly excited the rest of *Greece* to throw off the yoke. The king, as soon as he had intelligence of this, immediately bent his march towards them, with such diligence, that in seven days he arrived at *Pellene* in *Thessaly*, and in six more entered *Bæotia*, before the *Thebans* had any intelligence of his passing *Thermopylae*. When they were informed of this, they said it must be *Antipater* with a body of *Macedonian* militia; nay, when repeated advices acquainted them, that the army was commanded by *Alexander*, they would still have him dead, persuading themselves, that this was *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*. The king however, did not leave them long in their mistake, advancing briskly to the temple of *Iolaus*, where he made a halt, that the *Thebans* might have time to return to their senses, and thereby prevent his having recourse to extremities; for it was no-way his inclination, as indeed it was no-way his interest, to embroil himself with the *Greeks*; he therefore endeavoured, by the terror of his presence, having with him thirty thousand foot and three thousand horse, to compel his enemies to lay aside their malice, rather than to gratify his own ^m. This sudden march had in part the success he wished; for it prevented the rest of the *Grecian* states from aiding the *Thebans*, tho' they were actually assembling forces for that purpose; and so affrighted the *Athenians*, that, repairing their walls and filling their magazines, they provided, not for their neighbours, but for their own defence, answering exactly what *Alexander* had said when he entered *Bæotia*, that to this *Demosthenes*, who called him a *child* when he was in *Illyria*, and a *youth* when he came into *Thessaly*, he should certainly appear a *man* when he approached the walls of *Athens* ⁿ. The *Thebans*, far from profiting by *Alexander's*

¹ Idem ibid. ^m DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ⁿ PLUT. in vit. Alex. moderation

moderation, attacked his outguards ; and tho' their troops were repulsed with great disadvantage, yet they determined to hazard all rather than purchase peace by their submission. The king seeing this encamped over-against the gate leading to *Attica*, that he might be near the citadel, which they had surrounded with a double wall, in order to prevent their cutting his garison to pieces before his face. He did not, however, invest the city, or pretend to besiege it ; but caused open proclamation to be made, that he was ready to receive any *Thebans* who would join with him in defence of the common liberties of Greece. Whereupon the *Thebans* made proclamation, that they were ready to receive any who would join themselves to the great king and them, to fight against the tyrant of Greece. This exceedingly provoked *Alexander* ; however, if we may believe *Ptolemy*, he gave no orders for an attack : But *Perdiccas*, who lay nearest the walls, perceiving some advantage, suddenly attempted them, and, being seconded by *Amyntas*, broke into the city. *Alexander*, seeing his friends engaged, was constrained to support them ; and thus the *Thebans* were driven to the temple of *Hercules*. There the citizens recovered their consternation, and having desperately wounded *Perdiccas*, fell upon the *Macedonians* with such resolution, that they drove them with great slaughter out of the city ; which *Alexander* perceiving, he, with a fresh body of troops, attacked the *Thebans* in flank, routed them, entered the city pell-mell with the flying garison, and, after a prodigious slaughter, took the place by storm. The *Macedonian* garison, issuing from the citadel, contributed not a little to this event ; which, however glorious to the king, was extremely fatal to the *Thebans*, who for several hours were slain and destroyed, without regard either to sex or age. Afterwards the city was razed, excepting only the house of *Pindar*, a famous poet out of respect to the merit of its owner, and for that he had celebrated *Alexander* the first king of *Macedon* ; a circumstance which might well weigh with his successor. The lands, except such as were destined to religious uses, were shared among the soldiers, and the prisoners sold for slaves ; whereby four hundred and forty talents were brought into the king's treasury. The king, however, took care to colour this extraordinary severity, by procuring a decree of the *Amphictyons*, enjoining him to do what he was already inclined to, under pretence, that the *Thebans*, in allying themselves with the great king, were become enemies to the *Greeks* ; wherefore the decree was closed with an express

• ARRIAN. L. i. c. 7. DIO. CHRYSOT. Orat.

I 2

prohibition

prohibition to any *Greek*, either to conceal or protect a *Theban*: Yet it must be owned, that these generous *Thebans* fought solely for liberty, refusing quarter, and provoking the *Macedonians*, during the sack of the place, to take away their lives, esteeming them not only worthless, but burdensome, when held at the will of a master. To carry on the same shew of zeal for the freedom of *Greece*, *Alexander* ordered the cities of *Orchemenus* and *Plataea* to be rebuilt, giving special directions for adorning the latter, out of regard to the generous conduct of its inhabitants, when *Pausanias* fought in its neighbourhood that decisive battle, which destroyed the *Persian* hopes. This behaviour of *Alexander* struck all the *Greek* states with terror; the *Eleans* restored their exiles because they were his friends; the cities of *Ætolia* deprecated his wrath by a most submissive embassy; as for the *Athenians*, they were terrified to such a degree, that they made themselves ridiculous; for they sent to compliment the king on his safe return from his expedition against the barbarians, and also to assure him of their great satisfaction in his chastising the rebellious *Thebans* ^p. *Alexander* took all in good part; only he demanded by letter, that *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperdes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Charetas*, *Charidemus*, *Ephialtes*, *Diotimus*, and *Merocles* should be delivered up to him, alledging, that they were the authors of all the mischiefs which had happened in *Greece*, since his father *Philip* had been elected general. The *Athenians*, however, did not comply with his request, tho' *Phocion* advised them to do it. This was owing to the art of *Demades* the orator, who having first procured a vote in favour of the persons demanded, drew up afterwards such a decree as might pacify *Alexander*; the purport of which was, that the orators should submit themselves to the laws of their country, and that the *Athenians* undertook to punish them, if they appeared to be guilty. *Demades* himself went at the head of the deputies who presented this decree to *Alexander*, and who were charged also with other requests, viz. that, notwithstanding the decree, they might be permitted to receive the *Theban* fugitives; and that the king would for the future regard them as his faithful allies. *Alexander*, affecting to shew an extraordinary esteem for the *Athenians*, granted all their requests, excepting that he commanded the orator *Charidemus* to banish himself; upon which he instantly fled to *Darius*. He used *Demades* with the utmost civility, and commanded him to assure his citizens, that

^p DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

they had nothing to fear ^q. The reader, who remembers, that in the history of *Athens*, we have given a different account of this matter ^r, must not conceive, that this variation happened through carelessness or mistake; we have the authority of antient authors for both relations, and the reader, by considering the citations, will easily discern why we inserted that in the *Athenian*, this in the *Macedonian*, history. All authors agree, that the king was sorry for, and greatly regretted, the mischiefs done at *Thebes*; insomuch, that *Plutarch* informs us, he never afterwards denied any request a *Theban* made ^s. To speak the truth, there is no part of *Alexander's* character better established than this, that as he was violent in his passions, so he was steady in repentance (B).

As

^q ARRIAN. l. i. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. ^r UNIVERS. HIST. Vol. VI. p. 256. ^s PLUT. ubi supra.

(B) It is an observation very justly made, in respect of the antient historians, that they seldom mention any great event, without introducing it by omens and prognostics. With respect to this critics are apt to judge according to their own prepossessions; if they have themselves any opinion of these things, then the antients are in the right; if not, they are in the wrong, or at least disbelieve these stories tho' they recorded them; which judgment, by the way, is really more injurious to their memories than the other; for to say, that a man writes what he knows to be false, is to say that he is a deceiver, which is certainly the highest reflection that can be thrown upon an historian: Whereas superstition, which is the imputation in the other case, is a mere human frailty, and affects his character very little. Having premised this, we shall go on to speak of these ominous appearances which are recorded by the ancients, as predicting the fall of *Thebes*. *Diodorus* tells us, that in the temple of *Ceres*, a slender spider's web was observed to spread itself as broad as a cloak, and to represent the rainbow in an arched circumference; upon this deputies were sent to consult the oracle at *Delphi*, to know what it imported. The answer was,

*This web stands as a sign from heaven confest
To thee, Boeotia, first, then to the rest.*

The oracle, in their own country, explained it thus:

One party's loss, the other's gain, this shows.

This

Continued
genera-
lissimo at
Corinth.

As soon as he had settled Greece in tranquillity, he went to Corinth, where, in a general assembly of the states of

This happened about three months before Alexander's march. About the time of his arrival, the statues in the forum sweated, so that great drops stood upon them. In the lake of Onchestus the roaring and bellowing of oxen was heard. The waters in Dirce seemed of a sanguine hue; and advice came from the temple of Delphi, that the roof built by the Thebans, out of the spoils of the Phocians, was besmeared all over with blood. Such, continues our author, as studied the explanation of these things gave it as their opinion, that the web portended the retreat of the gods from their city; its having the colour of the rain-bow, various troubles and dissensions; the appearance of sweat signified extreme miseries; and the smeared roof of the temple, that the city would be stained with slaughter and bloodshed: they therefore concluded, that the Thebans ought to have sought an agreement, and not to have urged all things to extremity (1). But they, it seems, were not to be moved; for when Alexander demanded only Phœnix and Prothytes, who had occasioned the murder of his officers, to be delivered up, they sent him word, he should send them Antipater and Philotas (2). Thus they in a manner sought their own destruction. The circumstances attending the sack of this city, are most exactly recorded by Arrian, who, tho' in the general, a very succinct writer, expatiates on this subject, and shews, that it was the most terrible destruction that any state ever sustained to that time; concluding his description thus: "They are reported to have been forewarned of this great and tremendous subversion of their city, by sundry prodigies from heaven, which they all along disregarded, till afterwards the events recalling them to their remembrance, they were forced to own them fulfilled (3)." This author is frequently cited as a person disregarding omens, and having a slender opinion of all sorts of miracles; yet this notion of him seems to be rashly taken up. He does indeed mention them more sparingly than Diodorus or Plutarch; and the reason is clear, because he was a closer writer, and extremely careful of straying from his subject; yet, on particular occasions, he records both omens and prodigies, without any tokens, that we can perceive, of disbelief or disrespect; but rather the contrary, as the reader may perceive from the passage just cited. Thus much we thought ourselves obliged to say in regard to truth; for as to the credibility of these things, we meddle not with that matter here. The facts themselves either happened, or did not happen; if they happened, and were held ominous, an historian ought not to be blamed for recording them or their interpretations. They are so many points laid before us, which we may consider as long as we will, and on which we may decide at last as we please.

(1) Diodor. Sicul. bibliothec. l. xvii. Olymp. cxi. 2.
in vit. Alex.

(3) Arrian, l. i. c. 9.

(2) Plut.

Greece,

Greece, every thing relating to his dignity as generalissimo was exactly settled. Here he received the compliments, not only of the several states, but also of the most eminent persons among the *Greeks*, either for valour or wisdom, many of whom thought it not below them to travel a considerable space for this purpose^t; but *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, who was then in *Cranium*, a suburb of *Corinth*, did not so much as wait upon the king; which when it was remarked to *Alexander*, he went himself to visit the philosopher. He found him, as his manner was, lying on the ground, basking himself in the sun. When those who attended the king surrounded him, the sage raised himself a little, and looked upon *Alexander*. The king with his usual civility, asked him, if he wanted any thing? *Yes* answered *Diogenes*, *I would have you stand a little out of the way, that I may enjoy the sun-shine*. Those who were about *Alexander* laughed at this saying, as the effect of a haughty and morose disposition; but the king himself said gravely, *If I was not Alexander, I could wish to be Diogenes*, the sense of which, as it is interpreted by *Plutarch*, was, that if he had not been capable of philosophising actively, he would have preferred speculative wisdom to the ordinary employments of life^u. This is certainly a very noble, if it be not the just, sense of *Alexander's* words. Certain it is, that we ought always to consider carefully the sayings transmitted to us by the antients, lest we should reject a diamond for a pebble, merely for want of knowing how to divest it of its coat. When the assembly at *Corinth* broke up, the king returned with his army into *Macedonia*.

AT *Ægæ* he held a grand council of state and of war, in *His preparations* order to advise about his expedition into *Asia*. The gravest *rations for* of his counsellors, among whom were *Antipater* and *Parmenio*, gave it as their opinion, that he should first marry, and *invading Asia*. have heirs to the crown, before he thought of any foreign expedition. *Alexander* disliked this, as indeed he did every motion of delay; but, however, he did not reject it without offering a reason. He said, that after *Greece* had elected him her general, and he had drawn together that veteran army, which, under his father, had made so many conquests, he should not sit down idle at home, marry, and beget children^w. He therefore sacrificed to *Jupiter Olympius*, and

^t DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.^u PLUT. de virtut. Alex.^w DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

revived the games which had been instituted by his predecessor *Archelaus*. He sacrificed likewise to the muses, consecrating a day to each muse; then he appointed mighty feasts, entertaining no less than a hundred of his friends at his own table, after which he distributed all the crown-lands amongst them, and even the rest of his revenues, giving one a farm, another a village, a third the customs of a port. *Perdiccas*, observing this waste of the royal revenue, in which he refused to participate, asked the king, What he reserved for himself? *My hopes*, answered *Alexander*. *Very well, Sir*, replied *Perdiccas*, *you will not then take it amiss, that among those who are to share your dangers, there are some who desire to share your hopes also*.*

An account
of his
troops.

THESE feasts once over, the army had orders to assemble, in order to their passing immediately over into *Asia*; but what their numbers were, historians by no means agree. *Arrian* says, that there were thirty thousand foot and above five thousand horse. *Diodorus Siculus* is more particular; for he tells us, there were thirteen thousand *Macedonian* foot, seven thousand of the confederate states, and five thousand mercenaries. These were under the command of *Parmenio*. Of the *Odrysians*, *Triballians*, and *Illyrians* there were five thousand; and of the *Agrians*, who were armed only with darts, a thousand. It is generally thought, that our author is mistaken in his first number, and that, instead of thirteen, there were but twelve thousand *Macedonians*; because in the whole *Diodorus* says there were thirty thousand foot. It may be the *Agrians* are omitted in this total. As for the horse, he tells us there were eighteen hundred commanded by *Philotas*; as many *Thessalians* under the command of *Callas*; out of the several states of *Greece* six hundred led by *Eurygius*; and nine hundred *Thracians* and *Peonians*, who led the van, under *Cassander*. *Plutarch* tells us, that, according to a low computation, he had thirty thousand foot, and five thousand horse; and, according to the largest reckoning, thirty-four thousand foot, and four thousand horse. As to his fund for the payment of the army, *Aristobulus* says, it was but seventy talents; and *Onesicritus*, who was also in this expedition, not only takes away the seventy talents; but affirms the king was two hundred in debt. As for provisions, there was sufficient for

* DIODOR. Sicul. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. ARRIAN. l. i. c. 11.

a month,

a month, and no more. *Antipater* was left behind in *Macedon*, with twelve thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse ¹. *Justin* tells us, that to prevent any disturbances in his absence, *Alexander* caused such of the blood royal as he suspected to be put to death ²; in which, however, he deserves no credit, since neither *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, nor any other *Greek* or *Latin* historian mentions any such thing; on the contrary, he is said to have checked his mother *Olympias* for having treated *Cleopatra* ill in his absence ³.

THE army assembled at *Amphipolis*; from thence he march- *He passes*
ed to the mouths of the *Strymon*, then crossing mount *Panthe Hel-*
gaus, he took the road to *Abdera*. Crossing the river *Ebrus*, *lespont.*
he proceeded through the country of *Pætis*, and after twenty days reached *Sestos*, thence he came to *Eleus*, where he sacrificed on the tomb of *Protesilaus*, because he was the first among the *Greeks* who at the siege of *Troy* set foot on the *Asiatic* shore; he did this, that his landing might be more propitious than that of the hero to whom he sacrificed, who was slain soon after. The greatest part of the army under the command of *Parmenio* embarked at *Sestos*, on board a fleet of a hundred and sixty galleys of three benches of oars, besides small craft. *Alexander* himself sailed from *Eleus*, and, when he was in the middle of the *Hellepont*, offered a bull to *Neptune* and the *Nereids*, pouring forth at the same time a libation from a golden cup. When he drew near the shoar, he launched a javelin which stuck in the earth, then in complete armour he leaped himself upon the strand, and having erected altars to *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*, he sacrificed to them, and then proceeded to *Ilium* ^b.

Strabo informs us, that at the time *Alexander* came thither *Sacrifices*
Ilium was little better than a village, distinguished only by a ^a at *Ilium*.
small temple dedicated to *Pallas*; here the king sacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, especially to *Achilles*, whom he declared to be particularly happy in two things, in having *Patroclus* for a friend, and *Homer* to record his actions. *Hephestion*, as a mark of his friendship to *Alexander*, crowned the tomb of *Patroclus* with flowers; after this the king sacrificed to *Minerva*, and taking down some arms which had hung there from the time of the *Trojan* war, consecrated his own in their stead. He sacrificed likewise to the ghost of *Priam*, to avert his wrath on account of his own descent from *Achilles*. We have thought fit to mark particularly these

¹ DIODOR. PLUT. ARRIAN. ubi supra.
c. 5.

² PLUT. de virtut. Alex.

³ Hist. l. xi.
^b DIODOR. ARRI-

AN. PLUT.

steps, because they greatly contribute to shew the genius and temper of this young hero. It is clear from them, that he was a zealous observer of the religious rites of his age, and that he had the greatest regard to decency and order, in every thing he did. Indeed, he took his rules of war from *Homer*, and scrupulously adhered not only to the maxims but to the customs mentioned by him; thus instead of *Calchas*, who was the augur of the *Greeks*, he had *Aristander* the *Telmiffian* for his soothsayer, without consulting of whom he suffered nothing of moment to be done. *Hephestion* was his *Patroclus*, and many things more of this kind we might note, if the nature of this work did not require a brevity inconsistent with such reflections * (C).

Alexander

* DIODOR. ARRIAN. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(C) *Alexander* did not neglect the usual application to oracles on the undertaking his expedition. After the destruction of *Thebes* he went in person to *Delfi*, but arriving at the time that was held unlucky, the priestess refused to do her office. *Alexander* thereupon drew her by force into the temple, and she at last offering to sit down on the tripod, said by way of excuse for breaking through the antient custom of the temple, *My son thou art invincible*. At these words *Alexander* cried out, *I accept the answer!* (4), and staid for no other. This with some may pass for an act of irreligion, whereas it was far from being so; sudden answers were always held oraculous by the *Greeks*, if they were applicable to the thing inquired of, as we shall elsewhere shew at large. While the *Olympic* games were celebrating at *Ægæ*, *Arrian* tells us, there came advice that the statue of *Orpheus* on mount *Pieria* sweated, concerning the import of which, the *Augurs* and *Soothsayers* were much divided; but *Aristander* of *Telmiffus*, who, as we observed in the text, was the *Calchas* of *Alexander*, settled the king's mind by the following interpretation: *Let it not disturb you, Sir, said he, the sweating of the image portends that all sorts of poets shall labour and sweat in describing your great actions* (5). When *Alexander* was at *Troy* the priest of *Minerva* having observed the statue of *Ariobarzanes*, the king of *Persia's* lieutenant, to have fallen down in the temple, with other portentous signals, told the king, that if he fought in *Phrygia*, he would gain a great victory, kill some officer of distinction with his own hand, and be himself slightly wounded; and on this account it was that *Alexander* took down the consecrated armour in the temple of *Pallas*, and left there his own (6). Long before this, if we may believe some authors, the destruction of the *Persian* empire by this

(4) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.*
tarch. ubi supra.

(5) *Arrian. lib. i. c. 11. Plu-*
(6) Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

Alexander continued his march towards the river *Granicus*, He spares without meeting with any considerable accident, if we except Lampsa- only the preservation of the city of *Lampsacus*, which on ac- cus, thro' count of its adhering to the *Persians*, he had determined to the art of destroy. *Anaximenes*, an eminent historian, well known in Anaxime- nes. the court of *Philip*, and for whom *Alexander* himself had a great esteem, met him on the road in order to intercede for the place of his birth. The king's indignation ran so high, that as soon as he came into his presence, he cried out, *Anaximenes*; I swear solemnly that I will not do what you desire me. My request then, Sir, (said the old man smiling) is, that you would turn *Lampsacus*. *Alexander*, charmed with his address, and considering at the same time the oath that he had made, ordered the city to be spared ^d. In the interim, the *Persians* had assembled a great army in *Phrygia*, amongst whom was *Memnon* the *Rhodian*; he was indeed the very hopes of *Persia* and the best officer *Darius* had. When it was known that the *Macedonians* were marching directly towards them, this *Memnon* gave it as his opinion, that they should burn and destroy all the country, and transport a moderate army over into *Macedon*. But the *Persians*, depending on their horse, refused to comply with his advice, and therefore posting themselves along the river *Granicus*, they determined there to wait the arrival of *Alexander*. *Justin* would have us believe, that the *Persian* army consisted of six hundred thousand foot ^e; *Arrian* says, there were but twenty thousand and the like number of horse ^{*}, which is most probable; *Diodorus Siculus* makes them ten thousand horse and a hundred thousand foot. All agree, that the horse

^d VALER. MAX. lib. vii. c. 3. ^e Hist. ubi supra.

very prince had been predicted. The priests of *Diana* at *Ephesus*, when the temple of the goddess there was burnt down, are reported to have given it as their sentiment, that the conqueror of *Asia* was that day born (7), which was true of *Alexander*, who came then into the world. It may be, these interpretations, and even the facts themselves, were forged long after the *Macedonian* conquest; but inasmuch as they serve to enlighten various passages in the best *Greek* and *Latin* authors, they ought to be recorded somewhere, and therefore, to avoid perplexing the text, we have thrown them into notes.

^{*} *Arrian* says as above, that the *Persian* army consisted of about 20,000 horse and a like number of mercenary foot; but the authors in the history of *Persia*, (Vol. V. p. 58, note U) say their foot amounted, according to *Arrian*, to 200,000; which mistake seems to have been occasioned by the addition of a cypher.

(7) *Plutarch. ubi supra.*

K 2

were

were drawn up in one line, fronting the river, and the foot behind them ^f. The river itself was rapid, and the bank steep.

The battle
at the
Granicus.
Year of
the Flood,
2665.
Before
Christ,
334.

As soon as *Alexander* was informed of the posture the *Persians* were in, he ordered his forces to be drawn up in battalia, the foot in two lines, the horse on the right and left, and the baggage in the rear, and then moved directly towards the river. *Parmenio*, perceiving that he intended to fight, immediately addressed him in these words: "To me, my prince, it seems expedient, that we should encamp close by the river-side. For the enemy being far inferior to us in foot, I am persuaded their courage will not serve them to remain all night in their posts; and if they decamp, we may cross the river by break of day. We shall then have time to take all our measures before they can form, whereas we cannot pass now without great hazard. For how shall we lead our soldiers to ford a river in the sight of our enemies, which of itself is rapid, full of eddies, its banks deep and uneven as you see? Besides, will not the enemy's horse, who are perfectly well disciplined, take the advantage of our heavy armed foot, as their order must be broke in climbing the opposite bank, to charge them in flank. If any ill accident should happen at present, it would not only be attended with terrible consequences, but would be also thought to have an ominous appearance in respect to the future progress of the war." I agree, *Parmenio*, returned *Alexander*, that what you say is very reasonable; but how shameful would it be for us, who have so easily passed the *Hellepont*, to be stopped by this brook. Such a conduct would reflect on the *Macedonians* and on myself, as if we were not able to look any danger in the face. The *Persians* too would from thence take heart, and believe themselves our equals, if our first attempt speak not that superiority in military boldness for which the arms of *Macedon* are already famous ^g. As soon as he had done speaking, the king distributed his orders. To *Parmenio* he assigned the care of the left wing. The right he commanded himself, and under him *Philotas*. The *Persians*, when they saw him advancing, for he was easily distinguished by his armour and by his guards, immediately brought some squadrons from the right wing to reinforce the left; so soon were they

^f ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.
lib. i. c. 12.

^g ARRIAN.

struck with his presence. *Ptolemy* the son of *Philip* had the command of the forlorn, and entered the river first; *Alexander* with the whole right wing followed him; but instead of marching directly cross, as the *Persians* expected, he suffered his troops to slope according to the motion of the current, whereby they had an opportunity of forming in the water, and of charging in good order. The horse and light-armed troops commanded by *Amyntas* and *Socrates* were very warmly received; the sons of *Memnon*, and *Memnon* in person, charged them briskly, and behaved so well, that most of them were slain, those few who were left retired to the right wing, as it advanced, commanded by *Alexander*, who instantly threw himself into the thickest of the fight, and performed wonders there till his lance broke. *Arctes* the master of his horse, when he commanded him to give him another, shewed him the broken staff of his own with which he was fighting; *Demaratus*, however, one of the king's friends, reached him a spear, which as soon as *Alexander* grasped, he rode directly to attack *Mithridates*, son-in-law to *Darius*, who advanced at the head of a fresh body of horse, and, at their first meeting, striking him through the mouth, bore him to the ground; immediately *Rhesaces*, a *Persian* nobleman, struck the king over the head with his sword, cut off a part of his helmet, and slightly wounded him; but while he gave the stroke, the king, bearing upon him with his lance, struck him through the body, so that he fell down dead. Yet *Spirithridates*, coming behind *Alexander*, had at the same instant struck off his head, if *Clytus* had not disabled him, while his arm was lifted up^b. The *Macedonian* horse began now to reach the shore in all parts, and the light-armed foot mixing themselves amongst them, the *Persians*, who were unable to stand the shock, began first to break where *Alexander* charged in person. The king did not pursue them far, because the mercenaries remained as yet firm, till being surrounded on all sides, they were, except two thousand who surrendered, cut to pieces to a man. Of the *Macedonians* twenty five of the king's body guard were slain, whose statues, cast in brass by *Lyfippus*, the king sent to *Dium*, there to be set up as a memorial of their bravery and his gratitude. Besides these there fell of the horse between sixty and seventy, and of the foot thirty. These were the next day interred in their arms by the king's command; he granted also to their children, and to their parents, the freedom of those cities in which they

^b PLUT. in vit. Alex.

dwelt, together with the release of all taxes and duties whatsoever ; as for the wounded, he visited them in person, saw them dressed, and heard from every man whatever he thought fit to say of his own deeds. He gave directions also for burying the *Persians* and *Greek* mercenaries ; but for such of the latter as remained prisoners, he sent them back to *Greece* in chains, saying, it was fit usage for such as he found in arms against their country. He likewise sent to *Athens* three hundred suits of *Persian* armour to be consecrated in the temple of *Minerva*, with this inscription ; *Alexander the son of Philip, and all the Grecians, the Lacedæmonians excepted, have dedicated these spoils taken from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia.* (D).

THIS

¹ ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 17. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xi. c. 5.

(D) The different accounts we have of the battle of *Granicus* are in many respects absolutely incompatible. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that *Alexander* commanded the left wing, or at least that he charged there, though at the beginning of the paragraph he assigns that command to *Parmenio*. Instead of *Mitbridates*, he calls the *Persian* *Spithrobates*, with whom *Alexander* fought, and tells us, that with his javelin he struck the king into the right shoulder-blade, from whence *Alexander* drew it, and returned it immediately (8). He also attributes to *Rosaces* what *Arrian* tells us of *Spithridates*, which in all probability induced *Freinshemius* in his supplement to *Curtius* (9), to look on *Mitbridates* and *Spithridates* as the same person, in which he has certainly rectified no mistake in *Arrian*, but through an itch of criticising hath fallen into one himself. Whoever reads *Arrian* carefully will discern, that *Mitbridates* was dead before *Spithridates* attacked *Alexander* ; that *Mitbridates* was killed by *Alexander* himself, but *Spithridates* by *Clytus*. Besides, when he reckons up the great officers among the *Persians*, who fell in this battle, *Arrian* says expressly, there were *Spithridates* governor of *Lydia*, and *Mitbridates* son-in-law to *Darius*. We have mentioned these facts, not so much on account of their importance, as to vindicate our following *Arrian* rather than any other writer on this subject ; and we hope every impartial reader will see and approve our reason, because his accounts are clearest and most consistent with themselves. *Plutarch* says, that the *Persians* lost twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse in this battle, and the *Macedonians* only thirty four ; to eternize whose memory, *Alexander* caused so many statues of brass to be set up (10). This is certainly a little incredible, but *Arrian's* account inserted in

(8) *Diodor Sicul lib. xvii.*

(9) *Sup. Curt. lib. ii. c. 5.*

(10) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

THIS battle put the king in possession of all the adjacent country, of which he began immediately to take care, as if it had been part of his hereditary dominions. *Calas* was constituted lieutenant of the province, from which the same tribute was exacted as heretofore had been paid to *Darius*. He himself marched towards *Sardis*, and when he was about seventy stadia distant from that city, he was met by *Mythrenes* governor of the garison in the castle, accompanied by the chief citizens; these surrendering the city into his hands, and *Mythrenes* the castle with the royal treasures therein contained. He then proceeded to the river *Hermus* about twenty stadia distant from *Sardis*, where he encamped, and from whence he dispatched *Amyntas* the son of *Andromedes* to *Sardis* to take the government of the castle, and carrying *Mythrenes* with him, treated him honourably. To the *Sardians* and other *Lydians*, he granted the privilege of being governed by their antient laws. He then entered the castle, which was garisoned by *Persians*, and seemed to him well fortified. It was seated on a high rock, which was everywhere steep and surrounded with a triple wall. He

our text is very clear; he speaks not of thirty four, but of twenty five, statues, which were made not to represent all who fell in the battle, but those only who fell in the king's guards, who were all persons of distinction. To say the truth, this is wonderful enough; for it is not easy to comprehend how, in the space of ten years, which includes the whole reign of *Alexander* after this battle, *Lysippus* could make all these statues; but that they were made and set up at *Dium* is certain, since we know that *Q. Metellus* sent them from thence to *Rome*. It seems somewhat strange, that *Plutarch*, who at other times speaks so favourably of *Alexander's* conduct, charges him upon this occasion with rage and madness in offering to pass a river in the sight and in defiance of a superior enemy. *Arrian's* account shews, that *Alexander* offered some reasons for what he did; and though it may be alledged, that the harangues in *Greek* authors are usually composed by themselves, and therefore cannot be acknowledged as authentic evidence, we apprehend that two answers may be in the present case given to this objection. The first, that supposing the fact true, the harangue contains the sentiment of the author, which amounts to this, that *Alexander's* conduct was defensible in the opinion of *Arrian*: the second, that as *Arrian* transcribed his history from the memoirs of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, who were eye and ear-witnesses of what they wrote, it may be well presumed, that he had at least the substance of the speeches he inserted from those authors too, and if so, then they will be the strongest evidence. This notion is rendered the more probable from the structure of these orations, which are far from being rhetorical, but, on the contrary, as plain and natural as can be imagined.

therefore

therefore proposed to erect a temple on the top of that eminence, and therein to dedicate an altar to *Jupiter Olympius*; but while he was yet in suspense, which part of the castle was most commodious for that purpose, a dreadful tempest arose on a sudden, huge claps of thunder were heard, and a violent storm fell on that part where the royal palace of the *Lydian* kings had stood. Thus the god seemed to point out the place where the temple should be erected; and it was ordered to be built accordingly. The government of this castle he committed into the hands of *Pausanias*, one of his friends, but the collection of tributes and imposts to *Nicias*. *Asander* the son of *Philotas* was constituted prefect of *Lydia* and the rest of the provinces of *Spithridates*, and had such a number of horse and light-armed foot allowed him as were judged necessary. *Callas* and *Alexander* the son of *Æropus* were dispatched into the province commanded by *Memnon*, and with them a very considerable body of troops^k. In the mean time the mercenaries in garison at *Ephesus*, seizing two gallies of three banks of oars, retired; with them went *Amyntas*, who, as we have elsewhere observed, had deserted to *Darius*, as soon as *Alexander* ascended the throne. As soon as the king had information of this, he went to *Ephesus* in person, where he did every thing that was popular; he restored the democracy, and ordered the tribute which had been paid to the *Persian* to be applied to the rebuilding of the temple of *Diana*. It is said he would have been at the whole expence of that magnificent pile, if the *Ephesians* would have inscribed his name thereupon; but this they refused, chusing to keep the honour and the expence to themselves. His favours encouraged the commons of *Ephesus* to fall upon some persons of distinction, who had been formerly in the administration of affairs, and, notwithstanding they had taken sanctuary in the temple, to drag them to the market-place, where they stoned them; as these men had been guilty of very flagrant oppressions, *Alexander* would not interpose to save them, but immediately after their deaths, he issued out an edict, whereby he strictly forbid any farther inquiry into the conduct of the former magistrates, rightly conceiving, that if the people were suffered to treat the guilty thus, envy, malice, and avarice would soon lead them to treat the innocent in the same manner. This conduct of his gained him high reputation, all degrees of people owning him for their deliverer, while at the same time the nobles confessed that he

^k ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 18.

†

was

was their preserver ¹. By another edict, he ordered the popular government to be restored in all the *Greek* cities, and sent *Alcimalus* with a body of troops to see it executed; then with the remainder of his army he marched to besiege *Miletus*, before which his fleet commanded by *Nicanor* had lain for some time, and the *Persian* fleet was also in the neighbourhood of that city. The *Milesians* themselves were disposed to submit to *Alexander*, but *Memnon*, who with a considerable body of troops had entered the place immediately after the battle at *Granicus* resolved to defend it. We have already observed, that he was a great officer, and his conduct here was equal to the reputation he had before acquired; for notwithstanding the *Macedonian* fleet blocked up the haven, the citizens were disaffected, and *Alexander's* veteran foot stormed the place almost as soon as they came before it; yet he made a vigorous resistance, and after the city was taken withdrew with his garison into an island where part of the mercenaries capitulated, and were received into *Alexander's* service, the rest with *Memnon* himself withdrew to *Halicarnassus* ^m. When the king was fully master of *Miletus*, he treated the citizens with much humanity, but sold all the strangers he found for slaves. As soon as he was informed that the *Persian* fleet was withdrawn from *Mycale*, he dismissed his own (E); this was a very extraordinary step, and

¹ ARRIAN. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alexand.
DOR SICUL. ubi supra. ARRIAN. ubi supra.

^m DIO-

(E) After the battle at *Granicus*, *Alexander's* generals were a good deal perplexed as to the manner in which they should advise him to proceed; for they saw plainly, that though their late victory had struck the *Persians* with great consternation, yet in effect it had very little lessened their power: Besides at sea they were still masters. What the sentiments of *Parmenio* were on this head and what those of *Alexander*, we learn from *Arrian* in the following words: The *Barbarian* fleet consisted of about four hundred ships. *Parmenio* advised *Alexander* to a naval engagement, assuring him, that the *Greeks* would be victors at sea, because a lucky omen had just happened, an eagle being seen upon the shore from one of the ships of his navy. He also added, that if they overcame their enemies, they would reap an immense advantage from such an engagement during the whole war; and if they chanced to be overcome, he could not perceive that any vast danger could ensue, because the *Persians*, by virtue of their shipping, already held the sovereignty of the sea without fighting. As for his part, he would willingly enter himself on board, and share the danger of the fleet in his own person. However, *Alexander* returned him answer, that

and authors are pretty much at a loss how to account for it. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that *Alexander*, being well informed of *Darius's* design to march against him immediately with a mighty army, determined by this means to cut off from his own troops all hopes of safety but from their valour; he grounds this conjecture on the conduct of *Alexander* in the last battle, wherein he made his forces fight with the river at their back, so that flight was rendered impracticable, there being the chance of war if they fought, but no chance at all if they attempted to run away ⁿ. *Arrian* hath assigned us some better reasons; he says in the first place, that *Alexander* had no money to pay them; and in the second, that he was afraid to trust his fortune in an engagement at sea. There was a third reason much stronger than the other two; he was determined to possess himself of all the sea-ports by means of his land-army, and having done this, he very rightly conjectured, that the *Persians* would be deprived of all use of their fleet for want of their usual recruits, and from their being deprived of ports where they might refit ^o. He had moreover some notion, that his fleet would be more wanting on the other side of the *Hellepont*, so that for many reasons he was determined to this measure, how extraordinary soever it might appear; for though it be true, that never any general possessed personal courage in a higher degree than the prince of whom we are speaking, yet it is as certain, that he

ⁿ ubi supra. ^o ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 19.

he was mistaken in his conjectures, and did not interpret the omen justly; for it would be a point of small prudence in him with so few ships to hazard an engagement against a fleet so numerous; and with soldiers so little trained up in naval discipline to pretend to attack the expert *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians*: Neither was he willing that the *Barbarians* should try the skill and valour of the *Macedonians* on so unstable an element: And besides, should they be beaten in a sea-fight, an inexpressible damage would accrue to them from the same their enemies would thereby gain. Add to this, that if the *Greeks* were animated by the news of an overthrow at sea, they would begin to study innovations. All which things maturely weighed, he deemed a sea-fight altogether unsafe at that juncture: And for his part he expounded the omen in a different manner. The eagle indeed he allowed promised success; but as she was seen on the shore, it seemed rather to portend, that he should become master of the enemies fleet by beating their armies on the continent (11).

(11) *Arrian*, lib. i. c. 19.

was a great master in the art of war, and did many things which had the air of rashness from a superior skill in the military art, which enabled him to penetrate farther into the connection between causes and events, than many who were about him, and than most of the authors who have transmitted his history to posterity, as the reader will discern from the last note.

ALMOST all the cities between *Miletus* and *Halicarnassus* The siege of Halicarnassus. submitted as soon as the former was taken, and the rest surrendered as soon as the king marched towards them; but for *Halicarnassus* itself, *Alexander* was sensible that the reduction thereof would cost him both time and trouble: *Memnon*, whom *Darius* had declared high admiral and governor of the *Lower Asia*, commanded there in person with a very numerous garison^p. *Alexander* encamped therefore at the distance of five stadia from the city, skirmishing daily with the garison, till he had provided all things for the siege. While things were in this situation, some of the citizens of *Myndus* privately promised *Alexander* to put their town into his hands, provided, he would advance towards it in the night with a considerable body of forces; this proposition the king very readily accepted, and drew out a considerable body of horse, supported by a body of light-armed foot, in order to go on this expedition. At midnight therefore he approached the walls according to his promise; but perceiving no signs of a surrender from the citizens, and considering that he had neither engines nor scaling ladders at hand, as coming there not to besiege a city, but to have it delivered to him; he nevertheless ordered the *Macedonian* phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the wall, which they did, and presently overturned one of the towers thereupon, without making a breach in the wall itself. But the citizens making an obstinate defence, and being assisted by the *Halicarnassians* who sent them succours by sea, *Alexander* was disappointed in his expectation of taking it at the first assault; wherefore, without more ado, he drew off and returned to his siege of *Halicarnassus*: and first of all ordered the ditch, which the citizens had dug round their walls, of thirty cubits in breadth and fifteen in depth, to be filled up, that so the wooden towers, out of which they were to direct their missive weapons against the besieged, and their engines to shake the walls might advance

^p DIODOR. SICUL, ubi supra.

forwards. The ditch being accordingly filled up, the towers began to advance ; but the besieged issued forth by night with a design to burn both the towers and engines which were now nigh the walls ; and had certainly effected their designs, had they not been encountered by the *Macedonians* who were placed to guard the engines, and others who came hastily forth at the noise of the skirmish ; so that they were with small loss beat back into the city. There fell of the *Halicarnassians* in this conflict one hundred and seventy, among whom was *Neoptolemus* the brother of *Arrhabæus* and son of *Amyntas*, one of those who had formerly fled to *Darius*. Of the *Macedonians* sixteen were slain, and near three hundred wounded ; for that folly being made in the night, they were the less able to guard their bodies and avoid the darts and arrows of their enemies¹. We have in *Arrian* a very exact journal of this siege, wherein the greatest vigour was shewn on the part of the assailants, and the most obstinate resolution discovered by the defendants ; a most consummate experience in the affairs of war in both ; for as the king's troops frequently attempted to scale the walls, continued constantly to batter them with engines, and in some places proceeded by sap, so the garison sallied often, sometimes burnt the besiegers engines, at others levelled their works, yet were in all their attempts exposed to great danger, there happening a vast effusion of blood on both sides². At last *Orontobates* and *Memnon*, and the rest of the *Persian* commanders, considering that they could not now hold the town long, because part of their walls was already beat down, and part shaken and ready to fall, and many of the defendants either cut off in the several encounters which had happened, or wounded and rendered unserviceable ; and, having weighed the matter deliberately about the second watch of the night, set fire to the wooden tower which they had built to guard them from the shocks of the enemies engines, and to the arsenal where their artillery was lodged, as also to some houses near the wall, which last blazed out with much fury, because the wind setting that way, many flakes of fire were driven from the tower and arsenal thither. Hereupon some of the townsmen betook themselves to a castle in an island, and others to another castle called *Salmais*. Which when *Alexander* was informed of by some deserters, and when he beheld the raging flames, though it was near midnight, he nevertheless detached a body of *Macedonians* thither, with orders to slay those who set fire

¹ ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 21.² DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

to the city, but to spare whomsoever they found in their habitations. As soon as it was day-light, *Alexander*, viewing the castles which the *Persians* and their mercenary troops had seized, resolved not to lay siege to them, as well because the reducing them, considering their situation, would take up too much time, as because they would not be of any great importance after he had reduced the city; wherefore taking care to inter those who fell in the last conflict by night, he commanded his engineers to convey the artillery to *Tralles*, which city he laid level with the ground, and marching thence into *Phrygia*, left a body of three thousand foot and two hundred horse, under the command of *Ptolemy*, to keep the country of *Caria* in obedience^f.

AT the time *Alexander* entered this country, there was a *Ada* made lady whose name was *Ada*, who claimed the title of queen of *governess* *Caria* thus: She was the daughter of *Hecatomnus*, and the *of Caria*. sister of *Hidrieus*, and, according to the *Carian* laws, his wife too; on his death she succeeded him in the kingdom, but was quickly dispossessed of it by *Pexodorus*, whose son-in-law *Orontobates* succeeded him by the favour of *Darius*. *Ada* all this time held the city of *Alinda*, which was the strongest in those parts; the keys of which, as soon as he entered the province, she delivered to *Alexander*, and, as a farther mark of her respect, adopted him her son. The king, charmed by her obliging behaviour, and struck with that greatness of mind she manifested on this sudden turn of affairs, received the honours she did him very kindly, and, after having demolished *Halicarnassus*, he made her *governess* general of all *Caria*^g. While his forces remained in *Caria*, *Ada* had often sent him presents of the best things the country afforded; and now, when he was about to depart, she sent him several cooks and confectioners to serve in his kitchen; but the king sent them back with this compliment, that his governor *Leonidas* long ago provided him better cooks than they, viz. *Long morning marches to give him a stomach to his dinner, and slender dinners, which were sure to leave appetite enough for supper*. This conduct of *Alexander* towards the queen of *Caria* was of great use to him; for it induced many of the princes of the *Lesser Asia* to revolt from the *Persian*, and put themselves under his protection. *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* was in the number of these; he was the ancestor of that famous king of the same name, who gave the *Romans* so much trouble, and was descended from the royal house of *Persia*; and, coming to *Alexander's* camp to pay his compliments to him, he ac-

^f ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 24.^g Id. ibid.

quired such a love for him, that he accompanied him in his *Persian* expedition ^u.

The slaughter of the Marmarians.

Diodorus Siculus affirms, that the last action of the campaign was against the *Marmarians*, an inconsiderable people inhabiting on the borders of *Lycia*; their city was seated among rocks, and thence held by them to be impregnable. These people, either for the sake of booty, or from their warm attachment to the *Persians*, fell upon the rear of *Alexander's* army, cut a great number of *Macedonians* to pieces, and took a great part of the baggage; this exceedingly provoked the king, who immediately caused the place to be invested, and, as it had no fortifications but those of nature, he stormed it two whole days together. The old men then among the besieged would have persuaded them to surrender, but they declaring resolutely, that they would never submit, their elders advised them to put all their superannuated men, women, and children to death, then to force a passage through the enemies camp. This advice the young men embraced, when every one going home made a great feast, and, after eating and drinking plentifully with his wife and children, shut the door of his house, and then set it on fire. As soon as the flames began to mount, they, to the number of six hundred, sallied out, forced the *Macedonian* guard, and made their escape to the mountains ^w.

The new married men sent home.

WHEN the winter began to come in, *Alexander* made choice of *Ptolemy* the son of *Seleucus*, *Cænus* the son of *Polemo*, and *Meleager* the son of *Neoptolemus*, to lead home to *Macedon* all the new-married soldiers in his army, that they might spend the winter with their wives, an act very extraordinary in its nature, and for which there was no precedent among the *Greeks*; but, inasmuch as it is exactly conformable to the law of *Moses*, some learned men have been tempted to believe, that *Aristotle*, who was well versed in the *Hebrew* learning, advised him thereto; however it was, *Arrian* tells us expressly, that no action of his life endeared him more to the *Macedonians* than this. He likewise sent *Parmenio*, and some other general officers, to raise recruits, some into *Europe*, and some into *Asia* ^x (F).

THINGS

^u FLOR. lib. iii. c. 5. ^w DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^x ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 25. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alex.

(F) The words of the law of *Moses* relating to this matter are these: *When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war,*

THINGS being in this situation, and the king busy in providing for the next campaign, a very extraordinary piece of treason was discovered. *Alexander* the son of *Æropus*, whom the king had made general of the *Thessalian* horse, held a correspondence with *Amyntas*, who was in the service of *Darius*. *Asifines* a *Persian* was pitched on by the latter to carry letters to this *Alexander*, promising him a thousand talents of silver, and the kingdom of *Macedonia*, if he would undertake to murder the king; this *Asifines* *Parmenio* apprehended upon some suspicion or other, and, being examined, he confessed the whole business; whereupon the king sent instructions to *Parmenio* to apprehend *Alexander*, before he should be able to debauch the troops under his command, and thereby cause a defection, which, on account of the man's great quality, might be very dangerous. This commission was very happily executed, and the king thereby deliver-

war, neither shall he be charged with any business; he shall be free at home for one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken (12). To this passage it might be objected, that *Moses* forbids the enlisting of new-married men, whereas *Alexander* dismissed those who actually served in his army; yet the truth is, that *Alexander* exactly fulfilled the law; for, in another place, it is enjoined the principal officers of the *Hebrew* army, when in the field to enquire, amongst other things, *What man there is that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her; let him go home and return to his house, lest he die in battle, and another man take her* (13). We are well assured, that *Aristotle* was acquainted with, and highly esteemed the law of the *Jews*; we know too, that what *Philip* expected from him was not to instruct his son in scanning of verses, or solving grammatical niceties; but that he might become a worthy successor of himself, and an able king of *Macedon*. To this end, that truly wise man put a correct edition of *Homer* into the hands of his pupil, and doubtless acquainted him with whatsoever else he had collected in relation to the science of government from books or in his travels (14). This supposition therefore, that the practice of *Alexander* was founded on the *Mosaic* law, is very probable. To say the truth, the best laws in *Greece* were but copies of the *Mosaic* law, as some learned men in the last century have very fully shewn, and of which any impartial person may be easily convinced, if he will compare those laws, in their original languages, and consider how nearly the *Greek* approaches to an elegant translation of the *Hebrew*, necessary allowances being made for the difference in manners.

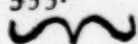
(12) *Deut.* xxiv. 5.
contra Appian. lib. 1.

(13) *Deut.* xx. 7.

(14) *Joseph.*

ed from a conspiracy which had given him no small disquiet^z (G).

Alexander
proceeds in
the conquest
of the ad-
jacent pro-
vinces.
Year of
the Flood
2666.
Before
Christ
333.



As soon as the season permitted, *Alexander* quitted the province of *Phaselus* where he now was, and, having sent part of his army through the mountainous country to *Perga* by a short but difficult road, he led the rest by the sea-shore, taking his rout by a certain promontory, where the way is altogether impassable, except when the north winds blow. At the time of the king's march the south wind had held for a long time, but of a sudden it changed, and blew from the north so violently, that, as he and his followers declared, they, by divine assistance, obtained a safe and easy passage. This is *Arrian's* account, not only in substance, but in his own words, of a march held by many to be miraculous, and even compared to that of the children of *Israel* through the *Red-sea*, while, on the other hand, it is the opinion of many, there is nothing extraordinary in it at all^a (H). In this march

^z *ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 26. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.* ^a *ARRIAN. PLUT. ubi supra.*

(G) We are told by *Diodorus*, that it was by a letter from his mother *Olympias* the king was informed of the conspiracy of *Alexander* the son of *Aeropus*; however, *Arrian*, besides the information of *Parmenio*, informs us of another odd circumstance, which concurred to make this matter more observable. While the king, who then lay before *Halicarnassus*, was fast asleep about noon, a swallow came chattering about him, hovering over his head, and resting sometimes on one, and sometimes on the other, side of the bed. He being exceedingly fatigued was not easily awaked; but when her incessant chattering roused him from sleep, he put her away gently with his hand; notwithstanding which she was so far from endeavouring to escape, that she perched upon his head, and ceased not her noise till the king was thoroughly awake. This prodigy being deemed of too great moment to be disregarded, he immediately consulted with *Aristander* the *Telmiffian* soothsayer, who assured him, that a conspiracy was formed against his life by one of his domestics, but that it would be brought to light, because the swallow was a domestic bird, and most exceedingly loquacious (15).

(H) There seems to be no just reason for believing any thing supernatural in relation to *Alexander's* passage by the sea-side. In his letters he spoke of it himself in terms the most plain and simple, affirming nothing more than that he marched from *Phaselis* through the streights called *the Ladders* (16). There is, however, a passage in *Strabo*, which seems to set this matter in a clear light, and

(15) *Arrian. lib. i. c. 26.*

(16) *Epist. Alex. ap. Plut. in vita Alex.*

march he was met by deputies from the *Aspendians*, who desired him to spare putting a garison into their city, because they were content to be his faithful subjects, to which he readily assented, upon condition they paid him fifty talents, and sent him the same number of horses which they were wont to furnish to *Darius*; terms to which they also readily agreed; but while the king was employed in reducing other places in the neighbourhood, the *Aspendians* fortified their city, and refused to comply with the treaty which their deputies had made. Upon which the king marched immediately that way with his army. The city of *Aspendus* is seated chiefly upon a high and steep rock, the foot of which is washed by the river *Eurymedon*; but round the rock upon the plain are abundance of houses surrounded with a slight wall. As soon as *Alexander* approached, the inhabitants of the lower town, distrusting their safety there, fled, and betook themselves to the higher town or castle; which when he perceived, he entered the lower town with his army, and encamped within the walls. The besieged seeing *Alexander's* force, and themselves hemmed in on every side contrary to their expectations, sent messengers to intreat him to accept of the former conditions. *Alexander*, considering the strength of the place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long siege, was willing to agree with them, though not upon the former terms; but insisted now, that their principal citizens should be delivered up as hostages; that the number of horses which they had before promised should be punctually delivered, and the number of talents doubled; and, moreover, that they should be under the command of such a garison as he should place over them, and pay an annual tribute to the *Macedonians*; and, lastly, that the cause concerning the field, which they were said to have wrested unjustly out of

to prove very fully, that there was in this passage no miracle at all: "Near the city of *Phaselis*, between *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*
 "there is a passage, coasting along by the sea, through which
 " *Alexander* marched his army. This passage is very narrow, and
 "lies between the mountain *Chinax*, which overlooks the *Pam-*
 " *phylian* sea, and the shore. It is dry at low water, so that tra-
 "vellers pass through it with safety; but when the sea is high, it
 "is all covered over. It was then in the winter season, and *A-*
 " *lexander*, who depended much upon his good fortune, was re-
 "solved to set out without staying till the floods were abated, so
 "that his men were forced to march up to the middle in wa-
 "ter (17)."

their neighbours hands, should be referred to arbitration. This affair being finished, the king prosecuted his march to *Telmissus*, a very strong city, seated on the top of a high mountain, having another as high over-against it, and a narrow craggy road between these two. This pass the *Telmissians* had seized, and, if they had defended it as they ought, might in all probability have compelled the king to look for another road. But *Alexander*, rightly judging that the terror of an attack would oblige them to withdraw, encamped his forces at the very entrance of the passage, at the close of the evening, and in the morning, as he had rightly conjectured, it was perceived, that the *Telmissians* were retired into their city, the siege of which, on account of its strong situation, the king declined for the present, and continued his march through *Phrygia*, intending to reassemble all his troops at *Gordium*, whither he sent his orders to *Parmenio* to march, as he did also to *Ptolemy* and his colleagues, who, with the new-married men and recruits, were now returned from *Macedonia* ^b. On his march he met with deputies from *Athens*, who, in very submissive terms, besought him to dismiss such of their citizens, as he had taken fighting in the service of the *Persians*; but from this the king desired to be excused till the war was over, and then told them he would be content to hear what they could say in favour of their citizens ^c.

Darius
puts Chari-
demus to
death.

Darius was all this time fighting for *Alexander* at home; for upon the death of *Memnon* his admiral, who had begun with great success to reduce the *Greek* islands again under his obedience, and was on the very point of invading *Eubœa*, he was quite at a stand, not knowing whom to employ in his stead; and being also irresolute as to the choice of a general, who should command the land-forces he had raised. There happened to be at this time of his court and council one *Charidemus* an *Athenian*, an officer of great merit, and who had served long, and with much reputation, under *Philip* of *Macedon*; this man, being heartily zealous for the *Persian* interest, and seeing it no less in danger from their own feeble councils, than from the *Macedonian* arms, took upon him in few words to set the king and his ministers right. While you, Sir, said he to *Darius*, are safe, the empire can never be at stake; let me exhort you therefore never to expose your person, but to make choice of some able general to march against your enemy. One hundred thousand men will be more than suf-

^b ARRIAN. lib. I. c. 28.
lib. ii. c. 2.

^c ARRIAN. ubi supra. CURT.

ficient, provided a third of them be mercenaries, to compel him to abandon this enterprize; and if you will honour me with this command, I will be accountable for the success of what I advise. *Darius*, who was a wise and brave man, readily acceded to *Charidemus's* proposal; but the *Persian* lords who were present, through envy, inveighed bitterly against it; whereupon the *Athenian* was so far transported with passion, that he told them they were cowards, who would neither serve their master themselves, nor suffer him to be served by others. This moved them to charge him with treachery, and to alledge that he sought the command merely to put all things into the hands of the *Macedonians*; which made such an impression on *Darius*, that he ordered him to be instantly bound and delivered over to execution. Those who had pushed the king upon this barbarous and unjust act took care not to let the thing cool, but hurried the *Athenian* to instant death; to which as he went, he said aloud, *Darius will very soon repent his cruelty towards me, when by the loss of his kingdom he shall find with how much injustice he has taken away my life*^d. Indeed *Darius* repented in a few days, but as our author rightly observes, powerful as he was, he could not recal from death him whom a hasty word had sent from the land of the living. He was forced therefore to take the counsel of his own subjects, and pursuant to their advice determined to march against *Alexander* with an army, which, as one of his predecessors emphatically said, had in it many men and few soldiers.

WHEN *Alexander* arrived at *Gordium*, and found himself under a necessity of remaining there some time, till the several corps of his army could unite, he discovered an earnest desire of seeing *Gordius's* chariot, and the famous knot in the harness, of which such strange stories had been published to the world. This *Gordius*, as the tale went, was a man of slender fortune among the antient *Phrygians*, who had a small piece of land and two yoke of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon; and that on a certain day, while he was ploughing, an eagle alighted on the yoke, and there rested till the evening. He, terrified at the sight, hastened to consult the *Telmiffian* augurs in that case (for the art of divination was common to all that people, even to the women and children, so that it was in a manner hereditary); and when he arrived at a certain village in that country, he met a virgin going to a fountain, who foretold what should happen to him, and ordered him, as she was of

^d DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra, CURT. lib. iii. c. v.

the *Telmissian* progeny, to return to his field, and then offer sacrifice to *Jupiter*. *Gordius*, on the other hand, intreated her to accompany him thither, to teach him after what manner sacrifice should be performed. He, thus instructed by the virgin, took her to wife, and she bore him a son named *Midas*, who when he arrived at manhood was both beautiful and valiant. The *Phrygians* were at that time harassed with a cruel sedition, and going to consult the oracle were told, that a chariot should bring them a king who should quell their sedition. Whilst they were yet busy in offering their conjectures about this answer, *Midas* arrived with his father and mother, and appeared suddenly in his chariot before the council. They hereupon interpreting the answer to relate to him, as the man whom the god had told them should come thither in a chariot, made him their king. Their seditions he appeased, and consecrated his father's chariot to *Jupiter* the king, by hanging it up in his palace as an offering of thanks for the eagle, the bird of *Jupiter*, sent to his father, by which he received the kingdom. This was also reported concerning the chariot, that whosoever could untie the knot whereby it hung, should obtain the sovereignty over all *Asia*. The cord in which this knot was tied was composed of the inner rind of the corneil tree, and no eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. *Alexander*, when he could find no possible way of untying it, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, lest it should cause some fears to arise in the hearts of his soldiers, is said by some to have cut the cords with his sword, and affirmed that the knot was untied. But *Aristobulus* assures us, that he wrested a wooden pin out of the beam of the waggon, which, being driven in across the beam, held it up, and so took the yoke from it^e. *Arrian*, from whom we have taken this relation, leaves his reader at liberty to receive which story he pleases. *Curtius*, on the contrary, declares positively, that the king cut the knot through with his sword, saying, as he struck, *It matters not how it is undone*. But what is the authority of *Curtius* compared to that of *Aristobulus*, who was an eye witness of the thing, and who declares as expressly that the king did not cut it? To which sentiment also *Plutarch* adheres. However it was, *Arrian* informs us, that a great tempest of thunder, lightning, and rain happening in the succeeding night, it was held declarative of the true solution of this knot, and that *Alexander* would become lord of *Asia* f.

^e ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 30.
in vit. Alex.

^f ARRIAN. ubi supra. PLUT.

ON *Alexander's* arrival at *Ancyra* a city of *Galatia*, the *His vigil-* province of *Paphlagonia* submitted to him, which he there-^{ance in} upon added to the government of *Calas*, proceeding instantly ^{entering} to reduce *Cappadocia* as far as the river *Halys*, and then *Cilicia*. marched on to possess himself of *Cilicia*. This province was bounded on the west by *Pamphylia*, on the east by *Syria*, on the south by the bay of *Iffus*, and on the north by *Cappadocia*. In it were three famous streights or passes: The first at its entrance called *the gate*; the second called *the streights of Amanus*; the third near the bay of *Iffus*. It was the first of these which *Alexander* sought to surprize by a quick march, and which, when he came to the camp of *Cyrus*, a place so called, because *Cyrus* the younger had once taken post there with his army, he had the mortification to hear had been seized by the *Persian*, who had sent a considerable body of troops to defend it; this did not hinder the king from pursuing his design, and marching in the first watch of the night with his horse and light-armed foot to the very mouth of the pass, in order to attack it as soon as day broke. But the enemy spared him the trouble, for long before day, forgetting the importance of the place, they abandoned it, and sought their safety in flight; so that *Alexander* immediately took possession of it, and the next day marched all his army through into *Cilicia* without so much as a skirmish^e.

As soon as he entered the province, he received advice, that *His sharp* *Arfames*, whom *Darius* had made governor of *Tarsus*, was *sickness* about to abandon it, and that the inhabitants were very ap-^{and won-} prehensive he would plunder it before he withdrew. To pre-^{derful re-} vent this, the king marched incessantly, and arrived just time ^{covery.} enough to preserve the place; but his saving it had well-nigh cost him his life; for either through the excessive fatigue of marching, as some say, or, as others relate, by his plunging when very hot into the river *Cydnus*, which as it runs through thick shades hath its waters exceedingly cold, he fell into such a distemper as threatened his immediate dissolution. His army in a moment lost its spirits; his generals, who were wont to advise him, knew not what to do themselves; nay, his physicians were so affrighted, that the terror of his death hindered them from taking proper methods for preserving his life^b. *Philip* the *Acarnanian* alone preserved temper enough to examine the nature of the king's disease, the strongest

^e ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 4. CURT. lib. iii. c. 9.
lib ii. c. 4. CURT. lib. iii. c. 10.

^b ARRIAN.

symptom

symptom of which was a continual waking, which he promised by the help of a draught to take off, and by composing his spirits to put him in a way of recovery. But while *Philip* was employed in preparing his medicine, the king received a letter from *Parmenio*, in which he was advised to be cautious of taking any thing from *Philip*, *Darius* having suborned him to take away his life. Having perused the letter, the king put it under his head; and when *Philip* brought him the potion, he took it out, and reached it to the physician, drinking the mixture with a steady and smiling look, while *Philip* read the letter. The composure of the man's countenance, and the answer he gave to the letter, by exhorting the king to quiet his thoughts, and to dispose himself to rest, assuring him that he would recover his health, if he pursued his directions, convinced *Alexander* of the falshood of the accusation. When, according to *Philip's* promise, the king began to recover his health, he not only testified an extraordinary gratitude towards the author of his cure, but also assured all who were about him that he had the justest sense imaginable of their loyalty and affection to his person, notwithstanding any suggestions he might have received to their prejudice.

*He passes
by Darius.*

IMMEDIATELY on his recovery, he dispatched *Parmenio* to seize the second streights, while he himself reduced such places in the neighbourhood as had not besought his protection. Being encamped at *Soli*, he received advice, that *Ptolemy* and *Afander* had beat the generals of *Darius*, and made great conquests on the *Hellepont*; this was very grateful intelligence, and *Alexander* caused very magnificent feasts and thews to be made in his camp on that account. A little after he was informed, that *Darius* was advanced through *Syria* within two days journey of the streights, upon which the king immediately marched towards him, and that with such expedition, that going through the defiles, he encamped near the city of *Myriandrus*. In the mean time *Darius*, led by his ill fate in the shape of his flatterers, had passed the streights of *Amanus*, and came down to *Iffus*, where he put most of the *Macedonians* he found to the sword¹.

*Darius
returns to
meet him.*

Alexander was so much surprized, when he first received the news that *Darius* was behind him, that he could scarce believe it to be true; but when he was thoroughly satisfied of the fact, and that *Darius* had again passed the river *Pinarus*, he called a council of war, wherein, without asking any

¹ ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 6. CURT. lib. iii. c. 16.

body advice, he only told them, that he hoped they would remember their former actions, and that they, who were always conquerors, were about to fight people who were always beaten. He further observed, that *Darius* seemed to be infatuated, since he had with such expedition quitted an open and champain country, where his numbers might have acted with advantage, to fight in a place inclosed, where the *Macedonian* phalanx might well be drawn up, and where his multitudes could only incommode him. To these he added many other reflections on the antient glory of the *Greeks*, and as antient the infamy of the *Barbarians*. When he had finished his oration, those who were present shook hands, and, commending the king's magnanimity, promised that they would do their duty. *Alexander* then made the necessary dispositions for repassing the mountains, posted guards where he found them necessary, and then commanded his troops to refresh themselves, and to take their rest till morning ^k.

AT break of day he began to repass the mountains, oblig- *Disposi-*
ing his forces to move in close order where the road was nar- *ons of both*
row, and to extend themselves as they had more room; the *armies.*
right wing keeping always close to the mountain, and the left to the sea-shore. On the right there was a battalion of heavy-armed troops; besides the targeteers under the command of *Nicanor* the son of *Parmenio*. Next these extending to the phalanx were the corps of *Cænius* and *Perdiccas*. And on the left the respective bodies commanded by *Amyntas*, *Ptolemy*, and *Meleager*. The foot appointed to support them was commanded by *Craterus*: But the whole left wing was committed to *Parmenio*, with strict orders not to decline from the sea-shore, lest the *Persians* should surround them. *Darius* ordered twenty thousand foot and thirty thousand horse to pass once again the river *Pinarus*, finding that he already wanted room to draw up the rest. His first line consisted of thirty thousand *Greek* mercenaries, having on their right and left sixty-thousand heavy-armed troops, being the utmost the ground would allow. On the left towards the mountain he posted twenty thousand men, which from the hollow situation of the place were brought quite behind *Alexander's* right wing. The rest of his troops were formed into close and useless lines behind the *Greek* mercenaries, to the number in all of six hundred thousand men. When this was done, he suddenly recalled the horse who had passed the river, sending part of them to take post on his right against

^k ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 6. CURT. lib. iii. c. 16.

the *Macedonians* commanded by *Parmenio*, and the rest he ordered to the left towards the mountain, but finding them unserviceable there he sent the greatest part of them to the right : And then took upon himself, according to the custom of the *Persian* kings, the command of the main body. As soon as *Alexander* perceived, that the weight of the *Persian* horse was disposed against his left wing, he dispatched with as much secrecy as he could the *Thessalian* cavalry thither, and supplied their places on the right by some brigades of horse from the van and light-armed troops. He also made such dispositions, that, notwithstanding the mighty advantage of the hollow mountain, the *Persians* could not surround him. But as these precautions had much weakened the centre of his army, he ordered those advanced posts on the enemy's left, of which he was most apprehensive, to be attacked at the very beginning of the fight ; and when they were easily driven from them, he recalled as many troops as were necessary to strengthen his centre 1.

Battle of
Ilius.
Year of
the Flood,
2667.
Before
Christ,
332.

WHEN all things were in order, *Alexander* gave strict orders that his army should march very slowly. As for *Darius*, he kept his troops fixed in their posts, and in some places threw up ramparts, whence the *Macedonians* rightly observed, that he thought himself already a prisoner. *Alexander* at the head of the right wing engaged first, and without any difficulty broke and defeated the left wing of *Darius*. But endeavouring to pass the river after them, his troops in some measure losing their order, the *Greek* mercenaries fell upon them in flank, and made them fight not only for victory, but for their lives. *Ptolemy*, the son of *Seleucus*, and a hundred and twenty *Macedonians* of some rank were killed upon the spot. But the foot next to *Alexander's* right wing, coming in seasonably to its relief, fell upon the mercenaries in flank, amongst whom a miserable carnage was made ; they being in a manner surrounded by the horse and light-armed troops, which at first pursued the left wing, and the foot that had now passed the river. The *Persian* horse on the right still fought gallantly ; but when they were thoroughly informed of the rout of their left wing, the destruction of the *Greek* mercenaries, and that *Darius* himself was fled ; they began to break and betake themselves to flight too. The *Thessalian* cavalry pursued them close at the heels ; the narrow craggy roads incommoded them exceedingly ; so that vast numbers of them perished. As for *Darius*, he fled soon after the left wing was broken in a chariot with a few of his

¹ ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 8, 9.

†

favourites ;

favourites ; as far as the country was plain and open he escaped well enough ; but when the roads became rocky and narrow, he quitted it, and mounting a horse rode all the night ; his chariot, in which was his shield, his cloak, and his bow, fell into the hands of *Alexander*, who carried them back to his camp. The loss of the *Persians* did not fall much short of a hundred thousand men, and *Ptolemy* in his relation reports, that when *Alexander's* troops were in full pursuit of *Darius*, they filled up the ditches as oft as they were obstructed by them with heaps of dead bodies, and so without farther difficulty passed on (I). The tent of *Darius* had been

(I) In respect to the battle of *Iffus*, *Diodorus* informs us, that *Alexander* looked every-where about for *Darius*, and, as soon as he discovered him, with his handful of guards attacked him and the flower of the *Persian* army which was about him ; being as desirous of obtaining this victory by his personal valour, as of subduing the *Persian* empire by the courage of his soldiers. But when *Oxathres* the brother of *Darius* saw *Alexander's* design, and how fiercely he sought to accomplish it, he threw himself with the horse who were about him between his brother's chariot and the enemy, where an obstinate fight was maintained, till the dead bodies rose like an intrenchment about the chariot of *Darius*. Many of the *Persian* nobility were slain, and *Alexander* himself was wounded in the thigh. At the last, the horses in the chariot of *Darius* started, and became so unruly, that the king himself was forced to take the reins, the enemy, however, pressing so hard upon him, that he was constrained to call for another chariot, and mounted it in great danger. This was the beginning of the rout, which soon after became general. According to this author the *Persians* lost an hundred and twenty thousand foot and ten thousand horse ; the *Macedonians* three hundred foot and a hundred and fifty horse. After the battle he tells us, that *Alexander* returned to *Darius's* tent, and there bathed, and was lodged with all the luxury and magnificence of a *Persian* prince. He gives us also the story of *Alexander's* visit to *Sisygambis* with this addition, that the king called to him the little son of *Darius* and kissed him. The boy coming readily and shewing no sort of terror, the king turning to *Hephestion* said, *This boy of six years old hath a noble countenance, a high spirit, and is more worthy of esteem than his father.* He then promised, that he would take the same care of the child as if he were his own ; and assured the young ladies, that he would be no less careful in providing matches for them, than *Darius* himself would have been (18). *Plutarch* assures us, on the authority of one *Chares*, that *Darius* himself wounded *Alexander* in the thigh ; yet *Plutarch* observes that *Alexander* in his letter to *Antipater*, though he mentions his wound in his thigh, says nothing of

(18) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*

been very early taken, and in it his mother, his wife, two daughters and a little son; there fell at the same time into the hands of the *Macedonians* the wives of the most considerable *Persian* noblemen; as for those of inferior officers, they had been with the heavy baggage and treasure conveyed to *Damascus*, which precaution, however, did not preserve them; for a little after all fell into the power of *Parmenio*, sent by *Alexander* for that purpose. In the evening of the day of action, when the king returned to the camp and went to refresh himself in the tent of *Darius*, he was extremely surprized to hear the loud cries and groanings of many women so near him; whereupon demanding of some who were near him, who these women were and what the occasion of their sorrow, he was informed, that they were the mother, the wife,

his having received it from *Darius*. On his return to the camp after the pursuit, he entered *Darius's* tent, and immediately cried out, *Come, let us cleanse and refresh ourselves in Darius's bath. No*, cried one of his attendants, *call it rather Alexander's; for the goods of the vanquished belong to the victor by the law of arms.* After bathing, participating of a fine entertainment, and being conducted into the magnificent bed-chamber of the *Persian* king, *Alexander* could not help saying with an air of transport, *This is to be a prince indeed.* As to the respect shewn to the ladies, *Plutarch's* account is only a little warmer and more exalted than that of *Arrian* and *Diodorus* (19). *Justin* informs us, that the *Persian* army consisted of four hundred thousand foot, and a hundred thousand horse. He says, that the battle was hard fought, that both the kings were wounded, and that the *Persians* still fought gallantly when their king fled, but that they were afterwards speedily and totally routed; he is very particular as to their loss, which he says amounted to sixty-one thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and forty thousand taken prisoners. Of the *Macedonians*, he says, there fell no more than a hundred and thirty foot, and a hundred and fifty horse (20). *Curtius*, not mentioning the armies passing by each other, makes the whole of his relation very confused. Indeed it is so laboured, that it appears rather an exercise of rhetoric than a candid narration, and the close of it, which is what we have most to do with, exceeds all the rest. He agrees, that of the *Persians* there fell a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Of *Alexander's* army five hundred and four he says were wounded, thirty-two foot killed, and a hundred and fifty horse. That we may not suspect any error in transcribers, his own observation nails down the fact: *Tantulo impendio ingens victoria stetit*, so small was the cost of so great a victory (21).

(19) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (20) *Justin. lib. xi. c. 9.*

(21) *Curt.*

lib. iii. c. 20—29.

the daughters of *Darius*, and the most considerable ladies of *Persia* who waited upon them; that the reason of their lamentation was the report of an eunuch, that he had seen in the hands of a soldier the cloak of *Darius*, whence he concluded that the king was slain. *Alexander* is said upon this occasion to have shed tears. However it was, he sent *Leonnatus*, a person of the first rank amongst his officers, to free the women from their fears, by assuring them, that *Darius* made his escape; and at the same time to comfort them with promises of honourable treatment, a permission to wear royal apparel, and to be called and served as if they were still queens. The next day he went himself with *Hephestion* to their tent, that he might farther console the illustrious captives. Their garb being much alike, *Sisygambis* the mother of *Darius* fell down at the feet of *Hephestion*, being somewhat taller, supposing him to be the king. But when some of the attendants signified to her, by motions of their heads and hands, that she was mistaken, she immediately went and paid her devoirs to the king himself. He seeing her in some confusion, took her by the hand and raised her up, saying, *Do not be uneasy, mother, you were not in the wrong, for he too is Alexander*¹. This passage is found in *Arrian*, who confesses, that he met with it in the works of most historians of those times; yet he seems diffident of the truth of it, and contents himself with saying what ought to be always said when it is mentioned; *That there is so much worth and beauty in the action as ought to incline us to wish it true at least, if not to believe it*. Other historians have not been so nice; they found the story good, inserted it therefore in their writings, and, taking occasion from thence to extol the virtue and clemency of *Alexander*, have never troubled their readers with any suspicions as to the certainty of the fact. But we in this, as in the foregoing relation of the battle, have stuck close to *Arrian*, from whom indeed there is no stirring without danger of falling, not only into incertainties, but into incredibilities; as the reader will perceive from a short specimen of inconsistencies, extracted from other writers and digested in the foregoing note.

Alexander made the best use of this signal victory, encouraging the provinces and petty princes in the neighbourhood to come and submit themselves voluntarily, treating all

The conduct of Alexander in reducing Cœlosyria.

¹ *ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 10, 11, 12.*

that did so, not as new and conquered, but as old and hereditary subjects, neither burdening them with soldiers, nor oppressing them with tribute. *Menon*, an antient officer of his, he appointed governor of *Cælo-Syria*, and assigned him such a body of horse, as he judged necessary for the safety of the province. The *Persian* had all this time a great fleet at sea, to which most of the little princes on the maritime coasts had been forced to join all the ships they could furnish, rather out of fear, than any inclination they had to concern themselves in the present dispute about the dominion of *Asia*, which, however it ended, they knew would leave them where it found them, tributaries and dependents. *Strato*, the son of *Gerostratus*, king of *Arados* and the neighbouring isles, took this opportunity of making peace for his father's subjects, who were in the utmost danger; their king with all their naval force being sailed to join the *Persian* fleet. *Strato* prevented *Alexander's* march towards the dominions he held on the continent, by going of his own accord to his head-quarters, where, presenting him with a crown of gold, he submitted himself and all his dominions to his pleasure; whereby *Alexander* reaped all that he sought, viz. *glory* and *power*, and *Strato* lost nothing, but on the contrary avoided the *Macedonian's* entering his territories in a hostile manner ^m (K).

AMONG

^m *ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 13.*

(K) We have omitted in our text a very remarkable passage in *Alexander's* life, which is attested by many credible authors, amongst others by *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, though it is not mentioned by *Arrian* at all. The reason, however, of our omitting it was, we knew not how or where certainly to place it. The story is best told by *Curtius*, and therefore from him we shall take it. He says, that *Strato* king of *Sidon*, being cordially attached to *Darius's* interest, *Alexander*, when he was in the neighbourhood of the city, gave his favourite *Hephestion* leave to bestow the kingdom upon whom he would. *Hephestion* having lodged with two brothers, and being extremely taken with their kindness towards him, offered them the kingdom; but they alledging, that by the laws of their country it was hereditary, refused it on account of their not being of the royal blood. *Hephestion*, charmed with so noble a disinterestedness, desired them to name him to whom it of right belonged. The brethren readily told him, that there was one *Abdalominus* of the blood-royal, who

W23



AMONG other places belonging to *Gerostratus* was *Marathus*, a city on the continent, very considerable in respect of its extent, its wealth, and beauty; thither for the sake of better accommodation, *Alexander* marched, and remained there a considerable time, while he debated in his council on the properest means for establishing the tranquility of his new-acquired dominions, and for carrying on the war against *Darius*. As for that prince, after he had a little recovered his astonishment, he collected, as well as he could, the scattered remains of his army, and retired with them as speedily as

Embassadors sent from Darius, to intreat the discharge of his mother, wife, and children.

was so poor that he kept a little kitchen garden, and wrought in it for a subsistence, in the suburbs; to him by the direction of *Hephestion* they carried the royal robes and crown; they found him weeding, and having told him their errand, made him wash and clean himself, and array him as a king. He was then conducted to *Alexander*, about whom there were many who could not help inveighing against the raising so mean a man to a throne. *Alexander* looked on him a little, and then turning to those who were near him, said, *His person does not at all disgrace his birth: I would be glad to know how he bore his poverty. I would to God, cried the new king, I may bear my prosperity as well; these hands have ministered to my necessities, and as I had nothing, so I wanted nothing.* *Alexander* was so well pleased with this answer, that he gave him the palace, furniture, and private estate of *Strato*; nay, and added part of the adjacent country to his kingdom (22). *Diodorus*, instead of *Sidon*, lays the scene at *Tyre* after the reduction of that place; but in this he must be mistaken, for the name of the first king of *Tyre* was not *Strato*, neither was he absent when the city was taken; but on the contrary was himself taken in it, and, as we shall hereafter see, was also left king of *Tyre* by *Alexander*. *Diodorus* calls also the new king *Ballonimus*. He says too, that he was expressly recommended to the king by *Hephestion*, as a person of his own knowledge (23). *Plutarch* is wholly silent in his life of *Alexander* on this subject, but elsewhere he tells us the story. He transports us, however, to *Paphos*, where, he says, the former king being deprived for tyranny, *Alynomus*, a poor man, who had no possession but his garden, was by *Alexander* raised to the kingdom, because he was of the royal blood (24). But against this there is a material objection, which is, that *Alexander* never was at *Paphos*. As *Curtius* has told the story, it is well enough, especially as it is supported by *Justin* (25), yet not so well as to deserve a place in the body of the history, since it is impossible to set this story absolutely free from all objections.

(22) *Curt. lib. iv. c. 4.*(24) *Orat. de Fort. Alex.*(23) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*(25) *Justin. Hist. lib. xi. c. 10.*

possible beyond the river *Euphrates* : From thence he wrote to *Alexander* at *Marathus*, and sent also ambassadors to intreat him to set at liberty his mother, his wife, and children. In his letter he expostulated pretty warmly on the injustice of the war commenced against him ; he alledged, that neither he nor any of his predecessors had ever injured the *Macedonians* ; that *Philip* had invaded them without any declaration of war ; and that himself had prosecuted that invasion without signifying what grievances he had sustained, or what satisfaction he expected ; that as to the end of the war providence would determine ; but that in the interim, he who was still a king requested of *Alexander* as a king also, that he would restore to him his mother, wife, and children ; and also name plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. *Alexander* sent back the ambassadors, and with them *Thersippus*, charged with a letter to *Darius*, which ran in these words “ Your
“ ancestors, entering *Macedonia* and the rest of *Greece*, injured us without having received the least provocation. I,
“ as the general of the *Greeks* have invaded *Asia*, to vindicate them against their antient enemies the *Persians*,
“ provoked by their repeated outrages. You also afforded
“ aid to the *Perinthians*, who had grossly injured my father, and *Ochus* sent likewise an army into *Thrace*, which
“ is part of our dominions. My father was slain by traitors suborned by you, as you have openly published in
“ your letters ; so *Arses* being dispatched by *Bagoas* thro’
“ your contrivance, in open defiance of the *Persian* laws, you have assumed the royal dignity. You have likewise
“ entered into negotiations in *Greece* with a view to my
“ prejudice, remitting money to the *Lacedæmonians* and other *Greeks*, received only by the former, and rejected
“ by all the rest, in order to corrupt my allies, and to
“ dissolve the grand alliance into which we have entered. I
“ therefore have made war upon thee, because by such a
“ variety of methods thou hast proved thyself my enemy.
“ Having also beaten thy lieutenants heretofore, and thyself
“ lately with all thy army, I hold through the goodness
“ of heaven this country. Such of your soldiers as have
“ fled to me remain with me, and serve under me, not
“ through constraint, but of their own free will. Come
“ therefore to me, as to the lord of *Asia*. If thou art afraid
“ that I should do any thing harsh towards thee, send some
“ of thy friends to me who may take my oath. When
“ thou art come, thy mother, thy wife, thy children, and
“ whatever else you please, ask, they shall be thine. As
“ to

“ to the rest, when you write to me again, remember, that
 “ you write to the king of *Asia* ; treat me no more as
 “ your equal ; but as to the lord of all you have, signify
 “ what it is you want. If you do otherwise, I shall conceive
 “ myself injured : If you dispute my right, prepare to do
 “ it in another general engagement ; but do not fly, since
 “ it is to no purpose, for where-ever you go, I am deter-
 “ mined to follow you ”. It is certain this letter is in a
 very high strain, and one may almost pronounce that it is
 genuine by comparing the spirit it breathes, with that which
 at all times animated the words and actions of *Alexander*.

Parmenio, according to the instructions he had received, possessed himself entirely of the treasure, equipage, *Alexander* baggage, and whatever else *Darius* had left at *Damascus* der uses under the command of *Cophenes* ; all which, by the express the Greek direction of the king, he carried back to the same city, embassa- and there took an exact account of them. Amongst other dors to prisoners were the *Greek* ambassadors sent from *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Darius* and *Thebes*, to negotiate with the king the raising a com- with much motion, which might oblige *Alexander* to return home. These moderation by command of the king were sent to him as traitors ; as for the two *Theban* ambassadors, *Alexander* said, as he had left them no city in *Greece*, they had some reason for what they did, and therefore *Ismenes* being of a noble family, and *Dionysodorus* having been victor in the *Olympic* games, he, partly out of compassion to their country, and partly out of respect to themselves, freely set them at liberty *. When he knew, that the *Athenian* ambassador was *Iphicrates*, the son of *Iphicrates* the famous general, he said his family were under too many obligations to his father for his son to suffer any thing from his hands, and therefore not only dismissed him, but treated him with great kindness. As for *Euthycles* the *Lacedæmonian*, he would hear nothing either in favour of him or his country, but ordered him to remain in custody ; but afterwards, when affairs were better settled, he let him too go at large. Thus *Alexander* wisely kept terms with all the *Grecian* states, though at the same time he prudently pretended pity and personal respect, that it might not be at all suspected his moderation was tinctured with fear ; though, as we shall hereafter hear from his own mouth, he had but a very indifferent opinion of the affection of the *Greeks*, and therefore as

* *ARRIAN*. lib. ii. c. 14. *DIODOR*. lib. xvii. *CURT*. lib. iv. c. 2.

* The *Theban* ambassadors were, according to *Arrian*, *Theffaliscus*, the son of *Ismenias*, and *Dionysodorus*.

The Tyrians refuse to admit Alexander.

he trusted them little, so he was by no means forward to provoke them °.

Tyre was in the number of those places, which, within a short space after the battle of *Iffus*, sent deputies to submit themselves to the conqueror; the king whose name was *Azelmicus* was absent in the *Persian* fleet; but his son was of the number of the deputies, and *Alexander* received him as favourably as he had done those who came from *Byblus* on the same errand. It is possible, the king intended to honour *Tyre* farther, for he acquainted the citizens that he would come and sacrifice to the *Tyrian Hercules*, the patron of their city, to whom they had erected a most magnificent temple. But these people, like most other trading nations, were too suspicious to think of admitting so enterprizing a prince with his troops within their walls. They therefore sent their deputies to him again, to inform him, that they were ready to do whatever he should command them; but as to his coming and sacrificing in their city, they could not consent to that, but were positively determined not to admit so much as one *Macedonian* within their gates. *Alexander* immediately dismissed their deputies in great displeasure. He then assembled a council of war, wherein he insisted strongly on the disaffected state of *Greece*, the power of the *Persians* at sea, and the folly of carrying on the war in distant provinces, while *Tyre* was left unreduced behind them; he also remarked, that, if this city was once subdued, the sovereignty of the sea would be immediately transferred to them, because it would fix their possession of the coasts; and as the *Persian* fleet was composed chiefly of tributary squadrons, those tributaries would fight the battels, not of their late, but of their present, masters. These reasons having persuaded the council to concur with them, the siege was immediately resolved on. It may seem somewhat strange, that *Alexander*, now in the current of his victories, an absolute prince, and impetuous in his temper, should condescend to explain himself so much at large, as to the nature and importance of his designs. But we are to consider, that his army was composed of veteran troops, commanded by old and experienced officers; that their valour did not consist in a short extravagant fury, but in a cool and determined resolution; in order to engage which, there was a necessity that the king should shew them not only what he would have them do, but why he conceived it fit to be done. Nor did his authority suffer at all thereby; for as the *Macedonians* always held themselves subjects and not slaves, so when once

° ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 15. CURT. lib. iv. c. 35.

they

they were acquainted with the nature and expedience of the service required from them, they were indefatigable, and never refused to share any danger, in the execution of an undertaking they had once resolved on ^P.

THIS city was built on an island surrounded with prodigious walls, the sea as yet was open, and the *Tyrians* themselves had a considerable fleet, whereas *Alexander* had none at all. The first thing he projected was an artificial isthmus, that might unite the city to the shore, to which end he caused the sea to be sounded, and found the greatest depth three fathoms; this encouraged him exceedingly, and he was still the farther emboldened when he perceived that the bottom was a stiff clay, which served instead of mortar, and bound whatever was sunk into it more effectually than could have been done by art. The ruins of old *Tyre* furnished materials for the mole, which under the inspection of *Alexander* was carried on with amazing vigour, till such time as it approached pretty near the city, for then the *Tyrians* not only vexed the workmen with all sorts of missive weapons, but also sent armed barks on each side of the mole to harraßs them, so that *Alexander* was forced to build two large wooden towers covered with raw hides; whereby they were defended from fire, as the workmen were by them from the insults of the enemy. The *Tyrians* for the destruction of these towers contrived a fire-ship, and on the yards thereof, instead of sails, they placed rows of buckets filled with sulphureous matter, the inside of the hulk was at the bottom filled with dry twigs; over them were laid all sorts of combustible matter, the stern they filled with rubbish, that sinking in the water it might raise the head the higher. Things thus prepared, as soon as they had a favourable wind they towed the hulk to sea, and ran her upon the mole directly between the towers, and then set it on fire; at such time as the masts began to burn, the weight with which their yards were charged broke them, whereby all the buckets fell into the fire, and greatly encreased its fury, so that not only the towers, but all the materials that were on the mole, were totally consumed. *Alexander* was not at all discouraged; on the contrary, he laid the foundation of a new mole broader than the former, and consequently capable of holding more towers; ordered new engines to be made, and began to concert measures for procuring a fleet, without which he saw clearly that all his endeavours would be in vain ^r.

^P DIODOR. lib. xvii. CURT. lib. iv. c. 7. ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 16.

^r ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 17.

The tributary princes join Alexander's fleet with their squadrons.

IT happened very happily for *Alexander*, that the moderation of his former conduct fully provided him for his present and future designs; for *Gerosstratus* king of *Arados*, *Enylus* king of *Byblus*, most of the *Cyprian* princes, as also the *Sidonian* squadron, in all an hundred and twenty sail arrived at *Sidon*, and offered him their service; the ill fate of the *Persians* at *Iffus* having discharged them their service, and *Alexander's* generous behaviour towards their subjects having attached them to his. To the same city came *Cleander* with a supply of four thousand fresh troops from *Greece*, and soon after a fleet from thence, so that after a short excursion into the neighbourhood of *Antilibanus*, he came again before *Tyre* with a new army and a fleet of upwards of two hundred sail. *Andromachus*, captain of the *Cyprian* navy, had the command on the left side, and *Alexander* himself commanded the blockade on the other. The citizens still made a desperate defence, and omitted nothing, which either art could devise, or valour execute, for the preserving of the place. At last seeing themselves reduced to such great straits, they resolved to attack the *Cyprian* squadron posted at the mouth of the haven, which looks towards *Sidon*, and having before that time spread sails across the mouth of the haven, that their ships filled with soldiers, might not be discovered by the enemy; about noon (at which time the *Macedonian* soldiers were usually busied about their private affairs, and *Alexander* had retired from his fleet to his pavilion on the other side of the city) with five choice *Quinqueremes*, as many *Quadriremes*, and seven *Triremes*, filled with expert rowers and resolute soldiers, well armed for fight and inured to the sea, rowed out slowly and silently one by one against the enemy. But when they advanced within sight of the *Cyprians*, encouraging each other with a great shout and clashing of their oars, they attacked their fleet. But it happened that day, that *Alexander* having retired as usual to his pavilion, tarried there but a short time, and returned to his fleet. The *Tyrians* assaulted the enemy's ships all on a sudden, when some were entirely empty, and others by reason of the noise and violence of the attack were surprized, unprepared for resistance. *Pnytagoras's* *Quinquereme* was sunk at the first onset, with another commanded by *Androcles* the *Amathusian* and *Pasicrates* the *Thurian*: Others were forced on shore and beat to pieces. *Alexander*, hearing of this excursion of the *Tyrian Triremes*, immediately ordered as many ships as he could spare, and were well armed, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby hinder the rest of the *Tyrian* fleet from coming forth. He then with the *Quinqueremes*, which he had ready, and five *Triremes* well

well prepared, sailing round the city, hasted to attack the *Tyrians*. The besieged seeing this from the wall, and perceiving *Alexander* himself there, endeavoured by loud cries to recall their men who were on board ; and when their cries, by reason of the tumult, could not be heard, they made several signals for them to return, because the enemy was at hand. But finding too late that *Alexander* was upon them, they turned their sails and hasted to the haven, yet few of them could save themselves by flight ; for *Alexander's* ships sailing in suddenly among them, rendered some unfit for sailing, and one *Quinquereme* and a *Quadrireme* were taken at the very entrance of the port. The slaughter of the *Tyrians* was not great, because, as soon as they perceived it impossible to save their ships, they escaped into the harbour by swimming. The *Macedonians*, now knowing that the *Tyrian* fleet would be unserviceable, moved their engines up to the walls. Those which advanced on the side towards the rampart did no execution by reason of the firmness of the wall there ; others moved some hulks with engines to that quarter of the city which looks towards *Sidon*. But when they found their endeavours there fruitless, sailing along the whole south part of the wall towards *Egypt*, they tried to batter it every-where : And there indeed by the violence of their attacks, it was at first shaken, and afterwards beat down, and demolished. Whereupon they immediately mounted the breach by the help of their ladders, and began to storm the place : But the *Tyrians* without any great difficulty, repulsed them. Three days after this there happening a stark calm, *Alexander* resolved to make use of that opportunity to storm the city ; to this end he gave all the necessary directions. First he ordered a line of hulks, on board of which his battering engines were placed, to be towed as close as possible to the walls, and there brought to an anchor ; the engines were immediately brought to play upon the walls, and in a very short space made a tolerable breach. Then the first line of hulks weighed and stood to sea, or rather were towed off, and a second line having scaling ladders on board took their place ; a detachment of light-armed troops under the command of *Admetus* was assigned for the attack on one side, another corps of auxiliary foot conducted by *Cænus* was to attack on the other side. *Alexander* himself at the head of a greater force was present, ready to sustain both. As the king took all this pains that the assault might be performed with vigour, so he was no less careful to provide that the enemy might not make as vigorous a defence ; with this view he gave orders for several false attacks, and also commanded that a squadron

of armed vessels should sail continually round the city, threatening now one part of it, then another, and actually attacking any part where they found it feasible, which so well answered his end, that the *Tyrians*, every-where distracted, divided their forces, and knew not where to make their utmost efforts. However, they fought very gallantly against *Admetus* and his *Macedonians*, who first mounted the walls; that valiant officer being killed, as soon almost as he had set foot on the wall, by a spear; but *Alexander*, with fresh forces coming to the support of those who had first taken post on the wall, quickly drove the *Tyrians* from thence, and pursued them to the royal palace. In the interim *Alexander's* fleet broke into the haven on one side, and began to burn and sink the ships that were there: On the other, the *Cyprians* forced the haven, which they had hitherto blocked up, and, flushed with success, attacked and entered the city on that side. The *Tyrians*, seeing it would be to no purpose longer to defend their walls, retired in a body to a strong part of the palace, which they hoped yet to hold out; but *Alexander* following them, fell upon them there with such fury, that they were unable to resist, so that, after great effusion of blood, they betook themselves to flight, and sought a shelter in different parts of the city. A great slaughter also happened at the haven, where *Cœnus* and his forces entered the city; for the *Macedonians* were vehemently enraged at the citizens, partly for holding out the place so long, and partly because they having seized some of their men sailing from *Sidon*, first hoisted them up aloft upon their walls in sight of their friends, and afterwards stabbed them and threw their bodies into the sea. About eight thousand *Tyrians* were slain. Of the *Macedonians*, besides *Admetus*, who first entered the breach and took possession of the wall, about twenty targeteers fell in that assault, and during the whole siege about four hundred. They who fled to the temple of *Hercules* (being some of the chief *Tyrian* nobility, besides king *Azelmicus*, and some *Carthaginian* priests, who according to antient custom were sent to their mother city to offer sacrifice to *Hercules*) had the benefit of a free pardon. The rest, to the number of thirty thousand, including strangers, were sold for slaves. *Alexander* after this offered sacrifice to *Hercules*, at which his whole army assisted; the navy also performed a part in the solemnity. He moreover appointed *Gymnic* sports in *Hercules's* temple, which was then finely illuminated. The engine wherewith the wall was demolished he placed there, as an eternal monument of his victory. And the *Tyrian* ship consecrated to *Hercules*,
which

which he had taken in a sea-fight, he caused to be hung up there^f (L).

THE

^f ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 24. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xi. c. 10. CURT. lib. iv.

(L) The taking of *Tyre* was foreshewn by a multitude of omens, if any credit is to be given to the historians who have recorded them; we have reserved them for a note, that they might not perplex the history; we shall mention only such as are most remarkable, that we may not tire the reader; and we shall leave him to make what judgment of them he pleases, without pretending to regulate his sentiments by our own. *Arrian* assures us, that the very night after *Alexander* had taken the resolution of besieging the place, he had a dream or vision, wherein he seemed to be scaling the walls of *Tyre*, in which he was assisted by *Hercules*, who gave him his hand to raise him up. *Aristander* explained this to be an infallible sign of the taking the city, but he declared, that it was a sign likewise the siege would prove an *Herculean* labour (26). *Plutarch* says, that there is a well in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, which the inhabitants shewed, affirming, that *Alexander* slept near it when the place was first besieged, and that sleeping there he dreamed, that a satyr came and mocked him; that he ran after him a long time in vain; but that, at last and with much ado, he got hold of him. The diviners gave him an easy and elegant explanation of this vision; for dividing the Greek word *Satyros*, they shewed its signification to be, *Thine is Tyre* (27). In the city a man saw in a dream *Apollo* flying away; when he reported this before the people, they would have stoned him, supposing that he did it to intimidate them; on which the poor man was forced to fly to the temple of *Hercules*; but the magistrates having better considered it, fixed one end of a gold chain to the statue of *Apollo*, and the other to the altar of *Hercules*. A strange expedient this, and a pregnant instance of epidemic madness and superstition; however, when *Alexander* took the place, he set *Apollo* at liberty, and ordered him to be stiled *Philalexandrus*, that is, a lover of *Alexander* (28). *Diodorus* is very particular in the account he gives of all the methods practised by *Alexander's* engineers, and those of the town. It is too long to transcribe, but may be read by those who are skilled in such matters to very good purpose, as well as *Arrian's* accurate detail of the same siege; for it is certain, that the *Tyrians* did as much to defend themselves, as the wit or courage of man at that time would allow; neither was it altogether in vain, since it cost *Alexander* several months, and put all the force he had to the utmost stretch before

(26) *Arrian. lib. ii.*
Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.

(27) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

(28)

they

Alexander
der resettles
Tyre.

THE usage the *Tyrians* received was certainly very severe, and seemed very little reconcileable either to the politeness of a *Grecian* prince, or to that grandeur of soul which *Alexander* affected upon other occasions. However, as he was a prince of great parts and learning, he knew how to find out very plausible excuses for the worst things he did; and in regard to the fact before us, besides the cruelties which they had done to the *Macedonians*, which were revenged by the execution of such multitudes, he alledged, that the selling them for slaves was an act of natural justice, the ancestors of these *Tyrians* being no other than slaves, who, entering among themselves into a conspiracy, slew all their masters in one night, then took their wives and became lords of the city, excepting only one *Strato*, who was preserved by the fidelity of his slave; his family *Alexander* also preserved, tho' *Azelmicus* king of *Tyre* was descended therefrom. To him therefore, as if his quarrel had been with the people, he left the sovereignty without diminution, and took great pains by draughts from other places to restore the city, and resettle its principality. Thus *Alexander* gratified his resentment against the *Tyrians*, by destroying their city, and selling them for slaves; and when he had so done, he raised a high reputation of clemency by his generosity towards the king, and the care he took of rebuilding the city.

He rejects
the propo-
sitions made
by Darius.

WHILE he was employed in this long siege, ambassadors came again from *Darius* with these proposals: That he would pay ten thousand talents of silver for the ransom of his mother, wife, and children; that he would resign to him all the countries between the *Hellest* and the river *Euphrates*;

† JUSTIN. lib. xviii. c. 3.

they were reduced. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Aristander*, having from the intrails of a sacrifice offered at the beginning of the seventh month, predicted, that it would be taken therein, the soldiers, when the general storm was protracted to the very last day of that month, began to deride him; but *Alexander*, to save the prophet's credit, ordered it to be called the twenty-eighth day of the month, instead of the thirtieth, which, however, was needless, for the place was taken the same day (29). *Curtius*'s account of the siege swells with miraculous mounts, and wonderful triumphs over the sea. He exhausts whole provinces for timber, and makes free with mount *Libanus*, though *Alexander* never went near it (30). It is certain, that *Alexander* did great things here, but *Nebuchadnezzar* had done as much before when he took the same place (31).

(29) *Plut. ubi supra.* (30) *Curt. lib. iv.* (31) *Ezech. xxvi. 7.*
E^d seq. that

that he would consent to the marriage of his daughter, and, forgetting all that was past, would acknowledge him for his friend and confederate. When these terms came to be explained to the *Macedonian* council, *Parmenio*, who always spoke very freely, delivered it as his sentiment, that when the ends of the war were gained, it was unreasonable to abide its hazard; adding, *If I was Alexander, I would accept these conditions.* To which the king replied, *So would I, if I was Parmenio.* However, in his own name, he answered the embassadors, *That he did not want Darius's money: That he would not accept of a part of his empire instead of the whole: That he would take from him by force his country, his palaces, and treasure: That he would marry his daughter, if he pleased, without his consent; but that if Darius had a mind to try his humanity, he might come to him if he thought fit.* This answer, how much soever it might have of the hero, had certainly not much of the politician. Had he accepted these propositions, he would have become the peaceable possessor of an extensive, rich, and powerful empire, and might have retained his hereditary kingdom of *Macedonia* and his authority over the *Greeks*, and in that condition have transmitted it to his posterity. But his boundless ambition hurried him on to a wild pursuit of conquests without end, as if all the nations of the earth had been created to pay him obedience, or to be made examples of his vengeance. *Parmenio* spoke the language of *Philip*, who would certainly have taken his advice on the same occasion, or rather would not have needed it^u.

Tyre thus subdued, *Alexander*, notwithstanding the advanced season of the year, resolved to make an expedition into *Syria*, and in his way thither proposed to chastise the *Jews*, who had highly offended him during the siege of *Tyre*; for he sent to demand of them provisions for the subsistence of his soldiers, they answered, that they were the subjects of *Darius*, bound by oath not to supply his enemies. When these people knew of the king's march towards them, they were under the greatest terror, and, as their last resource, had recourse to solemn acts of devotion, to prayers, processions, and particular fasts, till at length God was pleased to answer their petitions, by commanding *Jaddua* the High-Priest in a vision to array himself in his pontifical habit, to direct the priests to put on their proper garments, and, with the people cloathed in white, to advance in slow and solemn order to meet the *Grecian* prince. *Jaddua* and the rest did

^u ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 25. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. CURT. lib. iv.

as they were commanded, and issuing out of the gates of *Jerusalem*, advanced as far as *Sapba*, an eminence at a small distance from the city, from whence as soon as they discerned *Alexander's* approach, they went to meet him. The king, when the high-priest drew near, hastened towards him, bowed himself before him, and saluted him with religious veneration. This scene, which amazed the *Macedonians*, struck the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, not only with surprize, but with sorrow and discontent, for out of mere hatred to the *Jews* they had taken part in this expedition. *Parmenio* being near him took the liberty of asking the king, Why he adored the *Jewish* high-priest? To whom the king readily answered, He did not adore the priest, but God, whose minister he was. For when he was at *Dium* in *Macedonia*, and much troubled in his mind about the preparations necessary for his passing into *Asia*, he had a dream, wherein he saw this very person in his pontifical habit, who commanded him to lay aside his doubts and fears, and pass boldly into *Asia*, for that God would be his guide, and give him the empire of the *Persians*. On seeing therefore this person, he was convinced, that what he did was by the express assistance of the deity, who he also doubted not would protect him in all his future expeditions; wherefore, in gratitude for former victories and to testify his trust in the divine power, he had humbled himself before the priest. He afterwards accompanied *Jaddua* to *Jerusalem*, which he entered in a friendly manner, and offered sacrifices in the temple; the high-priest shewed him also the prophecies of *Daniel*, wherein the destruction of the *Persian* empire by himself is set forth, not in dark obscure terms, in equivocal or unintelligible verses, but graphically, as if the prophet had seen the whole transaction, and every circumstance attending it; whence it came to pass that the king went away extremely well satisfied; and at his departure asked, if there was nothing in which he might gratify himself or his people. *Jaddua* then told him, that, according to the *Mosaic* law, they neither sowed nor ploughed on the seventh year, therefore would esteem it a high favour, if the king would be pleased to remit their tribute in that year. To this request the king readily yielded, and having confirmed them in the enjoyment of all their privileges, particularly that of living under and according to their own laws, he then departed. In his march, the *Samaritans*, who, on the refusal of the *Jews*, had furnished him with provisions before *Tyre*, applied themselves to him, in hopes of receiving from him still greater matters than the

the *Jews* had done; but though *Alexander* received them civilly, and afforded a patient hearing of their request, yet he dismissed them with an unavailing answer, viz. That he had now many great affairs upon his hand, but that, when he should return from his *Egyptian* expedition, he would examine into, and, provided they were reasonable, comply with their demands. Having thus removed all difficulties so far, he advanced towards *Gaza*, the only place in this part of the world, which was still held for *Darius*^w.

Gaza was a very large and strong city, seated about five miles from the sea-shore on a high hill, surrounded with strong walls. One *Batis* or *Betis*, an eunuch, had the government thereof committed to him by *Darius*, who, foreseeing what would come to pass, took care to provide all things necessary for a long and obstinate defence, causing all the fortifications to be repaired, magazines to be well furnished, and fearing his garison might be too small, he hired certain *Arabian* troops to serve in the place. All this did he, knowing of what importance *Gaza* was to his master, standing as it did in the entrance to *Egypt*, and being at the same time a bridle to *Palestine*. When *Alexander* summoned him, *Betis* returned a resolute answer, that he would defend it as long as he was able. Many of the king's council looking on the place as impregnable, dissuaded him from meddling with it; but he was not easily diverted from any thing he had once resolved on; *Gaza* therefore was instantly invested, and where he thought the walls were weakest, he caused a mount to be thrown up, and from thence brought his engines to play upon the city. At the beginning of this siege a very extraordinary accident happened: The king being about to sacrifice, and having a crown of gold on his head, a bird of prey hovering some time over him, let fall at last a stone from between his claws upon his head, and soon after flying to the engines was there taken, his feet being entangled in the nets, which covered the ropes wherewith they were wrought. Upon this *Aristander* was immediately consulted, and his answer was, that the city would certainly be taken; but at the same time he cautioned the king not to be so adventurous as he was wont, because some great danger was threatened to himself. The king accepted this advice very kindly, and did not expose himself for some time; but one day, when the *Arabians* made a furious sally and set fire to his engines, and had well-nigh driven the troops from the

Gaza besieged, and after two months taken.

^w JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. lib. xi.

mount, he forgot the caution he had received, and advancing with a body of targeteers regained the post which had been lost, and drove the enemy into the place. But in the heat of the engagement he was wounded by an arrow, which, piercing his shield and breast-plate, lodged in his shoulder. Far from being concerned at this accident, he expressed no small satisfaction therein, for one part of the prediction being fulfilled, he questioned not but the other would come to pass. As soon as the great engines he had made use of at *Tyre* arrived by sea, he carried his works quite round the city, and battered the walls in several places at once. In the mean time, where the battering engines were not at work, he employed miners, who working secretly under the foundation of the walls, they suddenly fell down, to the great surprize of the citizens. When through these several methods a breach was practicable, three several attacks were made by the *Macedonians* with great resolution, in which notwithstanding they were repulsed with great effusion of blood. In the fourth the citizens had not such fortune, for the place was taken by storm, and they valiantly fighting were slain to a man*. *Arrian* says nothing of *Betis* the governor, neither doth *Diodorus*. *Plutarch* also is silent, and so is *Justin*†; but *Curtius* tells us a very strange story, and has had the good luck to be believed. He says that he was brought to the king half dead with wounds, to whom *Alexander* addressed himself in these words: *Thou shalt not, Betis, die as thou fanciest, in an honourable way, but shall feel in captivity all the torments that can be devised for thee.* To which the valiant eunuch gave no reply, but looked on the conqueror with a contemptuous smile. *What*, said *Alexander*, *dost thou neither speak, kneel, nor entreat? I will find a way to vanquish thy silence, and force thee at least to groan.* Having said this, he in a rage commanded his heels to be bored, and putting cords thro' them, bound him to his chariot, dragging him round the city till he died, boasting that in this he imitated *Achilles*, who dragged the body of *Hector* in the same manner‡. *Arrian* indeed tells us, that he sold the wives and children of the citizens for slaves; which is consistent enough with his practice upon other occasions; and one would think, that if *Betis* had been put to death in this manner, it could not have escaped the knowledge of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, from whose memoirs *Arrian* collected his history. These obstacles removed

* ARRIAN. lib. ii. cap. ult.

† DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii.

PLUT. in vit Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xi.

‡ CURT. l. iv. c. 26.

and a garison left in *Gaza*, there was nothing now to hinder his so earnestly desired expedition into *Egypt* (M).

As soon as his soldiers had refreshed themselves, and he had received a body of recruits from *Greece*, *Alexander* marched from *Gaza*, and, in the space of seven days, reached *Pelusium*. Here he found no resistance; for *Mazaces* the *Persian* governor was able to make none^a. He was dispirited with the continual misfortunes which had befallen his master's arms; he had a very indifferent army, and, which was still worse, he had the hearts of the most numerous nation in the world against him. It will afford much help to the subsequent narration, and yet take up very little room, to set this matter in a proper light. Most of the provinces of the *Persian* empire shewed a great deal of loyalty to *Darius*; but *Egypt*, as it had never been faithful to any of his predecessors, so it was now very impatient of throwing off his yoke, without regarding what other yoke it put on. The chief reason

The state of Egypt at that time.

^a ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 1. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. l. iv. c. 27.

(M) If *Darius* had always chosen such governors as this *Betis*, *Alexander*, with all the power of *Greece*, would not have triumphed so easily; for tho' this siege lasted but two months, yet it cost him such a number of men, that he sent *Amyntas* into *Macedonia* for recruits, and took pains to increase his army while it was in *Egypt*. *Curtius* has a very strange story in his account of this siege, and is singular in it; for there is not a word mentioned of any such thing elsewhere, if we except one legendary writer, whose credit is scarce on a par with his own. The story is this; An *Arabian* soldier, pretending to desert, came to *Alexander* and fell at his feet. The king put out his hand to raise him up, ordering that he should be kindly received; but as he arose, he, with a sword that was concealed under his shield, struck at the king's throat. *Alexander* avoided the blow by a gentle inclination of his body, and immediately after cut off the villain's head with his own sword (32). It was *Neoptolemus*, a near relation of *Alexander* by the mother's side, who first mounted the walls of *Gaza*. *Plutarch* does not tell us any thing of the number of the slain. *Curtius* says, there fell of the citizens ten thousand. Another author reduces this to six thousand (33). As to the *Macedonians*, we know nothing of their loss at all; and indeed, whenever we have any accounts of their losses, they are set so very low, that it is difficult to give credit to them; especially when, as in the present case, there are concurring circumstances, which amount to a proof, that their losses must have been very great.

(32) Curt. l. iv.

(33) *Hegeſias Magnes*,
P 2

of this was the great diversity between the religion of the *Persians* and that of the *Egyptians*. Not only *Cambyfes*, who was a tyrant, but *Ochus*, who was a voluptuous prince, had slain their consecrated *Apis*, and profaned the most sacred rites of their religion. The *Persian* governors and their under-officers ran all into the same humour; and thus the whole body of the people were exasperated in the highest degree against the government they should have defended, from principles, which, of all others, make men the most furious, viz. those of religion. The *Egyptians* had but a little before shewn the excess of their rancour, by joining with *Amyntas*, who, with four thousand mercenaries, fled hither from the battle of *Iffus*, and thought to have set up for himself; in which the *Egyptians* furthered him all they could ^b. *Mazaces* therefore, reflecting on all these things, and terrified perhaps with the examples of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, determined to admit *Alexander* peaceably. The king having entered so easily, sailed up the *Nile*, after leaving a garison in *Pelustum*, and when he was come to a convenient height, he landed, and leaving the river on his right hand, marched through the deserts to *Heliopolis*, then, crossing the river, he came to *Memphis*, where he offered pompous sacrifices, not only to the *Grecian* gods, but also to the *Egyptian Apis*. He likewise celebrated magnificent games, whereat assisted the most famous champions in *Greece*. From *Memphis* he sailed down the river to the sea; having passed round the city *Canopus*, he fixed on the place where the village of *Scandria* or *Alexandretta* now stands, as a convenient situation for a fine port and magnificent city. *Alexander* himself directed where every public structure should be erected. He also fixed the number of temples, the deities to whom they should be dedicated, and assigned particularly a large and eminent site for a temple to the *Egyptian Isis*. There was nothing now wanting but to trace, according to the custom of those times, the walls of the city; for doing this they had no materials at hand, this project of building a city being sudden; however, a workman advised the king to collect what meal there was among the soldiers, and to sift it in lines upon the ground, whereby the circuit of the walls would be well enough marked out. *Alexander* followed this advice, which answered very well; and *Aristander*, having considered it attentively, told the king, that it was an omen of the new city's abounding with all the necessaries of life ^c. Some say, that the bounds were no sooner marked out, than great numbers of birds came and pecked up the meal, and then flew

^b DIODOR. I. xvii. CURT. ubi supra. ^c ARRIAN. I. iii. c. 1, 2.
away;

away ; which when the rest of the *soothsayers* held for an ill omen, *Aristander* alone held it to be a good one, affirming its meaning to be, that the city built in that place should become so populous as to send out colonies, as they had seen birds feed and rise from it^d. He was certainly an excellent servant to his master ; for he was never at a loss either for expedients or expositions, and perhaps digressed as little from the rules of his art as any of his cotemporaries. Certain it is, that *Alexander* paid great deference to his decisions ; for that prince affected all things which tended to render him popular. At this time he was especially careful to gain the affections of the *Egyptians*, which he did to such a degree, that they were ready to adore him ; for till prosperity rendered his pride too powerful for his reason, never any prince acted so steadily on the maxims of philosophic policy as he. We never find him grasping treasure, in order to gratify either a covetous or extravagant disposition. The richest spoils he gave to his friends ; the most curious he sent home to his mother and the *Macedonian* ladies ; little he reserved to himself. In point of women he was irreproachable, and for those vices which so foully tarnish the virtue of the *Greeks*, they served only as a foil to him ; so signal was his abhorrence of them. As to government, he was truly a friend to liberty, restored it where-ever he came, and shewed it as a wonder to those who had no idea of it before. It is true, that with all this he required submission to himself ; but it was a submission no way inconsistent with liberty, but that civil respect which is always due to a great captain in war, and a just and temperate ruler in peace. The reader may expect some reason for inserting this character here ; and we shall give it in few words : *Alexander* had been hitherto what we represent him ; we are now going to shew him in quite another light, intoxicated with vanity, and foolishly seeking to cover the foibles which disgraced him as a man, by pretending to be more than man, as painters use flowing robes and magnificent drapery to conceal defects of shape. It is not to be supposed that, from this period, he did nothing that was virtuous or praise-worthy ; all that we mean is, that as hitherto he had acted with such prudence as to commit very few, and those trivial mistakes, so henceforward he lost that moderation and magnanimity, which had made him so much loved and revered, and by attempting to exchange respect for adoration, and to extort a blind submission instead of a chearful and rational

^d CURT. I. iv. c. 31. DIONOR. ubi supra.

obedience,

obedience, he, in a great measure, extinguished the lustre of his former glory, and that authority derived therefrom; owing that affection and regard which the *Macedonians* still retained for him, to the memory of his former conduct, and to those intervals of humanity, in which he laid aside the ridiculous notion of his being allied to the divinity. But it is time to proceed to the source of these disorders (N).

Alexander
visits the
temple of
Jupiter
Hammon.

AT this time *Alexander* formed his extraordinary design of visiting the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. As to the motives which induced him thereto, *Arrian* tells us, that they were chiefly founded in the imitation of *Perseus* and *Hercules*, the former of whom had consulted that oracle, when he was dispatched against the *Gorgons*; and the latter twice, viz. when he went into *Libya* against *Antæus*, and when he passed into *Egypt* against *Busiris*. Now, as these heroes, viz. *Perseus* and *Hercules*, gave themselves out to be the sons of the *Grecian Jupiter*, so the *Macedonian* prince had a

(N) We follow the authority of *Arrian* in placing *Alexander's* directing the building of the city honoured with his name before he went to visit the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*; *Diodorus* and other authors placing it afterwards, alledging that it so happened. The last-mentioned historian says, that it was seated very commodiously by the haven of *Pharos*; that the streets were wisely contrived, so as to admit the cooling breezes, which mightily refreshed the air. In point of strength, he ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn round it, so as to have the sea close on one side, and a great lake on the other, and a narrow pass at each end. Its form resembled that of a soldier's coat. One large beautiful street passed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after-times so rich and famous, that our author tells us, in his time there were on its rolls three hundred thousand freemen. *Plutarch* affirms, that he was directed to the choice of this situation by *Horus* in a vision; and, according to his account of the matter, a more pleasant, or more convenient place, could not have been chosen (34). *Alexander* himself was a prince of great taste; he looked upon works of this kind as the noblest monuments, and therefore spared neither pains nor cost in completing them. The architect he employed here was the celebrated *Dinocrates*, who had raised himself an immortal reputation by rebuilding the temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus*; to him he consigned the care of this work, which did the highest honour in succeeding times to its founder and his architect (35)

(34) *Diodor. ubi supra.* (35) *Flin. l. v. c. 10. Ammian Marcel. l. xxii. c. 10. Strab. l. xvii. p. 590.*

mind to take for his father *Jupiter Hammon* ^c. *Maximus Tyrius* informs us, that he went to discover the fountains of the *Nile* ^f. *Diodorus* tells us in few words, that he went to consult the oracle ^g. *Plutarch* is as concise ^h. *Justin* assigns a very singular reason; he says there had been always great jealousies about *Alexander's* birth; that *Philip* was never thoroughly convinced of his being his son; that a little before his death, he had openly declared, that he was satisfied he was not; that *Olympias* herself had confessed as much, pretending, that she conceived him by a monstrous large dragon. To silence all these reports, to clear up his mother's character, and to get himself the reputation of being the son of a god, were his motives, if we may believe this author ⁱ. Whatever they were, certain it is, that he hazarded himself and his troops in the highest degree, there being two dangers in this march; which, with the example of *Cambyfes*, who lost the greatest part of his army in it, might have terrified any body but *Alexander*. The first was the want of water, which, in the sandy deserts surrounding the temple, is no-where found; the other, the uncertainty of the road from the fluctuation of the sands, which, changing their situation every moment, leave the traveller neither track to march in, nor mark to march by. From these impending mischiefs, all authors agree, that *Alexander* was miraculously delivered; for when the water brought on camels backs was spent, there fell a prodigious shower of rain, wherewith they filled all their vessels; and when their guides could no longer distinguish the road, they were directed by supernatural harbingers; tho' as to them authors do not agree. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* affirmed they were two monstrous dragons, which went with a mighty noise before them, *Alexander* giving strict orders to his officers to follow these leaders. But *Aristobulus*, with whom the current of historians go, asserts, that they were led by crows, who, as often as they deviated from the way, by their croaking and fluttering before them, set them right. These are certainly strange stories, yet there is all imaginable authority for them, which made so strong an impression on *Arrian*, that he gives us his judgment of the matter in these words: *I am fully convinced, that Alexander was conducted by some divine power, from the testimony of all who speak of his journey, notwithstanding the diversity of senti-*

^c ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 3.
l. xvii.

^h In vit. Alex.

^f Serm. xxv.

ⁱ JUSTIN. l. xi. c. ii.

^g DIODOR.

ments among these authors hath greatly obscured the truth of this story^k.

Where he
consults
the oracle.

THIS arduous march once over, *Alexander* arrived at the temple of *Hammon*, seated in the midst of a barren thirsty waste, in a narrow spot of ground, the utmost extent of which exceeds not forty furlongs, curiously planted with olive-trees and palm-trees, and watered with dews, which fall no-where else in all that country. A fountain also has its rise here, different in its nature and properties from all the fountains upon earth; for at mid-day it is cool to the taste, but to the touch intensely cold; towards evening it begins to be warm, which warmth increases by degrees from thence till midnight; after midnight it waxes cool by little and little; in the morning it is chilly, at noon excessive cold; and it receives all those various alterations regularly every day. This country naturally produces a kind of fossile salt, which, being put into little boxes of palm-tree, some of the priests of *Hammon* carry into *Egypt*, and bestow on the king, or some great men, as a present. It is dug out of the earth in large oblong pieces, some above three fingers in length, transparent like chrystal. This kind of salt the *Egyptians* and other nations, who are curious in their worship, use in their sacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from seawater. *Arrian* tells us, that *Alexander* himself consulted the oracle, and was well satisfied with its answer; but as to what he consulted it upon, or what the answer was that he received, that author is silent. *Strabo* concurs with him, asserting, that the king entered in his royal robes, consulted the oracle, and received its answer, none being let into the secret. *Diodorus* distinguishes three things which passed at this meeting^l. First, the salutation of the priest, whereby *Alexander* was acknowledged for the son of *Jupiter Hammon*. The second, a promise to the king, that he should subdue the whole world. The third, an assurance that he had fully punished the murderers of *Philip*^m. *Plutarch*'s account corresponds pretty well with this, and he tells us besides, that *Alexander*, highly pleased with what had passed, made mighty presents to the priests. He likewise acquaints us, that some were of opinion *Alexander*'s title to divinity was founded in a blunder of the high-priest, who being desirous to salute him in *Greek* with these words, *my son*, instead of *paidion*, pronounced *paidios*, which the *Greek* flat-

^k ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 3. DIODOR. l. xvii. CURT. l. iv.

ARIAN. l. iii. c. 4.

^m DIODOR. l. xvii.

^l AR-

terers understood *pai dios*, i. e. *son of Jupiter*. The same author adds, that *Alexander*, in a letter to his mother *Olympias*, told her, he had received some secret answer from the god, which he would reveal to her at his return^a. But *Olympias*, who was a woman of spirit and sense, was so little pleased with the king's propagating these vain stories, that she sent to desire him to forbear embroiling her with *Juno*. As to *Alexander's* return there is also a good deal of uncertainty, *Aristobulus* affirming, he came back the same way he went; and *Ptolemy* asserting, that he returned a nearer, which brought him directly to *Memphis*.

Alexander, on his return to *Memphis*, received there embassadors with congratulations from most of the states of *Greece*, as also recruits both of horse and foot; all which was very acceptable to him, as he testified by his kind reception of every body, by his making great feasts, and exhibiting pompous shews. These solemnities over, he began to think of settling the province, and of returning to the prosecution of the war. As he intended the *Egyptians* should live under their own laws, he made choice of *Doloaspis* and *Petisis*, eminent *Egyptians*, to be joint presidents of the province; but *Petisis* desiring to be excused from such a burden, *Doloaspis* was made sole president. Into all the places of strength, however, he put garisons, and those garisons were under the command of such officers as he thought he could confide in. Thus *Memphis* was committed to the care of *Pantaleon*, *Pelusium* to *Polemon*, the troops were under *Lycidas*, that is, the foreign troops; for as to the rest, they were commanded by *Peucestas* and *Balacrus*. The fleet had for its admiral another *Polemon*. Thus he established several independent commanders in *Egypt*; a policy imitated by the *Romans*: For considering the nature of the people, the situation of the strong places, and the vast consequence of the province, it was thought too great a charge to be committed to a single person, or to be trusted in the hands of men of high quality, it being always held a mark of superior policy to prevent insurrections, rather than be obliged, with the hazard of war, to quell them. *Alexander*, as we have shewn, was not only aware of this, but in his conduct set an example to others. These regulations took up a good deal of time; so that the winter was spun out before all things were compleated; and then *Alexander* made the necessary dispositions for marching with his army in-

*He settles
the govern-
ment of
Egypt.*

^a In vit. Alex.

to *Phœnicia*, that he might open the campaign in good time °.

Samaritans punished.

Tyre was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of the forces, and thither *Alexander* with all convenient speed shaped his march. In the way he received an account of a very unhappy accident which gave him much concern. *Andromachus*, a great favourite of his and a deserving man, had been appointed superintendant of *Syria* and *Palestine*. This officer, going to *Samaria* to collect the tribute, was not only opposed in the execution of his office, but a mighty tumult suddenly arising, the people set fire to the house wherein he lodged, and burnt him and his retinue. To avenge so horrid a fact, the king ordered a strict inquisition to be made after the murderers, directing, that all who were any ways concerned should, without mercy, be put to death; but this was not all, he established a colony of *Macedonians* in their city, and gave part of its territories to the *Jews*. Such of the *Samaritans* as escaped this slaughter repaired to *Sechem*, which has been ever since, and still is, their capital. The ground of this quarrel in all probability was *Alexander's* slighting their request at the time he so highly favoured the *Jews*; a thing which sunk deep into their breasts, and, if possible, heightened that implacable aversion they had conceived against the *Jews*. From this fact of theirs *Alexander* took such a distaste to this people, that he dismissed eight thousand of them who had served in his troops ever since the siege of *Tyre*, sending them as far as the *Upper Egypt*, where he commanded they should have certain lands divided amongst them P.

Statira the wife of Darius dies.

WHEN he arrived at *Tyre*, he there met with *Athenian* ambassadors, who came to renew the request formerly made him, to pardon such of their citizens as he had found serving the enemy. The king, being desirous to oblige so famous a state, yielded to their request, and sent also a fleet to the coast of *Greece*, to prevent the effects of some commotions which had lately happened in *Peloponnesus*. These, with some private affairs, once settled, he directed his march to *Thapsacus*, a city on the *Euphrates*. There he found a broken bridge, which *Darius* had made use of in his flight after the battle of *Iffus*; as also a great body of horse, under the command of *Mazaus*, who had orders to obstruct his passage; but so it was, that, either from a notion of policy, or through downright cowardice, *Mazaus*, having burnt the

• ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 5.

P JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. xi.

country, slighted the post, and retired ; whereupon the king, having repaired the broken bridge, passed the *Euphrates*, marching on to seek *Darius*. A little before that the wife of the last-mentioned prince paid her last debt to nature in child-bed. *Alexander* caused her to be buried at a prodigious expence, though he had been so cautious of injuring either her reputation or his own, as not only to forbear seeing her, but also forbid the commending her beauty in his presence. *Tyræus*, an eunuch who attended on her person, escaped soon after, and carried *Darius* the tidings of his queen *Statira*'s death. He was extremely moved at the news, and no less so at the recital of the honours paid her by *Alexander* when living, and the mighty respect shewn her at her death ; which, on account of the youth of *Alexander*, he attributed in his mind to some sinister cause ; but when the eunuch, with most solemn asseverations, had convinced him, that there was not the least colour for his suspicions, he, in a great transport of mind, prayed to God to restore the kingdom of *Persia* to its antient glory, that he might thereby be enabled to testify his gratitude to *Alexander* ; or if its fatal period was come, he prayed, that this generous victor might sit next on the throne of *Cyrus*¹. After passing the *Euphrates*, the *Macedonians* marched through *Mesopotamia*, having the river on their left, and, by a round-about road, which they took to avoid defiles, and for the easier procuring of provision, arrived at length at *Babylon*. On the road *Alexander* was informed, that *Darius*, with all his army, lay encamped on the river *Tigris*, in order to dispute his passage. The current of this river is so rapid, that nothing can be imagined more difficult than attempting to pass it with an army, even without an enemy in view. If *Darius* therefore had really drawn his troops down to the banks of this river, we may be confident that *Alexander* never could have passed it ; but he had committed the care of defending it to *Mazæus*, who, it seems did not love fighting ; for he burnt the forage here too, and then withdrew ; however, *Alexander* passed it, though not without great difficulty, many of his soldiers being born off their feet, and carried down with the stream ; so that at last he commanded them to march in close order, so that they resisted the water like a wall ; notwithstanding which expedient a great deal of time was spent in getting them over, and they were so much fatigued with the passage, that he was forced to let them rest a whole day. If therefore, as we said before, *Darius*, or any general of his, with a competent body of

¹ DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alex.

troops, had been possessed of the opposite shore, how is it possible they should have got over at all? But these precautions being wanting, and *Alexander* once on the other side, there remained nothing now but a battle to decide the issue of the war, and to determine who should be lord of *Asia*.

An eclipse of the moon astonishes the Macedonians.

As the king continued his march directly towards the enemy, an accident happened that caused some confusion in the army. This was no more than an eclipse of the moon. If we were to believe *Curtius*, we must suppose, that the *Macedonians* were on the very point of breaking out into rebellion, taking this for an evident sign that heaven was against them; but it is so much that author's custom to exaggerate, and the account he gives us of this eclipse shews him to have written after such indifferent memoirs, that we may very well justify our preferring *Arrian's* account; which as it is more moderate, so it is also much more probable. He says, the king caused sacrifices to be offered to the sun, moon, and earth, as the authors of eclipses; and that *Aristander*, having inspected the intrails, had declared, that all things would be fortunate to the *Macedonians*; that a battle would happen within the month, and that they would carry the victory. *Curtius* says, that the king called for *Egyptian* astronomers, who concealing the causes of eclipses from the vulgar, of which causes, by the way, *Curtius* himself knew very little or nothing, told the soldiers, that the *Macedonians* were under the government of the sun, the *Persians* of the moon; and therefore, that a diminution of light in the latter shewed, that those who were under her dominion should shortly be destroyed. This is certainly improbable; for nothing is more notorious, than that the *Persians* were held to be under the dominion of the sun, and not of the moon; besides, there can be no reason shewn, why the king should have recourse to the *Egyptian* sages, and not to *Aristander*. On the whole therefore we may justly conclude, that having, by a proper compliance with their notions, resettled the minds of his soldiers, and filled them with the hopes of victory, *Alexander* made them continue their march, that they might fight while they remained full of this persuasion.

The armies meet.

It is unnecessary to detain the reader here with a long account of the strength of the *Persian* army; we shall content ourselves with observing, that it is hardly possible to guess at its real strength. *Arrian* himself seems to have been misled, if his text is not corrupted in this passage, wherein he tells

^r ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 7. DIODOR. ubi supra.
ubi supra.

^r CURT. l. iv.

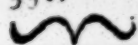
^r ARRIAN.

us, that *Darius* had forty thousand horse, and a million of foot. *Diodorus* says, there were two hundred thousand horse, and eight hundred thousand foot. *Plutarch*, that the horse and foot made up together a million. *Justin* gives us exactly half of *Diodorus*'s number. With this vast army he remained encamped near the village *Gaugamela*. *Alexander* chose a strong camp within about fifteen miles of the same place, where he left his baggage, with his sick and wounded soldiers, and with the rest marched on till he was within sight of the enemy^a. Then a council of war was called, wherein it was debated, whether it would be more adviseable to fight that evening, or to encamp where they were that night. Most of the members of that council were for the first, *Parmenio* almost alone for the second; but when the king had heard his reasons, he gave orders that the troops should encamp. *Alexander* then, with a chosen party of horse went and viewed the field of battle, examining every part thereof with the greatest diligence; and, when he had done this, he returned to the camp, where, in a second council, he gave the necessary directions for the engagement, encouraged all who were present to do their duty, and, above all, exhorted them to be extremely careful in preserving order; after which he dismissed them to their rest. When all things were quiet, *Parmenio* came again to the king's pavilion, and earnestly entreated him to attack the enemy in the dark, assuring him, that it would be the best way to prevent his soldiers from being discouraged by the disparity between themselves and the *Persian* troops. To which *Alexander* calmly replied, *I will never steal a victory*; which has been by some cried down as a puerile expression; by others as unreasonably extolled as a mark of *Alexander*'s grandeur of mind; whereas it was in truth no more than the wise resolution of a consummate general, who suffered not himself to be dazzled by appearances, penetrating all things to the bottom, and chose, without hesitation, that measure which was best. The reader will easily discern this, if he will be pleased to consider on what the two kings relied. *Darius* plainly placed his hopes in numbers; for this reason he chose a plain country, every mole-hill of which, in comparison, he caused to be demolished. *Alexander* depended on the valour and military skill of his veteran troops. In the dark then numbers would still have been numbers, valour would have signified little, and military skill would have been lost; besides, a hundred accidents might have snatched a victory from *Alexander*, confi-

^a ARRIAN. I. iii. c. 8.

dering the disproportion between his army and that of *Darius*; whereas we can scarce figure to ourselves an accident which would have been favourable to him. More than all this, *Darius* was now of opinion, that his last defeat was wholly owing to the disadvantage of the ground; had he been beaten again in the night, he would have imputed that to the darkness, and still have entertained hopes; whereas *Alexander* sought to convince the *Persians*, that their fighting was to no purpose: He answered therefore wisely, and like a great captain, as he really was, *I will not steal a victory*; an expression which ought not to surprize us as sublime; but ought to convince us, that he who spoke it was a soldier, and knew well what he said and did *.

The battle
of Gaugamela.
Year of
the Flood,
2668.
Before
Christ,
331.



THE vast army of *Darius* continued all night under arms, which must have fatigued them very much, and have given great opportunity for their fear to work upon them. Their king, it seems, was apprehensive that *Alexander* would attack him in the night; which was the reason that he kept his troops upon so hard a duty. They were drawn up in very exact order, as appeared by many memoirs of their disposition, which, after the battle was over, were found in their camp, and which doubtless had been distributed to their principal officers, to prevent confusion and mistakes. *Darius* himself was in the main body, surrounded by his relations, some choice troops of horse, certain chariots and elephants, and round all these were posted the *Greek* mercenaries, on whose courage and skill he chiefly depended. When *Alexander* marched to the engagement, his right wing was composed of his royal brigade of horse, commanded by *Clytus*, of several other corps of cavalry, besides a large body of auxiliary horse, commanded by *Philotas* the son of *Parmenio*. The first line of the phalanx, which joined these, was commanded by *Nicanor* the son of *Parmenio*, the next by *Cænis* the son of *Polemocrates*. The third corps was under *Perdiccas*. The fourth was commanded by *Meleager*. The fifth by *Polyphercen*. The last was the battalion of *Amyntas*, commanded by his brother *Simmias*, *Amyntas* being gone into *Macedonia* to raise recruits. On the left were the troops commanded by *Craterus*, consisting of several battalions of foot; a body of auxiliary horse commanded by *Erigyus*; the *Thesalian* horse under the command of *Philip*. The whole wing was commanded by *Parmenio*. This was the disposition of the middle line of the army; for before both wings and the

* ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. PLUT. &c.

centre there were light-armed troops for forlorns, and behind each division of the army there was a corps of reserve. To the battalions of foot that composed these, *Alexander* gave orders, that they should bear their spears so as to face about immediately in case the enemy should surround any part of his army. He likewise ordered, that they should open whenever the armed chariots were driven upon them, so as to give them a clear passage; which dispositions and directions proved of the highest consequence. The forces brought at present into the field are computed by *Arrian* at seven thousand horse and forty thousand foot. *Alexander's* right wing charged first upon the *Scythian* horse, who, as they were well armed and very robust men, behaved at the beginning very well, making a vigorous resistance; and that this might answer the more effectually, the chariots placed upon the left wing bore down upon the *Macedonians*. Their appearance was very terrible, and threatened entire destruction; but *Alexander's* light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows, and stones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horses, so that few reached the *Macedonian* line; which opening, as *Alexander* had directed, they only passed through, and were then either taken or disabled by his bodies of reserve. The horse continued still engaged, and before any thing decisive happened there, the *Persian* foot near their left wing began to move, in hopes of falling on the flank of the *Macedonian* right wing, or of penetrating so far as to divide it from its centre. *Alexander* perceiving this, sent *Aretas* with a corps of troops to charge them, and thereby compel them to keep their posts. In the mean time he remained where he was, and prosecuting his first design broke their left wing, and pursued it till it was fully routed. He then charged the *Persian* foot in flank, and they being intimidated made but a feeble resistance. *Darius*, perceiving this, gave up all for lost, and fled himself. Then the *Macedonians* following their victorious monarch, made a vigorous pursuit. The battalion commanded by *Simmius* only did not stir, that officer being informed, that not only the left wing was in great danger, but that a great body of *Persian* and *Indian* horse, taking the advantage of the king's absence, had penetrated through the centre, and were fallen in upon the *Macedonian* baggage. This misfortune was quickly followed by another; the *Barbarian* prisoners mutinied thereupon, and fell on the *Macedonians* in their camp; but the corps of reserve facing about, and being supported by *Simmius's* battalion, the *Persians*, after a smart engagement, were routed, and great numbers slain. *Parmenio*,

OR

on the left wing, in the mean time was almost enveloped, the cavalry in the *Persian* right being both excellent and very numerous; in all probability the *Macedonians*, notwithstanding their courage and military skill, would have been overborne at last and totally destroyed, if *Alexander*, on the first intelligence of this misfortune, had not immediately returned from the pursuit, and charged the enemy in flank and rear; yet did they not then fly, but facing about continued to defend themselves against *Alexander*, and pressed hard upon *Parmenio* at the same time. *Hephestion*, *Cœnus*, and *Menedas* were wounded in this conflict, which was very long and bloody, but ended at last in the total defeat of the *Persians*; whereupon *Alexander* continued the pursuit of *Darius* about ten miles, and then passing the river *Lycus*, encamped his troops that they might take some repose. *Parmenio* in the mean time and the troops under his command secured the enemy's tents, baggage, elephants and camels. Such was the end of this battle, which decided the fate of *Asia* *.

*The loss
sustained
in this
battle.*

ACCORDING to *Arrian*, the *Persians* lost here three hundred thousand men, and the field of battle, and much more than that number taken prisoners^w; but how this should be done by an army short of fifty thousand men, is not easy to be conceived, and therefore, not without reason, some corruption hath been suspected in the number. *Diodorus* is more moderate; for he says there were only ninety thousand killed. Prisoners, to be sure, there were at least as many as *Alexander's* army knew what to do with. With respect to the loss of the *Macedonians*, *Arrian* puts it at one hundred horsemen and a thousand horses; which is surely beyond all bounds of belief, if we consider how hardly this battle was fought, and that the *Persians* were once masters of the *Macedonian* camp. About midnight *Alexander* obliged his soldiers to continue the pursuit, in hopes of overtaking *Darius*; but tho' he failed in this, yet at *Arbela* he took all the heavy baggage and all the rich equipage of that monarch. This great victory, as *Arrian* observes, was obtained within the space of time fixed by *Aristander*, which gave him great reputation * (O).

Alexander

^u *ARRIAN*. l. iii. c. 13, 14, 15. *DIODOR*. ubi supra. *CURT*. l. iv. c. 46, & seq. ^w *ARRIAN*. ubi supra. * *Idem* ibid.

(O) *Diodorus*, in his account of the battle of *Arbela*, (for so most historians call it, tho' it was fought near *Gaugamela*) differs in some circumstances from *Arrian* in the account he gives us of the order

Alexander receiving certain intelligence, that *Darius* was retired into *Media*, thought it at that time unnecessary, and indeed *Alexander enters Babylon.*

order of battle ; but if we consider, that *Arrian* wrote from the memoirs of eye-witnesses and persons of great quality, we cannot but suppose, that in these particulars he must have been well informed. In other respects it is fit that we should set down what *Diodorus* hath recorded. By him then we find that success which for a time attended the *Persian* troops, intirely ascribed to the conduct and valour of *Darius*. It unfortunately happened, that *Alexander*, attacking his guards, threw a dart at *Darius*, which, tho' it missed him, struck the charioteer who sat at his feet dead ; and he tumbling forwards, some of the guards raised a loud cry, whence those behind them conjectured, that the king was slain, and thereupon fled without looking behind them, which created such a confusion, that *Darius* found himself obliged to follow their example. The dust raised by the flight of so vast a multitude, gave *Darius* room and leisure to retire to a place of safety ; for he knowing well that the *Macedonians* could not perceive what rout he took, turned off immediately with the troops under his command, and, marching with convenient speed, took post in some villages that were directly behind the *Macedonian* army ; from whence he safely departed, while *Alexander* by forced marches endeavoured to overtake him, on a vain presumption that he fled strait forwards. According to this author, the *Persians* lost ninety thousand, and the *Macedonians* five hundred, men ; however, he owns, that a great number of the latter were wounded (36). *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*, and many other authors agree, that the evening before the battle, when *Alexander* had given the necessary directions, he went to bed, and slept so soundly, that *Parmenio* and the rest of the generals were forced to do many things in the morning, according to their own sentiments, because they did not care to awake him. At last *Parmenio* was constrained to go to his bed side, where he called him several times before he answered. At length he rose, and dressed himself with great serenity ; while he was doing this, *Parmenio* could not help saying, *I wonder, Sir, considering you are to fight the most important of all your battles, that you could sleep as soundly as if you were already victorious. Why, so I am, my good friend, returned the king, since I shall no more be obliged to follow Darius hither and thither, through a country already destroyed by the length of the war* (37). We have another instance in *Plutarch* of the wonderful coolness and penetration of this great prince. When *Parmenio* perceived that the *Macedonian* camp was in danger, he sent to recal the king from his pursuit. When *Alexander* heard the message, *Parmenio*, said he, *is certainly beside himself ; if I am vic-*

(36) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Hist. l. xi. c. 13.*

VOL. VIII.

(37) *Plutarch. in Alex. Justin.*

R

torious

deed impracticable, to follow him. He determined to march directly to *Babylon*, which accordingly he did. *Mauæus* commanded

torious over these enemies, we shall have their baggage and our own too ; whereas if I lose this advantage, we shall have nothing to fight for but our lives. But when *Parmenio* sent again to inform him, that himself and the troops under his command were in the utmost danger, the king came immediately to his relief ; but, says our author, suspicions began to arise, that either the vigour of *Parmenio* was diminished by his age, or that out of envy he sought to diminish his master's greatness (38). The truth seems to be, that *Parmenio* had too much concern for him. *Philip* of *Macedon* confessed him the only general he knew ; and we find nothing recorded of him in history, which doth not speak him a most consummate, tho' at the same time a very cautious, commander. If the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of *Persians* would have been able to keep the field, and would have been quickly joined by most of those who fled before. Such a multitude, encouraged by a taste of success, would have quickly swallowed up the *Greeks*, and recovered all they had conquered. *Alexander*, who fancied himself the son of a god, had his head full of nothing but victory where ever he appeared ; but to *Parmenio*, who was a mere man, conduct seemed as necessary as courage, and the preservation of half the army essential to the whole. It is true, we are not, properly speaking, bound to enter into the characters of those whose history we write, yet sometimes it is necessary ; for what is history without truth ? Or to what end do we read, but to be acquainted with things as they were ? There were in the court of *Alexander* many who hated *Parmenio* and his family ; of these some wrote, and from the memoirs of these writers *Plutarch* had his informations : We do not therefore presume to blame him for transmitting what he read to posterity ; but we take the liberty of doing the same thing : And because *Arrian*, who copied *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*, says nothing of *Parmenio's* envy, we report the suggestion as doubtful, that a character which seems to have the fairest title to honour, may not, at this distance of time, be sullied by insinuations once thought too idle to deserve mention. *Aristander*, during the battle, rode by his master's side, covered with a white mantle, and with a crown of gold upon his head. He it was, who, in a great measure, contributed to fix the victory, by shewing the *Macedonians* an eagle hovering over the king's head. After the battle, the king sacrificed in a magnificent manner, and sent presents of the spoils to all the *Grecian* states (39). *Justin* says, that few battles had been so bloody as this ; that *Darius*, when he saw the battle was lost, endeavoured to throw himself into the thickest of the fight, that there he might be slain ; but, against his will, was

(38) *Plut. in Alexand.*(39) *Idem ibid.*

commanded there in chief, the same person who had been intrusted to defend the passages of the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. He acted here just as he had done there; that is, at the sight of *Alexander's* army, he put the place into his hands ¹. The *Babylonians* were very glad of this revolution, and therefore, with great joy, came out to meet *Alexander*, with presents of great value. This joy of theirs proceeded from their excessive hatred of the *Persians*, as again that excessive hatred took birth from their principles of religion; for the *Persians* being *deists* had pulled down all their temples, and in every other respect curbed that propensity to idolatry, which was so extravagantly warm in this nation. *Alexander*, on the other hand, answered all their expectations; for he immediately commanded, that every one of their temples should be rebuilt, particularly the famous temple of *Belus*. He sent also for their priests, conversed with them, and left to their care the decree he had made in favour of their religion ². He offered sacrifices himself to *Belus*, left *Mazeus* in possession of the government; but removed *Bagophanes*, who had put the citadel and the royal treasures into his hands, yet he entertained him in his court, and treated him with marks of confidence and esteem ³. As he was a prince of great learning, he enquired after the astronomical memoirs of the observations which were said to have been made in that city for a long tract of time, and caused the best account that could be got of them to be transmitted to his tutor *Aristotle*; so desirous he was that the republic of letters should reap some advantage from his labours and victories ^b. On the whole, however, his stay at *Babylon* did him no good; for he and

¹ ARRIAN. DIODOR. CURT. ubi supra.
supra. ² ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 16.
Simplic. l. ii. de cælo.

³ DIODOR. ubi
^b PORPHYR. ap.

forced to fly by those who were about him. Being persuaded by these to break down the bridge on the river over which he passed, that it might prevent the enemy's passage, he answered, *I will never purchase safety to myself, at the expence of so many thousands of my subjects, as must by this means be lost; or take from them that passage which has preserved me* (40). Indeed all authors agree, that *Darius* behaved very honourably in this action; and we shall see hereafter, that he loved his subjects so well, as to be satisfied with dying by their hands, rather than to owe his safety to the fidelity of strangers.

(40) *Justin. Hist. l. xi. c. 14.*

his officers began there first to taste of luxury, and to fall in love with that magnificence and delicacy which had enervated and destroyed the *Persians* ^c.

The conduct of Antipater in Greece.

IT is now time for us to turn our eyes a little towards *Greece*; for though the main hopes of the *Macedonians* followed their royal leader through the great continent of *Asia*, yet were they not asleep as to their interests in *Europe*, where several attempts were made to lessen their power. While *Memnon* lived, the *Persians* were not only lords of the sea in name, but in reality also. He retook many of the islands which had fallen under the power of *Alexander*; he sent ships of war to cruize on the coasts of *Macedonia*; and, if he had lived, he would have made a descent on *Eubœa*, where questionless he would have been joined by a great number of the *Greeks*. After his death, things were in a languishing condition till the battle of *Iffus*, when new efforts were made to stir up troubles in *Greece*. Those, however, were rendered abortive by *Antipater*, who kept such a fleet at sea and made such dispositions of his land-forces, as rendered it not safe for any of the *Greek* states to declare against his master ^d. However, when advice arrived of this last victory, these smothered dissensions broke out into an open flame. The *Greeks* in general began to be afraid that if they made no attempt before the *Persian* empire was absolutely destroyed, all they could do afterwards would be to no purpose. As soon therefore as they had news that *Memnon* governor of *Thrace* had rebelled, and that *Antipater* was making great preparations to march against him, they took arms, *Agis* king *Lacedæmon* being declared their general. *Antipater* being informed of this, immediately drew together an army, and, having composed matters in *Thrace*, marched into *Greece*. It was not long before the armies met; that of *Agis* consisted of twenty two thousand foot and two thousand horse; *Antipater* had about forty thousand men; for when he came with a well-disciplined army out of *Macedonia*, many of the *Greeks* joined him out of fear, who would otherwise have been neutrals, or have fought against him. The engagement that ensued was very obstinate and bloody; but at last *Agis* was killed, and the army he commanded routed, with the loss of five thousand three hundred men. *Antipater* himself lost three thousand five hundred; but it put an end to the war, for the *Greeks* seeing the fatal issue of this business, and that the *Athenians* sided with the

^c DIODOR. ubi supra.
PLUT. in vit. Demost.

^d ARRIAN. l. ii. DIODOR. ubi supra.

conqueror, they were constrained to forget their resentments, and to implore mercy^e. Such was the state of *Greece*.

AFTER thirty days stay at *Babylon*, *Alexander* continued his march to *Susa*, which had been already rendered into the hands of *Philoxenes*. Here the king received the treasures of *Darius*, amounting to fifty thousand talents, or upwards of nine millions sterling, as also curiosities and furniture of an immense value^f. It was delivered up to him by *Abulites*, to whose care *Darius* had committed it; yet it is said, that what the *Persian* did was by order of his master, who was in hopes, that while *Alexander* was employed in taking great cities and heaping up riches, he would not march so speedily as hitherto he had done, but afford him time to collect a fresh army^g. Among other things that were found in the treasury of *Susa*, were the brazen statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, which *Xerxes* had carried away when he plundered *Athens*. These *Alexander* very carefully sent back, and having taken a view of the fair palace and other things of note at *Susa*, he began to think of quitting the province. *Abulites* he left in possession of his command as governor of *Susa*; but the care of the citadel he committed to *Mazæus*. The command of the forces he left for the defence of the province he gave to *Archelaus*. *Menetes* he constituted president of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Cilicia*, to whom, at his departure, he gave three thousand talents of silver, with orders to send over as much of it as should be necessary to *Antipater*, that he might the better preserve the peace of *Greece*, and carry on his designs there. About this time arrived the recruits under the command of *Amyntas*. They consisted of five hundred horse and six thousand foot, all *Macedonians*; six hundred *Thracian* horse, and three thousand five hundred *Trallian* foot; about a thousand horse and four thousand foot from *Peloponnesus*; in all about two thousand horse, and thirteen thousand five hundred foot. These he incorporated into his veteran army, without forming any new corps. He dealt also very kindly by them all, taking care to let them have pay in advance, procuring for them good quarters, and being present himself at the reviews, and as often as they were exercised^h (P).

AT

^e DIODOR. ubi supra.
ODOR. ubi supra.

^f ARRIAN. ubi supra.
^h CURT. l. v.

^g DI-

(P) Authors vary a little as to the money which *Alexander* seized at *Susa*. *Arrian* says it was fifty thousand talents (41), with him

(41) *Arrian*. l. iii. c. 16.

He reduces
the
Uxian

AT last he thought of prosecuting the war ; and so moving from *Susa* he passed the *Pasitigris*, and entered the country of the *Uxians*. Those who inhabited the plain country submitted without giving him any trouble ; but the mountaineers were foolish enough to send a deputation, to inform him they expected a sum of money by way of tribute for passing through their country, pretending, that the *Persian* monarchs

Curtius agrees (42). *Diodorus Siculus* says there were forty thousand talents in bullion, and nine thousand coined ; so that he comes within a thousand talents of the sum (43). *Plutarch* tells us there were but forty thousand talents ; yet his account rises higher than any other historian's, which seems not to have been well observed ; for these forty thousand talents, he says, were in coined gold, and distinguishes it from the rest of the treasure, of which he does not give us the particulars ; only he says, there was purple to the value of five thousand talents, which was fresh and lively, though it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years. He says too, on the authority of *Dion*, that vessels filled with water from the *Nile* and the *Danube*, were set in this treasury, as monuments of the mighty extent of the *Persian* empire (44). *Justin* says expressly there were but forty thousand talents ; which agrees well enough with *Diodorus*, whose steps he is observed to follow ; yet this author hath a very curious passage, which, for the sake of brevity probably, *Justin* omitted (45). *Alexander*, as he informs us, coming in person to take an account of these treasures, sat down on the royal throne, which, it seems, was so high, that his feet did not come near the foot-stool. One of his pages observing this, took up *Darius's* table, and placed it upon the foot-stool, for which *Alexander*, who now sat at ease, commended him ; but one of the eunuchs of the old court, fixing his eyes on the table, fell a weeping. Tell me friend, said, *Alexander*, what it is you see here that moves you to grieve so much ? O king, answered the eunuch, I was once *Darius's* servant, as I am now thine. As I loved and honoured my master while I served him ; so I cannot even now behold, without extreme disquiet, that table at which he sat, placed under thy feet. *Alexander*, moved at the blunt honesty of the man, commended him, and ordered it to be taken away. But *Philotas* interposed ; As this table, Sir, said he, was not placed here by your command, there is nothing of insolence in the use you have put it to. To me it appears to be a thing ordained by providence, to shew the mutability of empire. The king then ordered it to remain where it was (46). This *Philotas* was the son of *Parmenio* ; and we shall hear quickly of his being tortured and put to death, on a suspicion that he bore no good-will to the glory of his master.

(42) *Curt. l. v. c. 2.*

(43) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.*

(44)

Plut. in vit. Alex.

(45) *Justin. l. xi. c. 15.*

(46) *Dio-*

dor. Sicul. ubi supra.

had always paid it them. *Alexander* answered coldly, That they would do well to come to the passage to receive it ¹. As soon as they were gone, he dispatched *Craterus* to seize the tops of the mountains, while he, in the mean time, with a body of horse and light-armed troops, entered the country by night, through private and troublesome roads; so that he was in the midst of the *Uxian* villages before the inhabitants knew any thing of the matter. These he plundered and burnt, and continuing his march seized the pass, whither numbers of people were crowded, in hopes of receiving the money. They pretended at first to make some defence; but before they could form themselves into any order, *Craterus* with his soldiers appeared over their heads, and began to push them in clusters over the precipices. They then fell into confusion, and fled into holes and caverns; however, *Sisygambis* interposing and sending to intreat *Alexander* to pardon them, he readily acquiesced on the following terms, viz. that they provided for the army a hundred horses of war, five hundred baggage horses, and thirty thousand head of cattle ².

As we have mentioned the mother of *Darius*, we will *Alexander* take this opportunity of speaking of *Alexander's* conduct towards her, and of her behaviour towards him. From the *pest* *to-* *wards* *her*, and of her behaviour towards him. From the *pest* *to-* time she was taken at the battle of *Iffus*, *Alexander* afforded *ards* *the* her not only the title, but the obedience due to a mother, left *family* *of* the children of *Darius* under her care, and omitted nothing *Darius*. which might contribute to lessen, or even to obliterate, her misfortunes. In the late engagement it is said, that when the *Persian* horse broke into *Alexander's* camp, they came to the tent where she was, and would have persuaded her to make her escape; but she constantly refused, saying, That she would not quit *Alexander* with his fortune ¹. The king, when he purposed to pursue the war, left her at *Susa*, having assigned her and her grand-children a tutor, that he might have the pleasure of conversing with them without an interpreter; and hence it was that she sent to intreat him to pity and spare the *Uxians*, who, through rashness and folly, had incurred his displeasure. And we have seen what deference *Alexander* paid to her mediation ² (Q).

AFTER

¹ ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 17.
 RIAN. ubi supra.
 ubi supra.

DIODOR. ubi supra.
¹ DIODOR. ubi supra:

² ARRIAN.
² ARRIAN.

(Q) There is nothing in the life of *Alexander* which hath afforded the rhetoricians, who have made their actions his theme, so happy

He forces a passage to Persopolis, and destroys it. AFTER chastising the *Uxians*, *Alexander* ordered *Parmenio* to march with the *Theſſalian* horse, the royal brigade, the mercenary foot, with the carriages and baggage, through the ordinary open road against the enemy. In the mean time, he with the *Macedonian* foot, and the light-armed troops, and a body of horse and archers, marched over the mountains to

happy an opportunity of exerting their genii, as his tenderness to the family of *Darius*. *Plutarch* and *Curtius* are particularly fond of these passages, and have taken all possible care to set them out to the best advantage. The last mentioned author hath inserted in his work a very extraordinary relation of an interview between *Alexander* and *Sisygambis* at *Susa*. We were afraid of swelling the text too much, otherwise it had been inserted there; yet considering the manner in which it is told, perhaps it will appear with greater propriety in a note, by way of appendix. *Alexander* having received from *Macedon* several pieces of purple and other rich vestures, he ordered them to be sent to *Sisygambis*, together with the persons who had wrought them, with a compliment, as he intended it, that if the fabricature of these garments pleased her, she might let her grand-children be taught how to make them for their diversion; but working in wool being then held in *Persia* a very mean and dishonourable thing, *Sisygambis* shed tears when she heard the message. The person who carried it returned therefore in haste to *Alexander*, and acquainted him, that *Sisygambis* was much displeased; whereupon the king went instantly unto her apartment, in order to console her, and to remove any misconstruction she might have put on his message. "Dear mother, said he, the robe, in which you see me
 "arrayed, was not only presented me by my sisters, but is also the
 "work of their hands; be convinced, madam, from thence, that
 "I meant not to offend you, but as I was led into an error through
 "the custom of my country, impute what is amiss to my ignorance,
 "and not to any fault in my will. Hitherto I have made it my
 "study never to transgress any of your customs. As soon as I was
 "informed, that it was held disrespectful in *Persia* for a son to sit
 "before his mother, till licensed so to do by her, I made it a rule
 "with me never to sit before you, till I received your commands.
 "As often as you have offered to prostrate yourself before me,
 "I have taken care to prevent it; and as the last and highest token
 "of my esteem, have always stiled you mother, a title, strictly
 "speaking, belonging only to *Olympias* (47)". *Curtius* concludes his chapter here without telling us more than that *Sisygambis* was satisfied. In all probability, she could not but be well pleased at an explanation which took from her all apprehensions of *Alexander's* prejudice towards her family; but that this is the very speech which *Alexander* made to her, will perhaps not easily be credited on account of its rhetorical quaintness.

(46) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra.*(47) *Curt. lib. v. c. 9.*

the *Persian* streights. These he found effectually fortified with a strong wall, flanked with towers, and *Ariobarzanes*, with an army of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, posted behind to dispute his passage. The king trusting to his usual fortune, immediately stormed the wall; but after a long and bloody conflict, in which he lost abundance of men, he was forced to sound a retreat, having been able to effect nothingⁿ. He then began to inquire for some other way, and having met with a man who had been formerly a prisoner, his father a *Lycian*, his mother a *Persian*, so that he spoke both tongues; this man told him, that having long kept sheep on these mountains, he could lead him to another pass, but that in truth it was difficult enough too. *Alexander* thereupon left *Craterus* in his camp, with orders, that as soon as he perceived that himself had passed the other streights, and was about to attack the *Persian* camp, he should scale the wall^o. Then following his *Lycian* guide, he marched that night an hundred furlongs, and by an intricate road arrived at last at the streights; and though he met with a river in his way, yet he passed it, and advanced so speedily, that by day-break he surprized the first guards, whom he cut all to pieces, as he did most of those in the second post, whereby *Ariobarzanes* received no intelligence of his passage, till *Alexander* attacked him in his camp. *Craterus*, as soon as he heard the trumpet sound, attacked the wall; this so distracted the *Persians*, that they would have fled, but it was impossible. *Ptolemy* seized the wall with three thousand foot. *Alexander* charged them before, *Craterus* behind, when they fled to the wall, *Ptolemy* drove them back. Thus distressed, they knew not what to do, and the far greater part of them were put to the sword. *Ariobarzanes* himself with a few horse escaped into the mountains. *Alexander* then returning in haste to the river, strengthened the slight bridge he had thrown over it, and passed over all his army; then by long marches he sought to reach the capital of *Persia*; at *Pasargadae* he seized the treasures of *Cyrus*, and appointed *Phraortes* governor of *Persia*. *Diodorus* and other historians tell us, that when he was near *Persepolis*, he met eight hundred *Grecians*, all of whom had their bodies grievously mangled, and that they with one voice cried out on the barbarous treatment they had met with from the *Persians*, among whom they were prisoners. In compassion to which miserable tale, the king generously relieved them, promised to send them safe back to *Greece*,

ⁿ ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 18.
vit. Alex.

^o DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in

and vowed destruction against *Persepolis* ^p *Arrian* and *Plutarch* have not a word of this tale ; without doubt they had heard it, and their not inserting it seems to carry in it a strong indication of its being fabulous. In all probability, it was calculated, like another story we shall mention presently, to excuse a fact that never can be excused. However it was, the king came at last to *Persepolis*, and meeting with no opposition, he made war on the royal palace, and under colour of revenging what *Xerxes* had done at *Athens*, most barbarously destroyed the most magnificent pile, this, or perhaps any other, part of the world could boast. *Parmenio*, the friend of *Philip*, a man always of moderate counsels, interposed in vain. In vain he represented to *Alexander*, that the destruction of this most noble palace would make him appear a barbarian to the *Asiatics*, and put them in doubt whether he intended to keep *Asia*, or only to plunder it ; that besides it was no revenge upon the *Persians* to raze what was no longer theirs, but his ^q. The king was positive, as indeed he generally was ; the city of *Persepolis* was given up to the plunder of the soldiers, and then the palace set on fire and destroyed. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Alexander* having assembled his troops, made them a long speech, wherein he set forth the reasons, such as they were, of his proceeding in this cruel manner ; he charged this city with having caused innumerable mischiefs to *Greece*, with implacable hatred towards her, and with growing rich by her spoils, and to avenge all those injuries, he gave it up to them, to do with it, the inhabitants, and their estates whatever they thought fit. Upon this the *Macedonians* rushed into the place, and put to the sword, without mercy, all they could lay hands on, plundering and tearing away all the wealth, jewels, rich furniture, and gorgeous vestments, with which the houses were full ; and though they every-where loaded themselves with silver, gold, and purple, their thirst of spoil did but so much the more increase, every one thinking himself had too little, and others had too much, so that quarrels ensuing, many had their hands cut off, as they endeavoured to snatch and tear away prizes, and others were killed. Women of all ages and conditions they seized for the sake of their cloaths and ornaments ; such as their beauty made desirable, they ravished, stripping all alike they sold them for slaves ; so that in the same proportion, whereby *Persepolis* excelled all other cities before the *Macedonians* approached it, she was by them depressed in misery and calamity below

^p DIODOR. ubi supra. CURT. lib. v. c. 5.
iii. c. 18.

^q ARRIAN. lib.

the most wretched village on the earth^r. In the palace, *Alexander* seized to his own use a hundred and twenty thousand talents, which he immediately ordered to be transported on mules and camels, for he had such an extreme aversion to the inhabitants of *Persepolis*, that is, even to the miserable remains of them, that he would leave nothing valuable with them, nor trust any thing near them. Many authors tell us, that the palace of *Persepolis* was not destroyed through any design but from an accident; that *Alexander* having made a great entertainment therein, whereat himself, his friends, and their mistresses were present, one *Thais* an *Athenian* courtesan, who lived with *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, when they were well heated with wine, said, It would be a glorious thing to sacrifice to the honour of *Greece* this proud palace, the habitation of its implacable enemies; this being approved by the company, they cried out, Come on, bring us fire-brands; and the king, taking upon him to lead them, they with songs, pipes, and flutes, marched to execute this glorious proposal; *Thais* acting as lieutenant-general, and throwing the next fire-brand to the king^f. The reflection of *Diodorus* on this story is very singular. It was, says he, very observable, and a thing deserving admiration, to see the sacrilege and impiety of *Xerxes* king of *Persia*, in his outrages committed in the citadel of *Athens*, so signally revenged so many years afterwards through the advice of a courtesan of the same city^t. As there is not a word of *Thais*, or this drunken entertainment, in *Arrian*, there are just grounds to suspect that the whole story is a forgery, the intent of which is explained to us by this remark: The destruction of *Persepolis* had in it a barbarity unbecoming a *Greek*, and most unworthy of *Alexander*. To resolve therefore that destruction into a judgment from the deity, and to make the execution thereof the sudden effect of some irresistible inspiration, is certainly a good way of taking off the load from *Alexander*; but where then is it to be laid? Why, upon heaven! a practice no sober historian will ever countenance, or presume to favour a prince at the expence of providence.

DURING the time that *Alexander* continued at *Persepolis*, he received advice, that *Darius* remained still at *Ecbatana* in *Media*. He determined to march after him, which he did in a most precipitate manner, for in twelve days he reached *Media*, moving near forty miles a day; in three days more

^r DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. ^f PLUT. in vita Alex. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. CURT. lib. v. ^t DIODOR. ubi supra.

he reached *Ecbatana*, where he was thoroughly informed of *Darius's* condition, that he had not with him above three thousand horse and six thousand foot, and that with these he had retired five days before, with an intent to pass into the remotest provinces of his empire. This put some stop to his rapid progress, and, perceiving that there was no necessity for thus hurrying himself and his soldiers, he began to give such orders as were necessary in the present situation of his affairs *. The *Thessalian* horse, who had deserved so well of him in all his battles, he dismissed according to his agreement, gave them their whole pay, and ordered two thousand talents over and above to be distributed among them. He then declared, that he would force no man, but if any of them were willing to serve him longer for pay, he desired that they would enter their names in a book, which a great many of them did; the rest sold their horses, and prepared for their departure. The king named *Epocillus* to conduct them to the sea, and assigned him a body of horse as an escort; he likewise sent *Menetes* with them to take care of their embarkement, and that they were safely landed in *Eubœa* without any expence to themselves. *Parmenio* he directed to see all the several sums of money, which had been collected throughout *Persia*, delivered to his treasurer *Harpalus* at the castle of *Ecbatana*, to whom he assigned a guard of six thousand *Macedonian* foot, and a considerable corps of horse. This *Harpalus* was one of *Alexander's* principal favourites, and as he was a monarch remarkably steady in his affections, so this man had experienced his clemency as well as his kindness; for having, after the battle of *Granicus*, been appointed treasurer, he had by degrees got large sums into his hands, and being terrified by some artful people with stories of the king's rigid temper, he fled, and carried away great sums with him. *Alexander*, inquiring thoroughly into the matter, entertained a favourable opinion of the man, notwithstanding all this, and therefore sent to invite him back again, assuring him, that he would forget all that was past, which he not only performed, but restored him to his favour and former post. The reason of all this was, that *Harpalus* had been his friend and confident in his father's time, and at that time too, when to be well with *Alexander* was no way to be well with *Philip*; he had even been banished on his account, and durst not return to the court of *Macedon*, till *Alexander* had assumed the

* ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 19. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alex. CURT. lib. v.

crown^w. Hence the gratitude of this prince appears, who, in the midst of victories, and after conquering so many provinces, could remember and reward those who sided with him, when he was but the second person in the little kingdom of *Macedon*.

ABOUT this time the king received advice from *Greece*, *The affairs* that all troubles there were happily ended through the extra- of *Greece*, ordinary care and conduct of *Antipater*, who had reduced the and of the *Lacedamonians* so low, that they were constrained to accept royal fami- any terms of peace which he was pleased to afford them; ly of *Ma-* and, on the other hand, *Antipater*, to do his master honour, cedon. would come to no agreement, but on condition that they sent deputies into *Asia* to beg pardon of *Alexander*, and to implore his favour^z. These services gave him a great interest in the heart of his prince, who as yet had not learned to distrust his servants, or to conceive jealousies of those, who, by their important services, had shewn the extensiveness of their capacities. He sent therefore instructions to that minister to keep always a guard about his person, made him such remittances as were sufficient to pay his army regularly, and to support the expence necessary for preserving the tranquillity of *Greece*; he likewise sent immense sums to his mother and relations, as also most magnificent presents to his old friends and acquaintance. This bountiful temper of his *Olympias* looked on as extravagance, and on this topic she wrote him long and frequent letters, telling him, that though it was fit he should give, and give like a king, yet that some bounds should be set even to royal munificence. That his rewards did not render men grateful, but rather made them independent: That his favourites were so rich, they were continually studying how to engage new dependants, so that while they were obliging all men to their service, he was like to have few servants left^v. The king read these letters, and, knowing the temper of his mother, laid them by carefully, without ever speaking of their contents; only one day it happened, that he opened an epistle from *Olympias*, when *Hephestion* sat behind him. *Alexander* perceived that he read over his shoulder, yet he forbid him not; but when himself had read the letter out, he took his signet off his finger, and clapped it on his favourite's mouth. But the great ground of expostulation between *Olympias* and her son was the king's steady refusal to permit her to have any hand in the regency. But he knew her too well, and was afraid to suffer

^w ARRIAN. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alex. & in vita Demosth.

^z DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^v PLUT. in vita Alex.

a woman of her intriguing spirit to intermeddle with the government. On the other hand, *Antipater* wrote often in the same stile, lamenting his condition, as being continually exposed to the artifices and malice of *Olympias*. When *Alexander* one day had read a very prolix letter of this nature, and which was written with more than ordinary spirit, he could not help saying; *I wonder Antipater does not know, that one tear of a mother can blot out a thousand of these letters*^a. Thus in the midst of all the favours of fortune, while he was seizing crowns in *Asia*, and had them sent after him from *Europe*, *Alexander* found his head little the easier, and himself as uneasy in his private family, as any man within the bounds of the numberless provinces he had subdued. It may be, these cares contributed to make him more ready to enter on new expeditions, in hopes of burying private disquiet in public disorder, and make the loud tumult of war drown those smaller and harsher noises which forbade him rest.

The death of Darius. ON new informations, as to the posture of *Darius's* affairs, the king with a body of horse and light-armed troops set out once more on the pursuit, marching as far as *Rhages*, a city one day's journey from the *Caspian* streights; there he understood that *Darius* had passed those streights some time before, which information leaving him again without hopes, he halted for five days. *Oxidates*, a *Persian* whom *Darius* had left prisoner at *Susa*, was appointed governor of *Media*, as the king departed on his *Parthian* expedition. The *Caspian* streights he passed immediately without opposition, and then gave directions for collecting provisions sufficient to serve his army on a long march through a wasted country. But before his officers could accomplish his commands, *Bagistanes* the *Babylonian*, and *Antibelus* the son of *Mazeus* came from *Darius* to acquaint him, that *Bessus* governor of *Bactria*, *Barzaentes*, president of *Arachosia*, and *Nabarzanes* a general of horse, had conspired against and made that prince prisoner^a. *Alexander*, as soon as he heard this, marched with his horse and a few chosen foot without intermission, except a few hours at noon, so that the next morning he entered the camp, from whence these noblemen came; there he was farther assured, that *Darius* was bound in his chariot, that *Bessus* had assumed the imperial title, and that all the army had submitted to him, except *Artabazus*, and his sons, and the *Greek* mercenaries, who, not being able to hinder what had past,

^a Id. ibid.^a ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 21. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

left the great road and retired into the mountains. He also received advice, that those who had the king in custody had determined, if *Alexander* continued his pursuit, to deliver him up, and consult their own safety; but if he left it off, they would raise as great an army as they could, and share the empire among them. That *Bessus* was declared general of the army at present, as well because of the great necessity there was for him about *Darius's* person, as because he was taken prisoner in his province. *Alexander* hearing this resolved to continue his march with all possible speed; and though his men as well as their horses were harassed with incessant labour, he nevertheless proceeded, and travelling hard all that night and till noon the next day, arrived at a certain village, where they who led *Darius* about had pitched their tents the day before; and being there farther assured, that they designed to march by night, he inquired of the inhabitants, if they knew any nigher road than that by which they fled, that he might the sooner overtake them? they told him they did; but that it led through a country desert, and destitute of water. He notwithstanding ordered them to be his guides, and when he understood that the foot could not possibly keep pace with the horse in so hasty a march, he commanded about five hundred horse-men to alight, and the captains of foot, and others of their best men, such as were heavy armed, to mount their horses. He also ordered *Nicanor* captain of the targeteers, and *Attalus* commander of the *Agrians*, to march with those who were light-armed along the great road, which *Bessus* and his companions had taken. The rest of the foot were left to follow in order. He set forwards at the close of the evening, and proceeded with the utmost vigour; and having marched four hundred furlongs that night, early the next morning came up with the *Barbarians*, who were flying all in disorder and unarmed. A few of them drew up in ranks, as if they had designed to defend themselves; but the greatest part at the first sight of *Alexander* turned their backs without striking one blow; and when a few of those who betook themselves to their arms were cut off and fled, *Bessus* and his companions still carried *Darius* about in a chariot; but perceiving *Alexander* at hand, *Satibarzanes* and *Barzaentes*, after having given him several grievous wounds, there left him, and with a party of six hundred horse hastened away; soon after which *Darius*, before *Alexander* had yet seen him, died of his wounds ^b.

^b ARRIAN. ubi supra.

This is the account of *Arrian*. But *Plutarch* relates it somewhat differently; he informs us, that the king had not with him above threescore horse when he came up with the *Barbarians*; that they trampled over heaps of rich booty, and even large quantities of silver and gold, without offering to alight, that they might if possible come up with the foremost of the party who were about the chariot of *Darius*; which at last they did, one *Polystratus* being the first that perceived him; he making up to the chariot, saw the unfortunate king stretched at his full length, mortally wounded and gasping for breath. However, he earnestly desired some drink. The *Macedonian* presenting him with a cup of water, *Darius* tasted a little of it, and then said, *That to receive such a benefit, and not have it in his power to make any return, was the last and severest stroke of his ill fortune; however, continued he, Alexander, whose kindness to my mother, wife, and children may God recompense, will doubtless gratify thee for thy humanity towards me: When therefore thou shalt give him an account of this event, tell him that I gave him my right hand in testimony of my sense of his kindness: Saying this he gave his hand to Polystratus, and breathed his last. Alexander when he saw the dead body, covered it with his own cloak, and ordered it to be sent to Sisygambis, that it might be interred in the royal sepulchre of the Persian kings &c.*

Hyrkania
reduced by
Alexander.

As soon as *Alexander* had collected his forces together, and had settled the government of *Parthia*, he entered *Hyrkania*, and having, according to his wonted custom, committed the gross of his army with the baggage and carriages to the care of *Craterus*, he at the head of a choice corps of horse and foot passed through certain craggy roads, while the army took an open and easy passage, and before their arrival struck all the province with such terror, that all the principal places were put into his hands. *Nabarzanes*, who was one of the conspirators against *Darius*, surrendered himself here, so did *Phradaphernes*, governor of *Hyrkania* and *Parthia*. *Artabazus* and his sons arrived shortly after, and were all graciously received; *Alexander* testifying a high respect for them on account of their fidelity to *Darius*. Then the *Greek* mercenaries, who had fled into the mountains, sent deputies to desire that he would pardon what was past, and admit them to his service; but the king would not hear of any treaty, because, as he said, they were infamous persons, who had taken up arms against their coun-

c *Plut.* in vit. Alex.

†

try,

try, and had obstinately persisted in their rebellion; yet, in consideration of their behaviour towards their late master, he consented to receive them as prisoners at discretion; to which terms they at last submitted, beseeching the king to send somebody to conduct them to his camp. The king thereupon sent *Andronicus* and *Artabazus* for that purpose, and on their arrival treated them with great lenity, receiving them not long after into his service ^d.

THAT burning desire which *Alexander* had to become *The Mardi* the lord and master of every nation, of whom he had the least intelligence, induced him to enter the country of the *Mardi*, merely because its rocks and barrenness had hindered any body hitherto from making a conquest of it, or even from attempting it; however, he succeeded very happily by dint of a stratagem; for giving the necessary directions for the march of his forces, he suddenly turned back with a body of light-armed troops and chosen horse, with which he acted so vigorously, that the *Mardi*, astonished at an expedition they so little expected, fled to inaccessible rocks and caverns, a few only pretending to take up arms, and they to very little purpose; for where-ever they appeared in the plains, the king drove them with his horse; and when-ever he discerned them encamped on the tops of mountains, he ordered all the passages to them to be so well guarded, that the *Barbarians*, finding it impossible to subsist, were constrained to surrender. While he was thus employed, it happened, that a party of the *Mardi* seized and carried off his favourite horse *Bucephalus*. No accident could possibly have disturbed the king more than this, for he had an extravagant love for this creature, on account of its singular properties and the long service it had done him. He therefore began to hew down all the trees in the neighbourhood of his camp, and to burn whatever huts and houses could be found, causing proclamation to be made in the language of the country, whereby he signified, that if his horse was not restored without injury, he would burn and destroy all things that were capable of feeling the effects of his indignation; which so terrified the *Mardi*, that they sent back *Bucephalus* immediately, accompanied with a deputation loaden with presents, and vested with full authority to submit the whole nation to the king's pleasure ^e. *Alexander* then appointed *Autophradates*, president of the *Tapuri*, to be governor also of this country, and, well satisfied with this conquest, returned

^d ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 23. ^e DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. vi. c. 5.

to the main body of his army, where many things required his care, and where the soldiers impatiently expected his return, in hopes of having some bounds set to their labours, and the end of the war talked of at least with some degree of certainty f.

Satibarza-
nes sub-
mits, but
after-
wards re-
volts, and
is defeated.

Alexander at his arrival found not only the *Grecian* mercenaries brought safe to his camp by *Andronicus*, but also four *Lacedæmonian* ambassadors, with *Diopithes* the *Athenian* ambassador, and many others, cloathed with the like character, who, till he was made a prisoner, had attended on *Darius*; the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* he ordered to be kept in safe custody; as for the ministers of such states as had been subject to the *Persians*, these he dismissed, for he thought it but just that while any state owned a dependence to another, it should send ministers to recognize that dependence, and to receive instructions from the sovereign. As to the *Greek* mercenaries, he distinguished them thus; such as had been in the service of the *Persian* before the *Greeks* entered into the general alliance for carrying on the war, he set at liberty, and left them free to act as they thought fit; but for such as had entered into the *Persian* service afterwards, and had knowingly and avowedly fought against their country, these he ordered to be enlisted and enrolled among his own troops, allowing them, however, the same pay which they had heretofore received from *Darius*, appointing at the same time *Andronicus*, who had negotiated their surrender, to be commander in chief of that body which he had taken into his pay g. After this he marched to *Zeudracarta*, the capital of *Hyrcania*, where for fifteen days he celebrated solemn games, and sacrificed with great magnificence to the gods of *Greece*; afterwards he entered *Aria*, and coming to the chief city thereof, *Satibarzanes*, the governor thereof, came and submitted to him; upon which *Alexander* continued him in his government, and assigned him a guard of *Macedonian* archers on horseback commanded by *Anaxippus*. Here he received advice, that the traitor *Bessus* had caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Asia* by the name of *Artaxerxes*; this exceedingly provoked the king, who instantly prepared to march after him into *Bactria*, in order to call him to a severe account, for his former treachery and for this new act of insolence. He was scarce, however, out of the province of *Aria* before advice came to him, that *Satibarzanes*, immediately on his departure, had massacred *Anaxippus* and all the *Mace-*

f ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 24.

g Idem ibid. CURT. lib.

donians,

donians, and having assembled a great body of forces in the neighbourhood of the chief city, which was called *Aritoana*, was about to declare either for himself or for *Bessus*, according as he should be encouraged by the success of his enterprise; but *Alexander* was not a prince of a temper capable of allowing time for the ripening of such designs; for, as soon as he was told this, he marched instantly with a body of horse and light-armed troops, and, travelling seventy miles in two days, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Aritoana* before *Satibarzanes* had the least intelligence of his march. Then it was this *Persian* discovered how unfit he himself was for the management of such an undertaking; for though he had with him a very considerable body of forces, yet, instead of attacking *Alexander* and his troops, fatigued with such an excessive march, or of intrenching himself in order to defend the army under his command, he instantly quitted the field with a body of horse, and fled with all the expedition he was able to *Bessus*, who willingly received him^h. *Curtius* tells us, that thirteen thousand *Arians* retiring to a high rock, which was absolutely inaccessible, refused to treat with *Alexander*, in hopes that, seeing it impossible to come at them, he would, when he quitted the country, leave them as he found them. The king, however, took quite a contrary course; for, while he with his horse pursued *Satibarzanes*, *Craterus* with the foot surrounded the bottom of the rock, and held the *Arians* in a manner prisoners till *Alexander's* return. As soon as the king came into the camp, he ordered wood of all sorts to be cut, and having laid a foundation of large billets, reared up a vast pile, till it was even with the rock; the same thing being done on the opposite side, and at each corner, according as the wind served, they set these piles on fire, and the flames being driven violently upon the rock, the people were compelled to throw themselves from thence, some half burnt, others naked; some few who cried out for mercy were saved. Throughout the whole province, *Alexander* made it his business to search out the chiefs and the accomplices in the rebellion, all of whom he either put to death, or sold for slaves; then he appointed *Arfames* the son of *Artabanus* governor of *Aria*, thence marched with his army against the *Zarangæ*, who, under the command of *Barzaentes*, one of those who had conspired against *Darius*, were up in arms, and threatened to make an

^h ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 25. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

obstinate defence ; but their hearts failed them when *Alexander* drew near, insomuch that numbers daily falling off, *Barzaentes*, being afraid they would purchase their own safety at the expence of his, privately withdrew from his camp, and crossing the river *Indus*, sought shelter among the nations beyond it ; but they, either dreading the power of *Alexander*, or detesting the treachery of this *Persian* towards his former master, seized and delivered him up ; whereupon *Alexander* immediately ordered him to be put to death, as well for the sake of his own safety, as that he might seem to revenge that perfidy which had been used towards his unfortunate predecessor¹. But it is now time to quit for a short space the story of foreign wars, in order to turn our eyes on the dissensions, factions, and conspiracies, which began to deform that victorious army, wherewith in so short a time the greater part of *Asia* had been over-run.

*Dissensions
in the Ma-
cedonian
army, their
causes and
effects.*

THE first and indeed the grand source of those troubles which embittered *Alexander's* victories was, the immense treasure acquired by them, and the beneficent temper of *Alexander* himself. For, while with a lavish hand he bestowed all things on all who were near him, many made a wrong use of his bounty, and foolishly indulged those vices by the practice of which the former possessors of that wealth, which was now theirs, had lost it. Among other instances of *Alexander's* favourites, *Plutarch* informs us, that *Agnon* the *Teian* wore silver nails in his shoes ; that *Leonatus* employed several camels in transporting powder from *Egypt*, which he used when he wrestled. *Hephestion* wore very rich garments, and affected in every thing the *Persian* manner of living ; but above all *Philotas* is said to have been nice in his dress, his table, his equipage, and most munificent to his friends ; one of whom asking him to lend him a sum of money, he instantly ordered it to be given him by his steward ; but the steward affirming there was no money in his coffers, *Philotas* replied warmly, *Have you not then plate and cloaths of mine, turn them into money rather than let my friend want*^k. *Alexander* himself began to be very sensible of the mischiefs that would be produced by the introduction of luxury among his people ; he therefore sought to extinguish it by discouraging the most eminent of his courtiers, whom he saw giving into this way of living ; he told them, that he was surprized that they, who had experienced that solid satisf-

¹ CURT. lib. vi. c. 25. ARRIAN. ubi supra. Alex. & in Orat. de Fortuna Alex.

^k PLUT. in vit.

faction which results from an industrious and laborious course of life, should sink into that supineness and indolence which had destroyed the *Persians*, and which without question would enervate and enfeeble themselves; he told them, that to possess wealth and use it was great and noble; but to make it the instrument of riot and luxury was base and effeminate; he expostulated with them on the impropriety of such a conduct in men who were still soldiers; he asked them, how it could be expected that a man should keep his arms bright, and exercise them with activity, who would not so much as employ his own hands in doing things necessary about his own body, but would rather call in the aid of a servant, as if by gaining riches he had lost the use of his limbs. By his own behaviour also, he to the utmost discouraged this sort of lazy and inactive pride; for when at any time he relaxed a little from the toils of war, he diverted himself with hunting, in which he could endure not only all the rigour of the season, but would also fast sometimes throughout the whole day. Once when he was engaged in this exercise, a lion of a prodigious size attacked him: the king defended himself with great courage, and at last, though with much ado, he slew the beast, upon which the *Lacedæmonian* ambassador made him a well-turned compliment: *You have, Sir, said he, vindicated your title to royalty, even against the lion.* Craterus was so much pleased with this adventure, that he caused the whole of it to be expressed in figures of brass by the hands of *Lyfippus* and *Leochares*, which noble piece he dedicated in the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. Yet neither *Alexander's* discourses nor his actions prevailed; the manners of his courtiers proceeded from bad to worse, in spite of all he could say or do to prevent it; and at last they proceeded so far, as to censure his conduct, and to express themselves with some bitterness on the subject of his long continuance of the war, and his leading them constantly from one labour to another. All this at first drew no harsher language from *Alexander* than this: *That to do well and to be ill spoken of, was becoming the royal dignity.* But by degrees, as things went farther, he was obliged to alter his behaviour: For when the whole army was split into factions, and the soldiers were ever openly inveighing against his administration, *Alexander* was under a necessity of reproving them, talking to them severely, and of taking other methods to oblige them to keep their speech within the bounds of decency, and their actions within the limits of their duty¹. *Curtius* tells us, that to eradicate this spirit of

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in loc. citat.

mutiny,

mutiny, and to restore the antient *Macedonian* discipline, he was forced to cause fire to be set to the spoils collected by the soldiers, and reduce them all to ashes^m, which, however, is very incredible; and therefore we prefer *Plutarch's* account of this matter. He says, that when he led his army out of *Hyrcania*, he perceived in them an unwillingness to follow him, that is, he first perceived in them that sullen disrespectful humour which generally precedes mutiny. Upon this occasion he had not recourse either to harsh words or severe usage; but having summoned the soldiers to an assembly; he in a long and eloquent harangue gave them to understand. "That hitherto the *Barbarians* had seen
 " them no otherwise than as it were in a dream; and if they
 " should think of returning when they had only alarmed *A-*
 " *sia*, and not conquered it, those *Barbarians* would set up-
 " on them and destroy them like so many women. Howe-
 " ver, he would detain none of them against their will, but
 " give such as desired it free liberty to return; but withal
 " protested against those who should be so mean-spirited, as
 " to desert him and his friends, and those who were willing
 " to fight under him still in an enterprize so great and glori-
 " ous, as it would be to make the *Macedonians* lords of the
 " habitable world". What the result of this exhortation was, the same author informs us from a letter written by *Alexander* to *Antipater*, wherein it is thus expressed: "That
 " when he had spoken to them after this manner, they una-
 " nimously cried out, they were ready to go with him whi-
 " thersoever he should be pleased to lead themⁿ". From this time forward, however, *Alexander* began to alter his conduct, and, by giving himself a little into the customs of the orientals, endeavoured to secure that obedience from his new subjects, which he found it so difficult to preserve among his old ones; he likewise endeavoured to blend the customs of the *Asiatics* and the *Greeks* by various methods. The form of his civil government resembled that of the antient *Persian* kings: In military affairs, however, he preserved the *Macedonian* discipline; but then he made choice of thirty thousand boys out of the provinces, whom he caused to be instructed in the *Greek* tongue, and directed to be brought up in such a manner, as that from time to time he might with them fill up the phalanx. The *Macedonians* saw with great concern these extraordinary measures, which suited very indifferently with their gross understandings; for they thought after all this fighting to be absolute lords of *Asia*, and to

^m CURT. lib. vi. c. 6.ⁿ PLUT. in vit. Alex.

possess not only the riches of its inhabitants, but to rule over the inhabitants themselves. Whereas they saw plainly, that *Alexander* meant no such thing; but that, on the contrary, he conferred governments, offices at court, and all other marks both of confidence and favour indiscriminately on *Persians* and *Greeks*. *Plutarch* has taken great pains to inculcate a notion of *Alexander's* doing this from a principle of exalted virtue, and from an earnest desire of uniting, as it were in marriage, the people of the two great continents, *Europe* and *Asia*. Of this he speaks every-where in raptures, as of the most sublime and glorious kind of philosophy, invented and practised by *Aristotle's* royal pupil, that he might spread peace, plenty, and politeness over the face of the whole earth; with this single proviso, however, that the earth own no master but him. But it may be, that *Plutarch* thought more of this matter than *Alexander*, since, without having recourse to any such sublime principles, we can account for his conduct in as satisfactory a manner. Wealth and pleasure were the ends for which the grofs of his army had undergone such excessive fatigues; and now when those were in their power, they did not greatly care to fight any longer. Dominion and fame were what *Alexander* had in view, and finding that these could scarce be secured by an army already full of dissension, he began to turn his eyes on those whom he had subdued, and to expect from them as much as had been performed hitherto by his *Macedonians*, as if all men were capable of all things under his auspice^o.

WITH all these mighty designs in his head, a conspiracy ^{*A conspiracy*} was formed in his camp in order to take him off, before any ^{*racy a-*} of them could be carried into execution; this conspiracy, ^{*gainst the*} like most others, was by those who were concerned in it, ^{*life of A-*} involved in such obscurity, that few were able to know what ^{*lexander*} to make of it even at the time it broke out; and authors have ^{*discovered.*} related its circumstances so variously, that it is very difficult to give a tolerable and consistent account of it from the lights they afford us. Our old guide *Arrian* was as much in the dark as the rest, and as we shall see hereafter, met with different relations under the hand of the same author. In so perplexed a business, we shall draw out as clear and distinct a detail of facts as we can, and, having furnished the best materials in our powers, shall leave our readers to decide for themselves. One *Dymnus* a *Macedonian*, of no great rank in the army, having determined in his mind to kill *Alexander*,

^o ARRIAN. lib. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. CURT. lib. v. vi. JUSTIN. lib. xi. PLUT. in orat. de fortun. & virt. Alexand. communi-

communicated his design to one *Nicomachus*, a young man for whom he had a great love, earnestly inviting him to bear a part in the action; the lad, terrified at the very mention of it, revealed it to *Cebalinus* his brother, whom *Plutarch* calls *Balinus*; and he, eager to save his brother and himself, was resolved to make a discovery; but inasmuch as *Dymnus* had told *Nicomachus*, that those who were concerned in this plot would execute it in three days, *Cebalinus* went to court out of an apprehension, that if his brother was seen there, it might alarm the conspirators, and engage them to execute their purpose before proper measures could be taken to prevent it. When *Cebalinus* came to the royal quarters, the first person of distinction he met with was *Philotas*, to whom he disclosed this matter, and begged him to bring him to the king. This was easy for him to have done, because he was twice a-day admitted to the royal presence; however, he omitted it, though he had a very long conference with the king that very day. The next day *Cebalinus* solicited him again, when *Philotas* told him, that he had no opportunity of speaking of it to the king, but promised him that he would do it speedily; yet he omitted it throughout this day also; whereupon *Cebalinus*, growing impatient, and doubting with himself if this should come to the king's ear any other way, his own and his brother's life would be in danger, applied himself to one of the king's pages, and having intimated to him what the discovery was which he was desirous to make, received directions from him to hide himself in the armory, together with a promise, that the king should be acquainted with it when he was in the bath; which was accordingly done. When *Alexander* had heard all the page knew, and was farther acquainted, that *Cebalinus* himself was in the armory, he sent for him, and heard from his own mouth, not only all that *Nicomachus's* brother had told him, but also how *Philotas* had trifled with him, and had for two days together concealed this matter from his knowledge. The king, extremely offended, ordered *Dymnus* to be seized, and *Philotas* to be sent for to him. ^P The former, as soon as he was apprehended, stabbed himself so desperately, that he died just as he was brought into the king's presence, or, as others say, was killed in his own tent by him who went to apprehend him, because he stood on his defence: However it was, he died without being examined, or making any confession, which gave the king great disquiet, who fancied, that if the

^P DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

man had been brought to him alive, he might one way or other have drawn from him the whole secret. As it was, he sent for *Philotas*, and taxed him with perfidy, for not informing him of *Cebalinus*'s discovery: *Philotas* excused himself, by affirming that the story seemed to him altogether improbable, and that he was unwilling to fill his head with needless fears and suspicions; as he said this, he threw himself at the king's feet and embraced his knees; and it is said the king gave him his hand in token of forgiveness. Indeed it is very probable, that *Alexander* thought himself bound to pass by such a neglect, in a person who had served him faithfully, whose father had done such important services to his father and himself, and who had lost two brothers in fighting his quarrels¹. At supper *Philotas* was invited, and the king talked to him as familiarly as he was wont to do; but it seems he retired early, and went to bed. When he was gone, some who were about the king, *Curtius* mentions expressly *Graterus* for one, began to infuse it into *Alexander*'s head, that *Dymnus* could never be the prime author of so extraordinary an attempt, but must have been influenced thereto by persons of superior rank. That it looked very suspicious in *Philotas* never to disclose any thing of this matter, nor to take any measures for seizing the conspirators. That in things of less importance pity and tenderness might interfere; but that where the king's life lay at stake, and in him the fortune of *Macedon*, compassion was no virtue, but rather a kind of treason, it being the duty of every loyal subject to sacrifice all private considerations to the peace and safety of his prince. By such discourses they extorted, as it were, from the king an order to seize *Philotas*, and put him to the question. Which when they went to execute, they found him fast asleep; however, they awaked him, and put him in irons, at which he is said to have burst out into this exclamation; *O! my prince, the malice of my enemies hath overcome thy inclination to mercy*. When he was first put to the rack, he denied every thing; but at last, unable to bear the pain, he impeached many, and amongst the rest his father. In all likelihood, he said any thing that he thought would deliver him from his torments².

Curtius gives us a fuller, and we should say a better account of this matter, if we could at all rely on the harangues inserted in his writings; but these have evidently so rhetorical a turn, that it is difficult to conceive how they should

Philotas first tortured, then put to death.

¹ CURT. lib. vi. ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 26. ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

have proceeded from the mouths of persons so strongly agitated by their passions. It is, however, probable and consistent with the best historians, that *Philotas* was brought to an open trial according to the laws and customs of the *Macedonians*, wherein he was charged by the king with having a hand in *Dymnus's* conspiracy. Against this charge he made a long and laboured defence; he said, that his father and himself, with his brothers, *Nicanor* and *Hector*, who were now no more, had often hazarded their lives in the king's service, and had some share in the victories purchased by the valour of the *Macedonians*: That the conspiracy of *Dymnus* no ways reached him, his name having never been mentioned by any of the accomplices impeached by *Nicomachus*; he observed, that it was highly improbable, if he had any concern in the plot, that he should suffer *Cebalinus* to remain two days at court at full liberty to apply himself to others; he acknowledged his offence in not acquainting the king sooner with the discovery, and then addressing himself, as it were, to *Alexander*, whom he conceived to be within hearing, though he affected not to be present, he put him in mind that he had immediately implored his clemency, that he had given him his hand as a pledge of his pardon, and had invited him to his table; his own innocence and the king's assuring him of mercy had so quieted his mind, that, as he remarked, those who came to seize him had much ado to awake him; he therefore conjured the king not to abandon him to his enemies, nor to suffer them to triumph at once over an innocent man, and the word of a merciful prince. *Alexander*, however, pretended to leave all things to the assembly, and they, managed by the capital enemies of *Philotas*, adjudged him to the torture, and afterwards, upon the confession extorted from him by the pains he then endured, to death^f, which he suffered, as *Arrian* informs us, by being struck through with darts by the soldiers^t. *Curtius* says, that according to the manner of the *Macedonians* they stoned him^u. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was punished as a traitor according to the custom of his country^w. All agree that he was put to death, and that his execution was attended with many conjectures and suspicions, that he fell rather through the effects of private malice, than by the stroke of public justice.

The certainty of this plot dejected.

THOSE who have sought to excuse *Alexander* from the imputations which the death of *Philotas* and its consequences

^f CURT. lib. vi. c. 19—33.
^w ubi supra.

^t ubi supra.

^u ubi supra.

drew upon him, have suggested in their accounts many things, which, if they were true, would certainly prove that *Philotas* was an indiscreet and ambitious man at least, if not a traitor. They alledge, that he affected a pomp in his manner of living, a splendor in his equipage, a nicety at his table, a complaisance for his friends, a large and swelling retinue, and in fine many other things inconsistent with the moderation which ought to be observed by a subject. They say, that many years before he had discovered a contempt of the king, and a very high idea of his father's merit and his own; that after the battle of *Iffus*, growing passionately enamoured of one *Antigona* of *Pydna*, a very handsome woman, who, as a prisoner fell to his share; he said to her in his cups, *What was Philip, but Parmenio? What is Alexander, but Philotas?* Which, being talked of by the woman, came at last to *Craterus's* ear, who introduced *Antigona* to *Alexander*, to whom she told this and many other things, and received a strict charge from the king to continue a spy on *Philotas's* words and actions. It is likewise alledged, that *Parmenio* himself was not a little displeased with his conduct, and would often give him this caution, *My son appear less* ¹. But these tales carry their refutations in themselves; if *Philotas's* behaviour had been so generally offensive, he would not surely have held his command, and with it the confidence of the king, till this business of *Dymnus*. If *Antigona* could bring herself not only to impeach a man who loved her, but to remain with him in order to extract his secrets, she must have been of a disposition unworthy of belief. Besides, *Craterus* was the capital enemy of *Philotas*, and her being brought by him to the king renders the whole business very suspicious: If *Parmenio's* caution to his son reflects at all upon his conduct, it certainly justifies the father, and yet we shall see he escaped no better than his son. On the whole, *Arrian* tells us from *Ptolemy*, that *Philotas* was once tried and acquitted; but that upon some new discoveries he was a second time impeached and convicted ². However it was, after putting him to death, the king thought it not fit to let *Parmenio* survive him long; he therefore dispatched letters by *Polydamas*, one of his friends, to *Cleander*, *Sitalces*, and *Menidas*, who commanded under *Parmenio* in *Media*, with orders to take him off, which accordingly they did; and, if we may believe *Curtius*, in a very extraordinary

¹ PLUT. in Orat. de virtut. Alex.

² Id. in vit. ALEX.

³ ARRIAN. ubi supra.

manner. He says that *Polydamas*, who undertook the management of this matter, was *Parmenio's* dearest and most intimate friend; he carried with him not only a letter from the king to that general, but also another written in a hand like that of *Philotas*, and sealed with his seal. When he arrived in *Media*, and had communicated the king's orders to *Cleander* and his associates, they concerted all things together, and the next day presented *Parmenio* with his letters as he was walking in his park, where while he was commending the king, and looking on the letter which he supposed came from his son, *Cleander* stabbed him in the side, then in the throat, his companions afterwards shamefully mangling the dead body; at last *Cleander* cut off the head and sent it to *Alexander*, the miserable remains being mournfully interred by the soldiers ^a.

Consequences of these proceedings.

THESE executions made way for more discoveries, or pretended discoveries. *Amyntas* the son *Andromenes*, *Attalus*, and *Simmias*, all brethren, were seized on account of their intimacy with *Philotas*, and because their fourth brother *Polemon* had fled to the enemy; they were brought to an open trial, and *Amyntas* defended himself so well, that they were all acquitted; after which *Amyntas* desired *Alexander's* leave to go and search for his brother, which was granted him, and he accordingly brought him back, which was thought a convincing proof that they were all innocent; this is *Arrian's* account, *Curtius* carries the matter still farther; he gives us the defence of *Amyntas* at large, and informs us, that while he was in the midst of it, *Polemon* was brought in prisoner by those who were sent in pursuit of him. When he came to speak, he told the assembly very frankly, that his intimacy with *Philotas* was the reason that he fled; that he was so terrified with the thoughts of the tortures that unfortunate person had suffered, that he left the camp; and that having lost his companions on the road, while he deliberated with himself whether he had best proceed or return back, he was taken. *Demetrius*, one of the king's guards, fell also into suspicion, and orders were dispatched into *Macedonia*, directing, that *Alexander Lyncestes*, who had been some years a prisoner, should be put to death; his friendship with *Antigonus* had hitherto preserved his life, but now he was given up to slaughter ^b. These things disturbed the army very much, especially the *Macedonians*, who though they adored the royal virtues of *Alexander*, did not think themselves obliged to be

^a CURT. lib. vi. ARRIAN. ubi supra. ubi supra.

^b ARRIAN. CURT.

in love with his vices ; they therefore did not content themselves with speaking very freely, but wrote home to their friends their thoughts of the present state of affairs, the king's suspicions of his friends, and his inclination to hunt out enemies at the very extremities of the world. *Alexander*, having intercepted these letters and taken the best informations he could, picked out these dissatisfied people, and having disposed them into one corps, gave it the title of the *turbulent battalion* c, and appointed *Leonidas* to command it ; hoping by this means to stop the contagion, and to prevent this spirit of disaffection from spreading through the whole army.

As a further precaution against any future conspiracy, *Alexander* thought fit to appoint two generals of the auxiliary horse, being apprehensive, that if this authority was lodged in the hands of a single person, it might prompt him to dangerous undertakings, and at the same time furnish him with the means of carrying them into execution. *Hephestion* and *Clytus* were therefore appointed joint commanders of these horse, nor can the king be justly blamed for this caution, if it be supposed, that *Alexander Lyncestes*, and *Philotas* were justly punished d. To keep his forces in action, he suddenly marched into the country of the *Euergetæ*, i. e. *benefactors*. This is an instance of that strange way of writing, into which, out of fondness for their own language, the *Greeks* constantly ran ; it is impossible that this nation should have been really called by this name ; the truth is, that it is no more than a translation of a *Persian* name bestowed upon them by *Cyrus*, and it would have been well, if any of the *Greek* historians or geographers had preserved this *Persian* name. *Arrian* tells us, that they were before called *Agriaspæ*, and *Diodorus* calls them by two different names ; such differences are common in *Greek* writers, nor is it easy to discover which is the true or the best reading. These people were celebrated for their wisdom, beneficence, and politeness. When *Cyrus* the founder of the *Persian* empire marched this way against the *Scythians*, his army was grievously distressed for want of provisions, insomuch, that they were compelled to eat each other ; from this deplorable state they were relieved by the kindness of this nation, who brought thirty thousand loads of provision of all sorts into the camp. *Cyrus*, in consideration of this extraordinary act of generosity, honoured them with some *Persian* appellation equivalent to the *Greek* term *Euergetæ*. *Alexander* found their successors full of the same kind and hospitable disposition ; he therefore treated them with great respect,

c' Ἀτάκτων τάγμα.

d ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 27.

and staying among them some small time in order to celebrate a festival to *Apollo*, he at his departure added to their dominions some lands, which lay contiguous, and which for that reason they had requested of him *. Turning then to the east, he entered *Arachosia*, the inhabitants of which submitted without giving him any trouble; whereupon he appointed *Memnon* to be governor of these provinces, as *Arrian* assures us, though *Diodorus* affirms that he appointed *Teridates*. While he passed his winter in these parts, the king received advice, that the *Arians*, whom he had so lately subdued, were again up in arms, *Satibarzanes* being returned into that country with two thousand horse assigned him by *Bessus*. *Alexander* instantly dispatched *Artabazus* the *Persian* with *Erigyus* and *Caranus*, two of his commanders, with a considerable body of horse and foot; he likewise ordered *Phrataphernes*, to whom he had given the government of *Parthia*, to accompany them. These, with all convenient speed, marched back into *Aria*, where *Satibarzanes* met them with a well-appointed army; a general engagement ensued, wherein the *Arians* behaved very well, as long as their commander *Satibarzanes* lived; but he engaging *Erigyus*, the *Macedonian* struck him first into the throat, and then, drawing forth his spear, again through the mouth, so that he immediately expired, and with him the courage of his soldiers, who instantly began to fly, so that *Alexander's* commanders made an easy conquest of the rest of the country, and settled it effectually under his obedience † (R)

THE

* *ARRIAN*.ubi supra. *DIODOR*. ubi supra. *CURT*. lib. vii. c. 9. *JUSTIN*. lib. xii. c. 5. † *ARRIAN*. lib. iii. c. 28. *DIODOR*. *SICUL*. ubi supra. *CURT*. lib. vii. c. 17.

(R) There is nothing more warmly complained of by the critics, than the vast mistakes and insuperable difficulties, which occur in the descriptions of rivers, mountains, provinces, &c. in antient authors. Without question, these complaints are not altogether groundless, and yet, from a strict comparison of the antients with each other and with the relations of modern travellers, we are induced to believe, that there is not always sufficient authority for those vehement declamations, which some, in order to pass for great geographers, have made, not only against *Curtius*, but against *Arrian* and *Diodorus*, on account of their supposed errors in these matters. To touch on this subject, as often as we meet with these complaints in the commentaries of late writers on those who have lived ages before them, would lead us into a prolixity, alike troublesome to ourselves, and tedious to our readers; to say nothing on this

THE king, notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, advanced into the country of *Paropamisus*, so called from the

*Continues
his marches
in the most
rigorous
seasons, and
through
the most
barren
countries.*

this head at all, might betray our own want of care, and leave them in great perplexity. We shall therefore once for all lay down the reason which have induced us to pay a greater regard than is usually done to the descriptions met with in antient authors, and the motives which have led us to pass this sentence on those who have treated the antients in another manner. *Arrian*, in his account of *Alexander's* march through *Paropamisus*, tells us, that it was performed with the utmost toil and difficulty, his soldiers passing through deep snows, and enduring all the extremities of want (48). *Diodorus* speaks more largely of these difficulties (49); but as we have inserted what he says in the text, there is no necessity of repeating it here. *Curtius* has followed *Diodorus* exactly (50): *Strabo* in his geography (51) agrees very well with what the rest say, and yet it has been surmised, that they are every one mistaken; and on account of this province lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-seventh degrees of latitude, it has been asserted, that the cold could not be greater there than in *Italy* or *Greece*; yet *Tavernier* (52), and in general all the travellers that speak either of this province, or of places near it, agree, that in the winter it is excessive cold; that the snow renders it almost impassable, and that it is to this very time as barren of wood, as it is described to be by the before-mentioned authors. Perhaps it might be very possible to assign the natural causes of such severe winters in these parts, but there is no necessity of doing that; for if the matter of fact be, as the antients have described it, it fully justifies them, and us in following them. To say the truth, the moderns have been too assuming, and without proper grounds; it is but very lately that we knew either the true form or the exact situation of the *Caspian* sea, and yet the mistakes of the antients about it have been censured long ago, and with great quickness. The source of all this is too great a dependence on theoretic knowledge, and an absurd affectation of not believing what we cannot bring to square with our hypothetic notions. One would have thought, that an error of the antients might have taught us to have acted with greater caution and modesty in this way; we know, that the most learned men of all sects and ages were of opinion, that the torrid zone was absolutely uninhabitable, and very fair and plausible reasons they produced for their opinion; and yet experience has convinced us, that they were absolutely mistaken; and if they were, why may not we? In matters of fact, the evidence necessary to conviction is of a different nature than in matters of speculation; and therefore

(48) *Arrian. lib. iii.*

(49) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*

(50) *Curt. lib. vii. c. 3.*

(51) *Strab. Geogr. lib. xiii. p. 723.*

(52) *Voyag de Tavernier, Vol. I. Histoire de Candabar.*

the mountain *Paropamisus*, which the soldiers of *Alexander* called *Caucasus*. We are told by *Diodorus*, that he found the country for the most part open and plain, without trees, covered with snow, having large open boroughs scattered here and there. The houses in which the inhabitants dwelt were covered with tiles; the roof rising up like a spire, but open at the top, whereby they received light, and let out the smoke; the walls of these houses were so well built, and the mortar made use of for them so excellently tempered, that they had in them no flaws or cracks, but were perfectly secured from the inclemencies of the air. In them therefore the people dwelt all the winter, having store of all sorts of provisions laid up, and having previously secured their vines and other fruit-trees, by covering them with matts, from the effects of the frost. In their marches through this melancholy plain, the *Macedonians* were exposed to vast inconveniences, the reflection of the light from the snow and ice grievously affecting their eyes, and the excessive cold seizing such as, through weariness, either walked slow or sat down: many of them perished. *Alexander*, however, pleasing himself with the thoughts of having reached *Caucasus*, in sixteen days marching cross *Paropamisus*, came at length to an opening leading into *Media*, which finding of a sufficient breadth, he directed a city to be built there, which he called *Alexandria*, as also several other towns about a days journey distant from thence; and in these places he left seven thousand persons, part of them such as had hitherto followed his camp, and part of the mercenary soldiers, who, weary of continual fatigue, were content to dwell here. Having thus settled things in this province, sacrificed solemnly to the gods, and appointed *Proexes* the *Persian* president thereof, with a small body of troops under the command of *Niloxenus* to assist him, he resumed his former design of penetrating into *Bactria* § (S).

Bessus,

§ ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 28, 29. DIODOR. ubi supra. CURT. lib. vii. c. 15.

it was, and will be everlastingly, wrong to exclude authentic relations, because they do not concur with our favourite theories.

(S) We have omitted in the text a very remarkable instance of the inequality of *Alexander's* temper, and of that savage cruelty which in spite of his many virtues still lurked in his breast. The reason of our omitting it was, because we find nothing of it in *Arrian*; the reason of our inserting it here is, its having been approved

Bessus, who with the imperial ornaments had assumed the Alexander title of *Artaxerxes*, when he was assured that *Alexander* was marching *ces Bactria*
and Sog-
dia, Bessus
being
taken.

proved by the best compilers of history, though it is found in *Curtius*. It must be owned, that there is a chasm in *Diodorus*, wherein for ought we know this story might have been inserted. However it be, the reader ought to find it somewhere, and therefore we have made it the subject of a note. "While the king expected *Bessus* to be brought to him, he came to a little town inhabited by the *Branchidae*. These were a family of *Milesians*, removed thither by *Xerxes* on account of their putting into his hands the sacred treasures reposed in the temple of *Apollo Didymæus*. They had not quite forsaken the customs of their antient country, but their language was a sort of medley, made up of their own, and that of the country they now inhabited. They expressed a great deal of joy at the king's arrival, and readily surrendered both themselves and their town to him. Hereupon *Alexander* called together the *Milesians* that served in his army. Now we must observe, that the *Milesians* bore an old grudge to the *Branchidae*. The king therefore referred it to them, whether they would consider their extraction, or revenge their former injury; and as they varied in their opinions, he told them he would advise with himself what was best to be done in the matter. The next day, when the deputies from the *Branchidae* came to meet him, he commanded them to attend him, and being come to the town, he entered the gates thereof with part of his army, and ordered the phalanx to surround the place, and, upon the signal given, to pillage the receptacle of traitors, and put them all to the sword. These poor wretches, being in a defenceless condition, were every-where butchered, and neither conformity of language, the humble posture of suppliant, nor the most fervent intreaty could put a stop to their authorized cruelty. The very foundations of the walls were dug up, that there might not be the least footsteps left of the town. Their fury did not stop here, for they not only cut down the consecrated woods, but also grubbed up the very roots thereof, that there might be nothing left but a barren waste solitude. Now, had their cruelty been practised on the first transgressors, it might have been thought a just punishment of their crime; but here posterity is punished for the sins of its forefathers, without ever having so much as seen *Miletum*, far from being able to betray it to *Xerxes* (53)". There is a passage in *Strabo* which seems to confirm what is here related by *Curtius*; he is describing *Bactria*, and from thence takes occasion to speak of *Alexander's* exploits there and in *Sogdia*; and amongst other things relates this:

(53) *Curt. lib. vii. c. 21.*

marching towards him, immediately began to waste all the country between *Paropamisus* and the river *Oxus*, which river he passed with his forces, and then burnt all the vessels he had made use of for transporting them, retiring to *Nautaca* a city of *Sogdia*, fully persuaded that, by the precautions he had taken, *Alexander* would be compelled to give over his pursuit. This conduct of his, however, disheartened his troops, and gave the lye to all his pretensions; for he had affected to censure *Darius's* conduct, and had charged him with cowardice, in not defending the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, whereas he now quitted the banks of the most defensible river perhaps in the whole world. As to his hopes, though it cannot be said they were ill founded, yet they proved absolutely vain; for *Alexander* continuing his march, notwithstanding all the hardships his soldiers sustained, reduced all *Bactria* under his obedience, particularly the capital *Bactra* and the strong castle *Aornus*; in the latter he placed a garison under the command of *Archelaus*, but the government of the province he committed to *Artabazus* ^h. He continued his march then to the river *Oxus*, on the banks of which when he arrived, he found it three quarters

^h ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 30.

“ Finding hereabouts the city of the *Branchidae*, he demolished
 “ it. These people had followed *Xerxes* out of their own country,
 “ after having betrayed to him the treasures of *Apollo Didymæus*;
 “ but *Alexander* to express his abomination of their sacrilege and
 “ treason, razed their city (54).” In several other places this author assures us, that the *Branchidae* did betray these treasures into the hands of *Xerxes*, and followed him into *Asia*. Yet *Herodotus* seems to give another account of this matter, for he ascribes the plundering of this temple, and reducing it to ashes, to *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*; and tells us farther, that all the *Milesian* prisoners were conducted to *Susa*, from whence *Darius*, without any other ill usage, sent them to inhabit the city of *Ampe*, seated near the mouth of the river *Tigris* (55). Perhaps the *Branchidae* were at this time left behind, and, after the temple was repaired, and the oracle restored, betrayed the treasures to *Xerxes* on his return from the *Grecian* war, when he seized all the wealth laid up in temples, to indemnify him for the loss he sustained in that unsuccessful expedition. However, if *Alexander* really massacred the people, as well as demolished their town, *Curtius* had reason to reflect, as he does, on the proceeding, which was flagrantly cruel and unjust.

(54) *Strab. Geogr. lib. xiv. p. 518.*

(55) *Herodot. lib. vi.*

of a mile over, its depth more than proportionable to such a breadth, its bottom sandy, and its stream so rapid, as to render it almost unnavigable; neither boat nor tree in its neighbourhood, so that the ablest commanders in the *Macedonian* army were of opinion, that they should be obliged to march back. The king, however, having first sent away under a proper escort all his infirm and worn-out soldiers, that they might be conducted safe to the sea-ports and from thence to *Greece*, devised a method of passing this river without either boat or bridge. He ordered the skins of which the *Macedonians* made their tents, to be made into a kind of bags, and to be stuffed with certain light and buoyant matter; then they were rolled and strongly stitched to prevent the water from breaking in; by the help of these he passed over his whole army in five days, and marched directly towards the camp of *Bessus*, where when he arrived, he found it abandoned; but received at the same time letters from *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes*, who were the chief commanders under *Bessus*, signifying, that if he would send a small party to receive him, they would put *Bessus* into his hands. *Alexander* thereupon dispatched *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* with three squadrons of the auxiliary horse, a party of archers, the battalion of foot which had been commanded by *Philotas*, and a considerable corps of light-armed troops to receive the prisoner; and *Ptolemy* having in four days passed over as much ground as might have taken up ten, arrived within an ordinary days march of *Spitamenes*. There he received advice, that *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes* were not thoroughly resolved whether they themselves should put *Bessus* into his hands; whence he, rightly judging that they would be glad to have that done by force, which by fraud they were afraid to do, put himself at the head of his horse, and by a quick march surrounded the village in which *Bessus* had been left with a few soldiers. As soon as he had done this, *Ptolemy* ordered proclamation to be made, that the inhabitants of the place had nothing to fear, if they delivered up *Bessus*. This had the wished-for effect, the people resolved not to suffer for the sake of so wicked a person; they therefore opened their gates, and *Ptolemy* entering seized *Bessus*¹. *Curtius* has given quite another account of this matter; and there are other accounts which differ from his; but it seems to us impertinent to trouble the reader with any but this, because we are convinced that it

¹ ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 30.

is the true one ^k. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* took him : From the memoirs of this *Ptolemy* we have the account before given : To what end therefore should we have recourse to other memoirs, the materials of which must have been collected at second hand ? When *Ptolemy* had him in his power, he sent advice thereof to the king, and desired to know after what manner he should be brought to him. *Alexander* returned for answer, that he should be brought chained and naked, and that in this condition he should be placed on the right hand side of the road, by which he was to march with his army. This being accordingly performed, *Alexander*, as he passed by him, ordered his chariot to stop, and with a loud voice asked him, *What could induce you to seize upon Darius, your sovereign and friend, who had always deserved well at your hands ? and what, after you had seized and led him about prisoner, could tempt you to murder him in so base a manner ?* To whom *Bessus* answered, *That it was not his act, nor done by his advice alone ; but was performed by the joint consent of all who were present, from an opinion, that it would procure them the favour of Alexander.* The king ordered him to be whipt ; directed the question he had asked to be proclaimed aloud throughout the army, and then commanded that *Bessus* should be conducted prisoner into *Bactria* ^l. A supply of horses being now arrived, the *Macedonian* cavalry were remounted, *Alexander* continued his march to *Maracanda*, the capital of *Sogdia*, from whence he advanced to the river *Iaxartes*, called by *Arrian* and the rest of the historians who have written his life, *Tanais*, but doubtless without any foundation ; for besides a very large tract of land on this side, and a much larger on the other, the whole breadth of the *Caspian* sea is between that part of the river *Iaxartes*, to which he came, and the fall of the *Tanais* into the *Palus Mæotis*. It is true, that *Arrian* distinguishes between this *Tanais* and that, which shews he had more skill in geography than the rest ; but we still want a proof, that the *Iaxartes* was ever called *Tanais* by any but *Alexander's* soldiers, who were fond of imposing false names to flatter their own vanity, and amuse the rest of mankind. On the side of this river, as some of his troops were foraging, they were surprized by the *Barbarians*, and a considerable number of *Macedonian* horse slain. After which exploit between twenty and thirty thousand of these rude people be-

^k CURT. lib. vii. c. 22. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

^l ARRIAN. ubi supra.

took themselves to a high rock, the ascent of which was on all sides steep and rugged, in hopes that there they should be safe from *Alexander's* soldiers. But the king, as soon as he received advice of what had happened, marched thither with his horse and light-armed troops, and notwithstanding the danger and difficulty of the attack, led his troops in person to ascend the rock. The *Barbarians*, having so great an advantage from the situation of the place, and fighting also for their lives, repulsed the *Macedonians* more than once; at last, however, notwithstanding the king himself was wounded in the leg, so as to have the smaller of his shin-bones broken, the *Macedonians* carried it, compelling numbers of those unhappy wretches to throw themselves over the rock, slaying without mercy those that fell into their hands, so that of the multitude retiring thither not above eight thousand escaped ^m.

WITHIN a few days after, the *Abii*, a famous *Scythian* ^{Subdues} people, sent ambassadors to *Alexander* to desire peace; with ^{certain re-} them came ambassadors from the *European Scythians*; to ^{bels.} these he gave fairwords, and sent some of his own people home with them, under colour of concluding the negotiations; but in truth to bring him advice of the situation of the country, the nature of its inhabitants, their force, and after what manner they made war. The *Scythians* having some notion of what he designed, that is, the *Scythians* whom he had already subdued; and being also informed, that he had projected the building of a city to keep them in awe, they at once took up arms, cut off his garisons, and joined with the discontented *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*. As soon as *Alexander* was informed of this, he directed his several battalions of infantry to furnish themselves with ladders, which as soon as they had done, he marched instantly towards *Gaza*, the nearest city of seven which the *Barbarians* had seized. At the same time he dispatched *Craterus* to *Cyropolis*, the greatest of those cities into which most of the *Barbarians* had retired, commanding him to encamp nigh the walls, to draw a ditch and rampart round the city, and plant his engines where-ever he thought convenient; so that the citizens there, finding employment enough to defend themselves at home, might not be able to secure other places elsewhere. As soon as he approached *Gaza*, he ordered the wall, which was but of mud, and low built, to be assaulted, and his scaling-ladders every-where got ready. Then his slingers, and archers, and darters, mixed with the foot, beginning the attack, incommoded the besieged with missive weapons, and at the same

^m ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. ult. CURT. lib. vii. c. 26, 27.

time galled them with darts from their engines, insomuch that the walls were deserted by the *Barbarians*, and the ladders being immediately fixed, the *Macedonians* mounted, and entering killed all the men they met, for so *Alexander* had commanded; but the women, and children, and the riches of the place, were given as a spoil to the soldiers. Thence he moved to another of those cities, which was built and fortified like the former; which he assaulted and took the same day, and disposed of the captives in the same manner. Thence proceeding to the third city on the next day, he took it at the first attack. In the mean time, while he at the head of his troops of foot was busied in reducing those places, he dispatched his horse to two other cities not far off, with orders to take care that the citizens, when they heard of the storming of their neighbour towns, and his nigh approach, should not betake themselves to flight, and so render it a difficult task for him to overtake them. And as he judged, so it happened, that the dispatch of these troops thither was necessary; for the *Barbarians*, who held the other two cities not yet taken, seeing the smoke of that over-against them, which was then on fire, and besides some who had escaped out of that calamity bringing them the news, they fled out of both the cities as fast as they could; but, falling in among the horse posted for that purpose, were most of them slain. These five cities thus taken and destroyed in two days, he hasted to *Cyropolis*, the greatest and most populous of the whole country. It was surrounded with a wall much higher than any of the rest, and was built by *Cyrus*; and as many of the *Barbarians*, both stout and well armed, had fled for shelter thither, it was not to be supposed that the *Macedonians* should gain it at the first assault. Wherefore *Alexander*, having planted his engines in places convenient, determined to batter the wall, and where-ever he made a breach to storm the place. But finding the channel of the river, which usually ran through the town like a torrent, at that time dry, and the wall disjoined, so as to afford an entrance for his soldiers, he with his body-guards, his targeteers, his archers, and *Agrians*, while the *Barbarians* were employed in guarding themselves from the engines and the assailants, privately entered the city at first with a few men through that channel, and having burst open the gates nigh that part, gave an easy admittance to the rest. The *Barbarians* then, notwithstanding their perceiving their city taken, falling upon the *Macedonians*, a sharp battle ensued, wherein *Alexander* himself received a blow on the head and neck with a stone, and *Craterus*, and many more of his captains, were wounded with missile

missive weapons. However, the *Barbarians* were at last driven out of the *market-place*. In the mean time those, who battered the wall, seeing it void of defendants, took it, and, at their first entrance, slew about eight thousand of the enemy. The rest (for the whole number there gathered together was eighteen thousand) retired into the castle: But these, when *Alexander* had continued his siege but one day, being destitute of water, surrendered the place. Thence moving to the seventh city, he took it at the first assault. *Ptolemy* indeed says, it was delivered up without fighting; but *Aristobulus*, on the contrary, affirms, that it was taken by storm, and all who were found therein slain. *Ptolemy* tells us, that the captives were dispersed throughout the army, and kept chained till he should depart out of that country, lest any of those who had occasioned the revolt should be leftⁿ. The *Scythians* in *Asia*, laying hold of this opportunity, came down in great bodies to the river's side, to watch when they might attack *Alexander* advantageously; this interruption was followed by an account, that *Spitamenes* had besieged the garrison left in *Maracanda*, and that the *Macedonians* were in great danger. *Alexander*, however, would not abandon a design he had once formed; having therefore dispatched relief to the city before-mentioned, he proceeded to mark out the city he had formerly projected, to serve for a fortress against the *Scythians*. In twenty days he walled it round; the soldiers vyeing with each other in the performance of the tasks assigned them. This once done, he gave the city to such of the *Barbarians* as had served in his troops, to the mercenaries who were desirous of settling there, and to such of the *Macedonians* as, being unfit for service, were willing to have houses and lands allotted to them in this place^o.

THE king having accomplished all that he intended in these parts, and being no ways desirous of entering into a war with the *Scythians*, from whom he knew there was nothing to be got but blows, prepared to march away. The *Scythians*, having notice of this, came down in vast numbers to the river's side, upbraided him and his soldiers, called them cowards and bullies, who, proud of having subdued the effeminate *Persians*, were afraid of attacking men, and durst not engage the antient conquerors of *Asia*. *Alexander* was exceedingly nettled at these reproaches, and yet was at a loss how to pass the river in the sight of so daring an enemy; however, he ordered *Aristander* to offer sacrifices, which he

Defeats the Scythians, but with difficulty.

ⁿ ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 2, 3. CURT. lib. vii. c. 26.
 RIAN. ubi supra.

^o AR-

did again and again, but constantly assured the king, that the omens were altogether inauspicious; this gave him great concern, but could not engage him absolutely to drop his design. On the contrary, when he reflected on the dishonour which *Darius* the father of *Xerxes* had sustained from his unfortunate war with this people, he began to fancy that his own fame would be no less injured; wherefore he at last determined at all events to pass the river, and to attack the enemy, having first put them into some disorder by the darts and stones thrown from his engines, which, doing great execution cross the river, were new to the *Scythians*, and amazed them very much. The *Macedonian* horse being few in comparison of the enemy, the *Scythians* repulsed them at the first attack, and disordered them pretty much; but *Alexander* taking care to support them with light-armed troops, they charged again, and made some impression on the enemy, which as soon as the king perceived, he brought up the heavy-armed troops, and the weight of their charge determined the matter; for the *Scythians*, being unable to sustain it, broke and fled, leaving a thousand men dead upon the spot, among whom was one *Satracus* an eminent general, and a hundred and fifty were made prisoners; much more execution would have been done in the pursuit, if the *Macedonians*, through excessive heat, and violent thirst, had not been hindered from continuing it. *Alexander*, who was always among the number of the most forward and vigorous soldiers, finding himself very faint, drank freely of some standing water, which threw him into such a flux, as endangered his life, which was held an accomplishment of *Aristander's* prediction^p. It may be truly said, that this was a hard-fought battle, and that the *Macedonians* bought their victory much dearer than they were wont to do, losing one hundred foot, and sixty horse, upon the spot, having a thousand wounded. The king ordered the prisoners to be released, and some days after, when ambassadors arrived from the *Scythian* king, excusing the business, and assuring him that the late proceedings were against his orders, *Alexander* took all in good part, received them into his protection, and being by no means willing to have any thing farther to do with them, granted them a peace on their own terms, and began to turn his head to the care of his other affairs, which were indeed in no little disorder; the war reviving when he least expected it, the troops under *Spitamenes* seeming to be beat at last both into discipline and courage^q.

^p ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 4. CURT. lib. vii. c. 7.
lib. xii. c. 5.

^q JUSTIN.

WE have before mentioned the relief sent by *Alexander* to *The* Macedonians in the castle of *Maracanda* ; it consisted of sixty donians auxiliary horse commanded by *Andromachus* and *Menedemus*, under eight hundred mercenaries under the command of *Caranus*, *Pharnaces* and fifteen hundred foot led by *Pharnaces* the interpreter, defeated by who, though a *Lycian* by birth, yet was perfectly skilled in *Spitamenes* the language of those countries, and could therefore upon occasion treat with the *Barbarians*, in case they sought to avoid farther mischiefs by submitting themselves. While these troops were upon their march, the *Macedonians* in the castle made a desperate sally on *Spitamenes*, and drove him and his forces from their works. The loss sustained on this occasion, and the news of *Pharnaces*'s march engaged that general to raise the siege, and to retire towards *Sogdia*. *Pharnaces* pursued him, and in his march meeting with a body of the *Nomades*, he attacked them ; whereupon they retired, and joined *Spitamenes*, who elated with so sudden and unexpected a reinforcement, determined no longer to avoid, but rather to seek the *Macedonian* army. There are two relations of the subsequent engagement, both in *Arrian*, one taken from *Ptolemy*, the other from *Aristobulus* ; they agree in the main, that the defeat and slaughter of the *Macedonians* was owing to the ill conduct of their officers. *Pharnaces* was a man void of military skill, of which he was very sensible, and offered to resign the command of the troops ; but this the *Macedonian* generals would not yield to ; for they foresaw that this business would be attended with great loss, and therefore were not willing to make themselves accountable for an unfortunate battle, and for exceeding their commission at the same time. The issue of the matter was, that while they were full of doubts and confusion, the *Scythians* attacked them, supported by *Spitamenes* and his forces. The *Macedonians* behaved with great bravery, and in all probability would at least have made a good retreat, if they had either had a good general, or if the officers they had, had acted in concert. But *Caranus* with his squadron of horse, without consulting the rest, entered the river, upon which the greatest part of the foot followed, not his command, but his example, and with much ado gained a little island not far from the shore. This shadow of safety proved their utter destruction ; for the *Barbarians* cut off many as they entered the water, more when they were in it, and as for all those who got into the island, they shot them to death with their arrows ; so that of two thousand three hundred and sixty men, horse and foot, there did not escape above forty of the former, and three hundred of the latter ;

their officers being all slain, after having shewn much more courage than conduct ^r.

Alexander causes the siege of Maracanda to be raised.

As soon as *Alexander* received the news of the defeat, which *Pharnaces* and the troops under his command had sustained, he determined to revenge it; with this view he took half his auxiliary horse, all his light-armed foot, and a battalion of the *Macedonian* phalanx; with these he marched (if there be no mistake in the numbers) fifteen hundred furlongs in three days; on the fourth he drew near to *Maracanda*, which *Spitamenes* had again besieged; but on the news of *Alexander's* approach, he raised the siege with great precipitation, and retired with all the celerity imaginable. *Alexander* pursued him, not only to the edge of, but even a good way within the desert; when he found it was impossible to overtake him, he returned and buried all the soldiers who had fallen in the late engagement with honour. Then he caused all the country thereabouts to be burnt and wasted, putting to death the inhabitants of such villages as he had been informed had not only refused shelter to the flying *Macedonians*, but had also mal-treated, and even murdered them. After this the king marched to *Zariaspa*, where he put his army into winter quarters. Thither came *Phrataphernes*, governor of *Parthia*, and *Stasanor*, who had been dispatched into *Aria* to seize *Arfanes*, who had begun to raise some disturbances there; him they brought bound, and with him *Barzaentes*, whom *Bessus* had made governor of *Parthia*; a short time after arrived the *Macedonian* officers who had been sent to take care of the recruits, as also those who had conducted such as were discharged to their embarkation ^s. Thus the army was again restored to a formidable greatness, and at the same time the court of *Alexander* shone with extraordinary splendor from the resort of the nobility of the adjacent provinces, and the arrival of so many illustrious persons from *Greece*. The king therefore took this opportunity of calling a great council, into which he ordered *Bessus* to be brought; where having reproached him with his infidelity and treachery, his cruelty and treason, towards his sovereign *Darius*, he ordered his nose and ears to be cut off, and then sent him under a guard to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, that he might abide his trial according to the laws of the *Medes* and *Persians*. *Arrian*, who is otherwise very sparing of his reflections, censures in warm terms this severity towards *Bessus*; he says, it was a sign the king was departing from the maxims of his ancestors, and leaving the generous

^r ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 5. CURT. lib. vii. c. 36.
lib. iv. c. 7. CURT. lib. vii. c. 38.

^s ARRIAN.

notions of the *Greeks*, to take up the proud, cruel, and execrable customs of those *Barbarians* whom he had lately conquered, and whose vices he now suffered to conquer him; as to the subsequent fate of *Bessus*, the relations of authors are so contradictory, that, to avoid confusion, we have digested what they say into a note (T).

IT

(T) *Diodorus* tells us, that *Bessus* at a great feast, to which he had invited his friends, growing warm with liquor, grievously insulted one of them whose name was *Bagadoras*, and even attempted to kill him; that this man, flying in the night to *Alexander*, the rest of the counsellors of *Bessus* were exceedingly alarmed, fearing on the one hand the cruelty of this usurper, and on the other, dreaming of great rewards, if they put him into the hands of *Alexander*; which at last they resolved to do, and to that end seized and bound him. They were not disappointed in their expectation; the king rewarded them bountifully; as for *Bessus*, he delivered him to the brother of *Darius* and the rest of his relations, who, after offering him all the indignities they could think of, and exercising on him variety of torments, cut his flesh into small pieces, and hurled it bit by bit out of their slings (56).—*Curtius* informs us of a quarrel *Bessus* had with a friend of his, but he calls him *Cobares*, a *Median*, and one of the *Magi*. This man, after *Bessus* had been vilifying *Darius*, and exalting himself, told him plainly, it was in vain to think of flying from such an enemy as *Alexander*; and that the only method he had to take was submitting himself, and trusting to the mercy of the victor; this put *Bessus* into such a passion, that *Cobares* was forced to retire out of the room for his immediate safety, and afterwards fled to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* is characterised by this author as an envious and ungrateful traitor; that he told *Bessus*, two of his best friends had conspired against him, and that he, having discovered the conspiracy, had caused them to be apprehended; for which *Bessus* thanked him, and desired they might be brought into his presence. Upon this *Daphernes* and *Catenes*, who concurred with *Spitamenes*, were brought in with their hands tied, surrounded by eight chosen men, as if they had been their guards. But no sooner did *Bessus* rise and approach them, than the pretended guards seized him, pinioned him, took his crown from his head, and tore his robes; whereupon he cried out, that they justly revenged *Darius*, but were too propitious to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* afterwards led him with a halter about his neck into the presence of *Alexander*, who delivered him to *Oxathres*, *Darius's* brother, with directions to see him crucified, after having his nose and ears cut off, and then shot to death with arrows, which *Oxathres* accordingly undertook to do; *Catenes* being to fulfil the last part of his punishment, which was to guard his body, that no part of it might be interred in the bowels of

(56) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*

*Affects the
Persian
customs.*

IT is certain, that about this time *Alexander* began to throw off in a great measure the manners of a *Macedonian* prince, and to affect those of a *Persian* king. Authors vary not a little in the accounts they give us of this matter. *Arrian* says expressly, that he laid aside the *Macedonian* for the *Median* habit, adding, *That to him it appeared wonderful, the king did not blush when he changed the modest covering of his head, which he had worn in so many battles, for the Persian tiara.* Yet *Plutarch* as positively affirms, he did not follow the *Median* fashion, that he neither wore their breeches, long vest,

birds. He afterwards tells us that he was sent to *Ecbatana*, there to suffer death (57). — *Plutarch* relates, that, by the direction of *Alexander* himself, *Bessus* was fastened to a couple of tall strait trees, which were bound down so as to meet; and then being let loose with a great force returned to their own places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it which was tied to it (58). — *Justin* acquaints us in few words, that *Alexander* delivered *Bessus* to the brother of *Darius*, that he might crucify him (59). It is impossible that he should die all these deaths, and, amongst this great variety of sentiments, it is as impossible to determine what death he died; that he lost his nose and ears by the command of *Alexander* may be esteemed certain; and that he afterwards suffered capital punishment is also certain; as to the manner in which he suffered it, nothing can be positively affirmed. In all probability, *Bessus* might have escaped all this severity, if he had taken the advice of *Cobares*, and submitted himself, and the provinces under his power, to *Alexander*; for there is good reason to believe, that his assuming the imperial title was at least as heinous in the sight of *Alexander*, as his murder of *Darius*; and therefore, if he had not joined this to his former crime, he might have escaped better. The answers given by *Bessus*, as they are recorded in *Arrian* and *Curtius*, hint plainly at this; for he told the king, *First*, That *Darius* was murdered to obtain his favour; and, *Secondly*, That he was not the sole author of the murder, but that all who were present concurred in it. Among these was *Satibarzanes*, who, on his submitting himself to *Alexander*, was not only well received, but had his government restored to him. As for the other conspirator *Barzaentes*, he indeed was put to death, in revenge, as it was said, of the treason he had committed against his master; but then he had always continued in arms against *Alexander*, and flying to the *Indians* for safety was delivered up by them (60). On the whole therefore we may safely conclude, that this extraordinary severity, this laboured scene of doing justice on *Bessus*, was altogether affected, and had nothing of that spirit and generosity which *Alexander* had shewn at the opening of the war

(57) *Curt. lib. vii. c. 20.*
(59) *Justin. lib. xii. c. 5.*

(58) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*
(60) *Arrian. lib. iii. c. 29, 30.*

or tiara, but made choice of a garb inclining to the *Persian* habit, more pompous and magnificent than the *Macedonian* vesture, yet not so rich or gaudy as that worn by the *Persian* kings. But it may be, *Alexander* proceeded by degrees in the alteration of his habit, as we know he did in the use of it; for at first he only dressed himself in this manner, when he had business to transact with his new subjects; but when he conversed with the *Greeks* and commanded the *Macedonians*, he wore his own country cloaths: If therefore this conjecture of ours be right, *Plutarch* and *Arrian* may be reconciled; and indeed it is very probable, that in this great council, wherein he imitated the oriental severity, he appeared in habit as a *Persian* king; that is, as the lord of *Asia*, or, as the *Greeks* were wont emphatically to style him, as the *Great King* ^(U).
This

^{*} *ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 7. PLUT. in vit. Alex.*

(U) *Curtius* gives us a very extraordinary story in relation to the revolt of the *Sogdians*, which, on account of its length and its having so strong a mixture of the wonderful, we thought more proper for a note, than for the text; where if it had been curtailed, it would not have been clear, and if inserted at full length, it would have interrupted the current of the narration. “ Among the captive *Sogdians*, he says, there were thirty of the chiefest nobility of the country, who were remarkable for their prodigious strength of body. These being brought before the king, and understanding by the interpreter, that his majesty had ordered them to be executed, they began to sing and dance, and by other wanton motions of their body endeavoured to express the cheerfulness of their mind. *Alexander*, being amazed at their unusual alacrity on such an occasion, commanded them to be brought back, and asked them the cause of their excessive joy, when they beheld death before their eyes? To which they answered, that if any other than himself had sentenced them to die, they should have been concerned; but since they were to be restored to their ancestors by so great a king, who had conquered all the world, they looked upon their death to be so honourable, as even to deserve the envy of all brave men, which made them so transported when they understood his pleasure. The king then asked them, if they would be his friends hereafter, if he should give them their lives? They replied, that they had never been his enemies, but had only defended themselves when they were attacked in a hostile manner by him: And that if any body would make trial of them by good offices, instead of injuries, they would willingly contend in the generous strife, and use their utmost endeavours not to be overcome. He asking them afterwards, What pledge they would give him for their fidelity? They answered, their lives, which they received through

This mightily grieved his *Macedonians*, and this very grief shewed that they were still loyal and affectionate to him; for men of traiterous or rebellious principles do not grieve for the errors of their prince, but magnify them into crimes; and, as if they were conscious of the enormity of their own guilt, endeavour to transfer a part of it to their hated sovereign. When therefore *Alexander* perceived this disposition in his army, he ought certainly to have soothed them, and endeavoured either to convince them of the rectitude of his behaviour, or to have quieted them by yielding in some measure to their desires. But this was not in the nature of *Alexander*, or at least was no longer in his nature after he had visited the temple of *Ammon*. Besides, he had about him a multitude of sycophants, who, as *Arrian* well notes, are, and ever will be, the bane of princes; he might have added, and the curse of nations. These, by complying with his humours and heating his passions, carried him daily into new extravagancies, and brought him to be a proper instance of the truth of another of *Arrian's* observations; that an ability of conquering vast provinces, and of acquiring supreme dominion is of little consequence to a man's happiness, unless he preserves a philosophic constancy and moderation of mind; however specious appearances may deceive a deluded world, and make them conceive gilded misery true felicity; whereas no two things in nature are farther removed. But to return to the series of our history, for which these reflections are to make way.

Murders
Clytus at
a banquet.

THE *Greeks*, and especially the *Macedonians*, observed an anniversary festival to *Bacchus*. This year it seems the king, omitting *Bacchus*, transferred the honour of this festival to the *Dioscuri*, i. e. *Castor* and *Pollux*; and, not satisfied therewith, strictly commanded, that for the future to them, and not to *Bacchus*, these solemn rites should constantly be dedicated. These sacrifices were followed by a magnificent banquet, to which all the principal commanders in the army were invited, and *Clytus* the son of *Dropidas*, who stood as

“ through his bounty, and which they would at all times be ready
 “ to restore to him whenever he required them. Nor were they
 “ worse than their words: For those of them who were sent home
 “ kept their country-people in due subjection to *Alexander*,
 “ and four of them being received into his body-guards, were
 “ inferior to none of the *Macedonians* in their sincere affection to
 “ the king (61).

high in the king's favour as any of them, among the rest. At supper the discourse turned on the heroes to whom they had sacrificed : and a question was started, With what propriety they were styled the sons of *Jupiter*, when it was notorious that *Tyndarus* was their father ? It may be, this was introduced to give some ingenious flatterer an opportunity of reconciling things, which hitherto the *Macedonians* could never understand, how *Alexander* could be at once the son of *Ammon* and the son of *Philip*. Some who sat near the king laid hold of this fair opportunity to magnify his actions above those of *Castor* and *Pollux* ; and when their hands were in, they laid hold of the fame of *Hercules* too, and set that a step lower than the glory of *Alexander*. To give these things a colour, they insisted on the natural envy of men towards their cotemporaries, and how unwilling they were to worship those virtues in the living, which, with the utmost readiness and the most profound respect, they adored in the dead. *Clytus* took fire at these expressions ; he said, *he could not bear to bear such indignities offered to the gods, or the credit of antient heroes depreciated, to tickle the ears of a living prince.* As to *Alexander's* actions, he allowed that they were great and glorious, but he affirmed that they had nothing in them supernatural ; besides, they were not performed by him alone, but by his army ; and that therefore all the *Macedonians* had a right to share in the praise due to those deeds, in which they, as well as he, had exerted themselves. These reflections made *Alexander* very angry. To sooth this anger, some of his flatterers began a discourse about his father *Philip*, in which they sought to lessen his actions, and to represent him as a prince who had done nothing extraordinary ; which provoked *Clytus* so far, that he began to detract from the merit of *Alexander*, and to suggest, that nothing he had done deserved to be compared with what had been performed by his father. Upon this the king lost all patience, and when *Clytus* proceeded to upbraid him with the preservation of his life at the battle of *Granicus*, stretching out his arm, and saying, *This hand, O Alexander, saved thee* ; the king leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him, but was prevented by the interposition of his friends, who caught hold of him, and with much ado got between them : *Clytus* in the mean time continued his reproachful expressions ; whereupon the king called for some of his guards ; but none appearing, he began to bemoan himself exceedingly, saying, *That he was now in the same condition with Darius, when in the hands of Bessus : That he had the empty name of king, and nothing more.* His friends upon this retiring and leaving him to himself, he snatched a lance,

lance, or, as some say, a long *Macedonian* pike, and therewith struck *Clytus* through, and killed him. In this account we have followed *Arrian* closely; for to have collected into one relation what different authors have delivered, could have only served to perplex the reader. What may be wanting to his farther information, and could be had from other authors, he will find below * (W). Here let us pursue

* *ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 8.*

(W) The detail given us by *Plutarch* of what happened at the death of *Clytus* differs so much from what has been inserted in the text from *Arrian*, and is in itself so curious, that it well deserves the reader's perusal. He informs us, that " the king having a present of *Grecian* fruit brought him from the sea-coast, so well prepared, that it seemed to be but just gathered, sent for *Clytus* that he might see and partake of it. *Clytus* was then sacrificing, but he immediately left off, and went to wait on the king, followed by three of the sheep, on whom the drink offering had been already poured, in order for the sacrifice. *Alexander*, being informed of this accident, consulted his two diviners, *Aristander* and *Cleomantes* the *Spartan*, and asked them, What was portended by it? They assuring him that it was an ill omen, he commanded them in all haste to offer sacrifices for *Clytus's* safety; forasmuch as three days before he himself had seen a strange vision in his sleep of *Clytus* all in mourning, sitting by *Parmenio's* sons, who were all dead. *Clytus*, however, staid not to finish his devotions, but came strait to supper with the king, who the same day had sacrificed to *Castor* and *Pollux*. And when they had drank pretty hard, some of the company fell a singing the verses of one *Pranichus*, or as others say, of *Pierion*, which were made upon those captains who had been lately worsted by the *Barbarians*, on purpose to disgrace and turn them to ridicule; which so offended the grave antient men, that they reproved both the author and the singer of the verses, though *Alexander* and the blades about him were mightily pleased to hear them, and encouraged them to go on: Till at last *Clytus*, who had drank too much, and was besides of a froward and wilful temper, was so nettled, that he could hold no longer; saying, *It was not well done thus to expose the Macedonians before the Barbarians and their enemies, since though it was their unhappiness to be overcome, yet they were much better men than those who laughed at them.* To this *Alexander* replied, *That sure Clytus spoke so tenderly of cowardice, when he called it misfortune, only to excuse himself.* At which *Clytus* starting up, *This cowardice, as you are pleased to term it, said he to him, saved your life, though you pretend to be sprung from the gods, when you were running away from Spithriates's sword; and it is by the expence of Macedonian blood, and by these wounds, that you are now raised to such an height, as to despise*

" and

pursue the history without entering into any debates upon the question which has risen upon the fact, *Whether Clytus's indiscretion*

“ and disown your father Philip, and adopt yourself the son of Jupiter
“ Ammon. Thou base fellow, said Alexander, who was now thoroughly exasperated, dost thou think to utter these things everywhere of me, and stir up the Macedonians to sedition, and not be punished for it? We are sufficiently punished already, answered Clytus, if this be the recompense of our toils; and esteem those happiest who have not lived to see their countrymen ignominiously scourged with Median rods, and forced to sue to the Persians to have access to their king. While Clytus talked thus at random, and the king in the bitterest manner retorted upon him, the old men that were in company endeavoured all they could to allay the flame, when Alexander, turning to Xenodolus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, asked them, *If they were not of opinion that the rest of the Grecians behaved among the Macedonians, like so many demi-gods among savages?* All this would not silence Clytus, who calling aloud to Alexander, bid him, *if he had any thing to say, to speak out; or else, why did he invite men who were free-born, and used to speak their minds openly without restraint, to sup with him?* He had better live and converse with Barbarians and conquered slaves, who would not scruple to adore his Persian girdle and white tunic. Which words so provoked Alexander, that not able to suppress his anger any longer, he took one of the apples that lay upon the table, and flung it at him, and then looked about for his sword. But Aristophanes, one of his life-guards, had hid that out of the way, and others came about him, and besought him to stay his fury, but in vain; for breaking from them, he called out aloud to his guards in the Macedonian language, which was a certain sign of some great disturbance in him, and commanded a trumpeter to sound, giving him a box on the ear for delaying, or rather refusing, to obey him, though afterwards the same man was commended for disobeying an order which would have put the whole army into tumult and confusion. Clytus continued still in the same quarrelsome humour, till his friends, with much ado, forced him out of the room; but he came in again immediately at another door very irreverently, and insolently sung this passage out of Euripides's *Andromache*. *Ye gods, what an ill custom have you introduced into Greece! When an army has erected a trophy upon the defeat of the enemy, it is never considered that the victory is owing to the valour of the troops who fought, but the general puts in for all the honour of it; though he had exposed himself to no more danger than many thousands besides, and had done no more than a common soldier, yet he only is celebrated in the songs of triumph, and robs the rest of their share of the glory.* Then Alexander, snatching a spear from one of the soldiers, met Clytus as he was putting by the curtain

discretion could excuse Alexander's intemperance and cruelty. As soon as the king came to himself, his brains were perfectly cool, and he began to remember what had passed, he fell into a fit of excessive grief. He accused himself, as indeed well he might, of having slain his father's brave soldier, his own faithful friend, the constant companion of his toils, his foster brother, and him to whom he owed his life : It was then, that in the bitterness of his soul, he disclaimed all kindred to the gods, and with a laudable sorrow mourned like a man, for having done a base and cruel act unworthy of a man. It was then he cried out on *Clytus*, on his sister *Hellanice*, whose breasts he had sucked, and inveighed against himself as one forgetful of the bond of gratitude, the ties of friendship, and the laws of nature, depriving his friends of life, and executing those as evil-doers who could not patiently hear or see him do ill. For three days he refused meat, neglected his apparel, and, as some say, with the pike that

“ that hung before the door, and ran him through the body.
 “ He fell immediately, and, after a few piercing groans, expired.
 “ In the very instant the king's indignation cooled, and he came
 “ perfectly to himself ; but when he saw his friends about him all
 “ in a profound silence, as seized with horror at the fact, he pulled the spear out of the dead body, and would have turned it against himself, if the guards had not held his hands, and by
 “ main force carried him away into his chamber (62)”. The relation of *Curtius* agrees pretty well with that of *Plutarch*, only he attributes more moderation to the king at the beginning (63). *Justin* tells us in few words, that at a debauch *Alexander* killed his friend *Clytus* for extolling the actions of his father *Philip* ; but this author insists very largely on his repentance, attributing his recovery from that state of dejection and grief, as *Curtius* does, to the advice of *Callisthenes* (64). If we had *Diodorus's* account of this business, in all probability we should find it correspond with *Curtius* and *Justin* ; but, as we have heretofore remarked, these authors, when they differ from *Arrian*, frequently agree with him ; the reason is, that among a multitude of writers, who undertook to transmit the actions of *Alexander* to posterity, the collectors of general history followed, at their pleasure, sometimes one, and sometimes another, and not seldom mixed several relations together. Authors of abridgments copied from these indiscriminately, as the later writers of particular histories did frequently too, adding such embellishments, inserting such descriptions, and framing such speeches for the amplifying and adorning their works, as they thought fit.

(62) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*
 (64) *Justin. lib. xii. 6.*

(63) *lib. viii. c. 2, 3, 4.*

killed *Clytus*, would have slain himself. The army in the mean while were disconsolate to the highest degree; their regard to *Clytus* is said to have given way to their love and loyalty to *Alexander*, insomuch, that to sooth their afflicted prince, they condemned *Clytus*, and prohibited his interment, seeking thereby to colour the fact, or at least to comfort *Alexander* by seeming to think his resentment just. This was excusable in soldiers. The priests and philosophers went greater lengths. The former told the king, that what he did was not the error of his own will, but the effects of a fury inspired by *Bacchus* on account of his festival being transferred to the *Dioscuri*. Thus did these execrable dissemblers seek to transfer a crime unworthy of a man to him they worshipped as a god, and most impudently called that a divine fury, which at best was beastly drunkenness; all flatterers are detestable, because they insult human nature; but these spiritual flatterers are doubly so, because, as far as in them lies, they prostitute the gods to please the worst of men. *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*, whom most historians stile a philosopher, but *Arrian* rightly a sophist, was the next who undertook to moderate the king's grief; and finding him upon his bed sighing and dejected, thus he addressed him: "Is this
" the *Alexander* whom the world looks upon with such ad-
" miration? Behold him extended on the ground, and weep-
" ing like an abject slave for fear of the law and reproach of
" men, to whom he himself ought to be a law and the mea-
" sure of equity, since he conquered for no other end but
" to make himself lord of all, and not to be a slave to a
" vain idle opinion: Do you not know, that *Jupiter* is re-
" presented sitting on his throne, with law assisting on one
" side, and justice on the other, intimating thereby, that let a
" sovereign prince do what he will, all his actions are just
" and lawful"? These were admirable doctrines, tending
not only to set the king's mind at rest, as to the murder he had committed, but to prevent any more qualms, in case rage, envy, or drunkenness, should plunge him again into the same circumstances. *Callisthenes*, the scholar and relation of *Aristotle*, sought to settle his mind by honest and moral discourses. *Arrian* says, that the suggestion of the priests, in relation to *Bacchus*, did not displease the king. Both *Plutarch* and the last-mentioned author say, that *Anaxarchus* allayed the king's grief at the same time that he corrupted his manners; but *Curtius* ascribes the king's recovery to *Callisthenes*; we may well suppose that they had all a hand in it,

though the subsequent history will shew, that in all probability the last had the least ^w.

Alexander
aspires to
divine ho-
nours.

IF the tragical death of *Clytus* had brought *Alexander* to a right way of thinking, perhaps posterity, like the *Macedonian* soldiers, would have drawn a veil over this dark scene, and have chosen rather to commend the king's compassionate concern, than to have censured his drunken cruelty. But no sooner was his sorrow for the death of this worthy man alleviated, but he began again to give up himself to the management of those sycophants, whose poisonous speeches had wrought that mischief; and still they were dinning his ears, that in their opinion he was something more than man, and that it was injustice and disloyalty in other people not to think him so too. The result of all these discourses was, that a god he should be, or at least have divine honours paid him, as heretofore had been given to *Persian* kings; and *Anaxarchus* the sophist, *Agis* a miserable poet, *Chærilus*, *Agnon*; and other parasites, undertook to bring this great matter to bear, and to engage the *Greeks* as well as the *Asiatics*, to pay him adoration ^x. *Alexander* was mightily pleased with this, and a great banquet was appointed, at which this hopeful scheme was to be carried into execution. At this entertainment, *Anaxarchus* proposed the adoring *Alexander* in a set oration; he insisted, that *Bacchus* was a *Theban*, and though he admitted that *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and without reproach, yet he affirmed, that *Alexander's* being descended from him was at once the most certain, and the greatest honour which could be attributed to him; hence he inferred, that if *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were worthily worshipped, so without doubt would *Alexander* be, whose actions so far exceeded theirs, at some distance of time; but inasmuch as that worship would be of small consequence to him then, he alledged, it would be more rational, as well as more obliging, to offer it him now, while he was living, and could take pleasure in it. The *Macedonians*, who were not in the secret, were stunned at the speech, and knew not either what to think of its author, or what answer to afford themselves to what he had propounded; so a long and deep silence ensued. *Callisthenes* at last broke through it, and, as *Arrian* tells us, delivered himself in these words: "Indeed, *Anaxarchus*, I count not *Alexander* unworthy of any honour,

^w ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 9. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. viii. c. 7. & 8. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 6. ^x ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 11. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. viii. c. 18. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7.

" how

“ how great soever it be, that is fit to be ascribed to man ;
“ but there are prescribed differences amongst men between
“ divine and human honours ; amongst many others, in the
“ building of temples, and erecting of statues ; for to the
“ gods we consecrate oratories, offer sacrifices and drink-of-
“ ferings : To the gods are sung hymns ; men are praised,
“ but not adored : kisses in salutations are given to men,
“ but the gods are placed on high, and 'tis not lawful to
“ touch them, and therefore they are worshipped with ado-
“ ration. Solemn times of dancings are performed to the
“ gods, and pæans sung to them ; neither is it to be won-
“ dered at, inasmuch as the honours given to the gods are
“ various ; some sort of honours given to one, and others to
“ another, especially those honours of later times ; nay,
“ those honours given to some of the heroes differ from di-
“ vine honours. 'Tis not therefore fit to confound these
“ things, nor to advance men above themselves and all man-
“ kind besides, and to degrade the gods by worshipping
“ them with the same worship wherewith we adore men.
“ *Alexander* himself would not suffer any private man to
“ usurp the regal dignity and honours due to himself, though
“ he gained 'em by the unjust suffrages of the people ; much
“ more justly therefore may the gods be angry, if any mortal
“ man assume to himself divine honours, or accept of them
“ from others. However, let *Alexander* be esteemed, as in
“ truth he is, by many degrees the most valiant of them
“ that are valiant, the greatest king among all other kings,
“ and amongst generals the most worthy to command. But
“ as for thee, *Anaxarchus*, 'tis thy duty above any other
“ to instruct *Alexander* in those things that have been spoken,
“ and to deter him from the contrary ; for thy conver-
“ sation he daily makes use of in order to improve in
“ wisdom and in learning. Neither does it become thee
“ to be the beginner of this discourse, but rather to re-
“ member, that thou art not advising *Cambyfes* or *Xerxes*,
“ but the son of *Philip*, descended from *Hercules* and *Achil-
“ les*, whose ancestors came out of *Argos* into *Macedonia*,
“ and maintained their empire, not by arbitrary power, but
“ by ruling according to the laws and customs of the *Mace-
“ donians*. But divine honours were not conferred upon
“ *Hercules* himself by the *Grecians* while he was living ; nay,
“ nor when he was dead, before the oracle at *Delphos* com-
“ manded that he should be worshipped as a god. But if
“ there be but few that are in the country of the *Barbarians*,
“ we ought to entertain the same sentiments with them. And
“ I earnestly intreat thee, *Alexander*, to remember *Greece* ;
“ for

“ for whose sake this expedition was undertaken by thee, in
 “ order to add *Asia* to *Greece* ; and now consider, whether,
 “ when you return thither, you can be able to compel the
 “ free people of *Greece* to adore you as a god, or, excepting
 “ them of *Greece*, you can impose this dishonour and slavery
 “ upon the *Macedonians* only, or whether it be fit that quite
 “ different honours be there allowed you, seeing the *Gree-*
 “ *cians* confer only those that are human, according to the
 “ custom and manner of the *Greeks*, when, at the same
 “ time, only the *Barbarians* worship you as a god, after the
 “ manner of *Barbarians*. But if it be objected, that *Cyrus*
 “ son of *Cambyfes* was the first of all mortal men that was
 “ adored by men as a god, and that, since that time, this
 “ adoration has continued amongst the *Medes* and *Persians* ;
 “ yet you are to consider, how his pride was curbed by the
 “ *Scythians*, a poor and indigent people ; and how other
 “ *Scythians* again reduced *Darius* to more sober thoughts of
 “ himself ; and the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* *Xerxes* ;
 “ and *Clearchus* and *Xenophon* *Artaxerxes*, only with ten
 “ thousand men ; and *Darius* now overcome by *Alexander*,
 “ at a time when no divine honours were decreed him ^b. ”

Alexander was highly provoked at this speech, and the more for that the *Macedonians* could not forbear applauding it ; however, he ordered the business to go on, and settled the ceremonial of his adoration thus : When he drank to a person, it was expected, that the guest should immediately rise up, adore him, and, having received a kiss from the king, should depart. The eldest and most considerable of the *Persians* complied first ; in doing which they followed their old custom, and were perhaps not displeased at the embarrassment of the *Greeks* (X). *Leonatus*, one of the king's friends, as *Arrian*

^b ARRIAN. I. IV. C. 2.

(X) All who have treated this subject agree, that the *Persians* were as ready to comply with *Alexander's* motion for adoring him, as the *Greeks* were averse to it ; yet we are not to suppose from thence, that the former were as prone to idolatry as the latter ; if we should, it would be a very great error : And therefore, to preserve that consistency which is necessary between the several parts of this work, we have thought fit to add this note, in order to explain the conduct of the *Persians*, and to acquit them of that gross adulation which has been charged upon them by some rash and inconsiderate writers. Bowing down to, and even prostrating one's self before a prince, ever was, and still is, held in the east an act of civil

rian has it; or, as *Curtius* reports, *Polysperchon*, observing a *Persian* touch the floor with his chin, laughed at it, and bid him hit it a little harder; for which *Alexander* caught hold of him, threw him from his couch, and, as he lay on

civil reverence, and no more. The *Persians* therefore, as *deists*, paid these profound marks of submission to their king, not as supposing him a deity, but from a persuasion that he derived a supreme authority from God. It may be, and indeed it is probable, the *Persians* did not explain this matter, either to *Alexander* or those about him; but contented themselves with satisfying the king by their actions, and themselves by their thoughts (65). The *Greeks* proceeded upon notions directly opposite. They were *poly-theists*, and tho' they every day did a thousand ridiculous things in their public worship, yet, to pay divine honours to a man, was too gross for them; and therefore, as is frequently the case, they acted right upon wrong principles; for with respect to the ground of this submission, the king and they were agreed in their sentiments. He sought to be taken for something more than man, and they, with good reason, refused to acknowledge him such. As the *Persians* could not but have the highest contempt for their idolatry in all its shapes, so, without question, they were well pleased to see their zeal for idols embarrass the *Macedonians* with their natural prince, which so strongly tended to put him into their hands. There is one objection which may possibly be made to this account, and ought therefore to be answered. It is this; There are various instances in scripture, where bowing down to, or, as it is usually phrased, worshipping, a man, is prohibited as idolatrous (66; whence it might be inferred, that amongst the *Persians*, who were *deists* as well as the *Jews*, this practice was not, strictly speaking, lawful; but, if we consider, that these prohibitions never extend to the case in question, but are always directed against worshipping private men, on a supposition of their being clothed with some divine character, we shall easily perceive, that these marks of civil respect to supreme magistrates were always accounted innocent, and very conformable to the divine law. Thus *Daniel* complied with all the customs of the *Persian* court, bowed himself when he entered the royal presence, and saluted with the usual compliment. *O king, live for ever* (67)! In a word, as the intent of the mind renders all actions either good or evil, so, in the present case, the *Persians* did that without idolatry, which was flat idolatry in those *Greeks* that did the same thing; because the former honoured *Alexander* only as a man, the latter, whatever they conceived of him, paid him that respect which they thought only due to a god.

(65) *Univ. Hist. Vol. IV. p. 502.* (66) *Acts xiv. 14. Rev.*
xxii. 9. (67) *Dan. vi. 21.*

the floor, told him, *he made as ridiculous a figure as him whom he had despised.* When it came to the turn of *Callisthenes*, he pledged the king, and then came for his kiss. *Alexander* being deeply engaged in discourse with *Hephestion*, did not perceive he had missed any part of the ceremony; but *Demetrius* one of his friends told him, that the philosopher had not adored him. The king thereupon put him back with his hand; and *Callisthenes* going out was heard to say, *So then, I have only lost a kiss.* But the king afterwards revenged himself more severely, as we shall shew immediately, that we may not again interrupt the thread of our narration (Y).

WHILE

ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 12. CURT. l. viii. c. 20. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

(Y) *Arrian* represents *Callisthenes* as a man exceeding proud of his knowledge, and, in point of vanity, very little behind *Alexander* himself. His temper was morose; but he had a vehement and persuasive elocution (68). *Aristotle* made a right judgment of him and his abilities, when he said, *He was an excellent orator, but had no judgment.* The same great man foresaw what would one day be the fate of this philosopher; for, hearing him treat *Alexander* with that unbecoming harshness which was too natural to him, he could not help repeating what *Thetis* in *Homer* says to *Achilles*,

Metbinks I see thee dying, see thee dead.

He is reported to have been a great declaimer, and that on this account he was chiefly admired by *Alexander*. Once at an entertainment the king commanded him to make an extempore oration in praise of the *Macedonians*, which he did with such facility, in terms so just and proportionate to their achievements, that all who were present, in token of their approbation, threw their garlands upon him, excepting *Alexander*, who contented himself with repeating these lines from *Euripides*;

*Without surprize I bear thy language flow;
For happy subjects pleasing words bestow.*

He then commanded *Callisthenes* to point out the errors and mistakes of the *Macedonians*, that they might the better know how to correct them. The orator, laying hold of this opportunity, immediately entered into a long and bitter invective against the *Macedo-*

(68) *Arrian*. l. iv. c. 10.

†

nians

WHILE the minds of men were yet warm, the murder of *A new Clytus* unforgot, and the king's affectation of foreign manners *conspiracy* continually provoking his natural subjects, a new conspiracy *against him.* was discovered, which very narrowly missed taking effect. The king had nearest his person fifty *Macedonian* youths of the first quality, who, according to the rules of waiting, continually attended him in the field, at his exercises, when at table, and when he retired to his rest. Among these there was one *Hermolaus* the son of *Sopolis*, who had contracted a violent antipathy to his master; the occasion this: One day, when he attended *Alexander* in the chace, a boar crossed him as he rode before the king; whereupon the young man, eager in his sport, struck the boar with a spear, and killed him on the spot. *Alexander*, provoked at losing an opportunity of shewing his dexterity, ordered the boy to be whipped in the sight of all his companions, and his horse taken from him. *Hermolaus*, almost distracted with the deep sense of the disgrace he had suffered, complained of it in the most moving terms to *Sostratus* the son of *Amyntas*, one of his companions, alledging, that he should never be at peace till he had revenged on *Alexander* the injury that had been done him. *Sostratus*, who loved him tenderly, came easily into his measures; and they two having formed the design, afterwards drew in *Antipater*, *Epimenes*, *Anticles*, and *Philotas*, all youths of quality like themselves and squires of the body to the king, to be concerned with them. The event of their consultations was, that when it came to be *Antipater's* watch,

nians in general, and against *Philip* of *Macedon* in particular, to whose greatness he applied these lines;

*When civil broils declining states surprize,
There the worst men to highest honours rise.*

This imprudent declamation lost him the hearts of his auditors; to which also the king's observation contributed not a little. *Callisthenes*, says he, *has not shewn so much of his eloquence, as of his ill-will to the Macedonians, in this speech* (69) But, however, he might lose himself on this occasion, when he came to oppose the king's assuming divine honours, he was again cried up, and all the *Macedonian* youth followed him as the patron of liberty and the teacher of true philosophy; so much does a man's character depend on his going with, or going against, the people's humour.

(69) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

they should kill *Alexander* in his sleep. It does not appear that any of the conspirators relented when the very day came; nor is it probable that the king could possibly have escaped, if an unforeseen accident, or, as some would have it, a miracle, had not interposed and defeated all their purposes. *Aristobulus* in his memoirs relates it thus: There was a certain Syrian woman who attended the camp of *Alexander*, and who frequently acted and spake as if beside her senses. This woman pretended to foretel future events; but she delivered her predictions in so odd a way, that, till their accomplishments compelled people to take notice of them, she was laughed at and ridiculed; but when by degrees the falling out of things she had foretold had gained her some degree of credit, the king, who had always a leaning to these sort of things, directed that she should never be restrained from entering his presence. It happened, that the night the conspirators had fixed on for the execution of their design, *Alexander* drank pretty late with his friends. As he was retiring from the place where they were drinking to his own apartment, this woman threw herself in his way, and, in one of her frantic fits, bid him go back and drink all night, in which, 'tis said, he obeyed her. However it was, so it fell out, that he did drink all that night, which rendered the conspirators scheme abortive. The next day *Epimenes* the son of *Arseas*, who was one of the number, discovered the whole to *Chariclus* his friend, and this *Chariclus* communicated it to *Euryloclus* the brother of *Epimenes*; *Euryloclus* immediately addressed himself to *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, who informed the king of it; upon which directions were immediately given, that all who were named by *Euryloclus* should be immediately apprehended and examined apart. They did not make any difficulty of confessing the whole design; and each of them named those who were in it. Some time after, *Hermolaus*, according to the *Macedonian* constitution, was brought before the army, and there charged with intending the murder of his sovereign. Instead of a defence, the young man, with great serenity of mind and cheerfulness of countenance, said, “ That a man
“ of spirit, who was born free, could never tamely support
“ the indignities which had been offered him by the king.
“ He alledged also, that not himself only, but his country,
“ had been grossly injured; that *Philotas* had been murdered
“ without proof; *Parmenio* assassinated without pretence;
“ numbers put to death on slight suspicions; *Clytus* butcher-
“ ed in drink; the *Median* habit and customs preferred to
“ those of *Macedon*; edicts issued to esteem a man a god,
“ while

“ while that man plunged himself in drunkenness, luxury, “ and other vices, scandalous to himself and detrimental to “ the state. From all which, by giving him death, he sought “ to set himself and the *Macedonians* free.” His speech ended, himself and his accomplices were stoned by the army^d. As all the *Macedonian* youth were auditors and admirers of *Callisthenes*, and *Hermolaus* his particular friend, he was charged with this conspiracy and apprehended. *Arrian* seems to be in some doubt, whether the apprehension of *Callisthenes* was founded on any proofs, which, however *Ptolemy*, in his memoirs affirmed, or was seized merely from the malice and spite of *Alexander*. We have a better authority on this head, than either *Arrian* or *Ptolemy*, which yet is not sufficient to determine it. This authority is a passage in a letter from *Alexander* to *Antipater*, as follows, “ The young “ men were stoned to death by the *Macedonians*; but for the “ *sophist*, i. e. *Callisthenes*, I will take care to punish him, “ and them too who sent him to me, who harbour those in “ their cities who conspire against my life.” *Plutarch* tells us, that *Aristotle* was threatened by these insinuations; however, certainly the king grew very inexorable, and at the same time very suspicious. As to *Callisthenes*, what became of him it is impossible to determine. *Aristobulus*, who was an eye-witness of all he wrote, affirms, that he was carried about in chains, till he died of a natural death. *Ptolemy*, who was also an eye-witness of all he recorded, asserts, that he was first rack’d, and then crucified. Besides these we have many other stories about him, which, as they are all uncertain, we think, we may safely omit, especially, as we shall have occasion to speak of him again in another place^e.

WHEN the season of action approached, ambassadors from *Scythia* arrived, whose errand was to inform the king, that their monarch, to whom he had sent ambassadors, was dead, and that his brother had succeeded him, that this new prince was willing to receive his commands, would give him his daughter in marriage, if he thought fit, and, if he desired it, would come to wait upon him in person. *Alexander* answered them in terms of friendship, but declined a *Scythian* alliance. *Pharaimanes*, king of the *Chorasmeni*, came about the same time to *Alexander*’s camp, with a body of fifteen hundred horse. He informed him, that his territories bor-

*He forms
new de.
signs.*

^d ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 13. 14. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. l. viii. c. 23. ^e ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 15.

dered on the *Euxine* sea, and offered his service, both for providing his army with necessaries, and furnishing himself whatever quota the king should think fit, in case he intended to turn his arms on that side. With this *Alexander* was perfectly well pleased, commended the king, entered into an alliance with him, and recommended him to *Artabazus*, president of the provinces bordering on his dominions; however, as to the expedition proposed, he declared, that his intentions were first to reduce the *Indians*, and then to return into *Greece*; after which he proposed to make use of this prince's offer, and with his whole forces to invade the countries bordering on the *Euxine* sea. With this answer he dismissed *Pharaimanes*, and immediately prepared for the carrying his own projects into execution^f, though they were far from being pleasing either to his council or to his army (Z).

He re-
enters Sog-
dia.

HE first directed his march to the banks of the river *Oxus*, and then determined to enter the country of the *Sogdians*, on account of their refusing to yield obedience to the governor he had appointed over them. *Polyspherchon*, with some other generals and a considerable body of forces, he left in *Bactria*, The rest of his army he divided into five columns; the first under the command of *Hephestion*; the second under *Ptolemy*

^f ARRIAN. I. iv. CURT. I. viii.

(Z) Whoever peruses the critical notes in the best editions of *Arrian* and *Plutarch*, will perceive, that some mistakes are imputed to the former, and many to the latter, in the accounts they give us of these marches, and other transactions of *Alexander*, yet whoever reads *Strabo's* geography, wherein these matters are treated more largely, though, generally speaking, with conformity enough to the descriptions of the writers above-mentioned, and compares them with authentic relations of the state of the *Usbeck-Tartars*, and of the north-east provinces of the present *Persian* empire, will find, that these censures are, for the most part, very indifferently founded; and that these antient writers are very far from being in the wrong. This deserves particular regard in respect of the transactions we are now coming to; for it is certain, that the countries are well described, and that what is said of fortifying rocks, and making granaries under ground, are not either dreams or fictions. On the contrary, if an *European* army were again to make war in these countries, the history of their actions would not only transcend any thing recorded by *Arrian*, but, in all probability, appear more romantic to us than any of the stories of *Curtius* himself, who, on a careful and impartial perusal, will appear not to have erred so much in facts, as in his manner of relating them, attending more to the method and elegance, than to the certainty and accuracy of his history.

Lagus;

Lagus; the third was commanded by *Perdiccas*; the fourth by *Cænus* and *Artabazus*; the last he led *himself*. The rest of the corps spread themselves over the country, reducing all the castles and other fortresses they met with, and which were held by the enemy. The body commanded by *Alexander* marched on to *Maracanda*, where shortly after the rest of the columns arrived; the whole province being reduced under his subjection. *Spitamenes*, however, who was at the head of the revolted *Sogdians*, retired towards *Scythia*, and having procured a supply of six hundred horse, he suddenly entered *Bactria*, surprized a castle, where he put the governor and garison to the sword, and then advanced to the very suburbs of *Zariaspa*; but, not having a force sufficient, he could not besiege the town. However, some *Macedonian* horsemen, who had been left there sick, finding themselves now a little better, immediately mounted, and followed him. The *Scythians* were so terrified at their approach, that they abandoned all their booty; but while the *Macedonians* were employed in collecting it together, *Spitamenes* prevailed on his *Scythians* to take post in a wood behind them, from whence perceiving the victors to return carelessly, and without order, they suddenly issued, and cut them off to a man. As soon as the news of this defeat came to *Craterus*, he immediately marched against the *Massagetae*, who, when they heard of his approach, fled towards the desert; but were hotly pursued by him; and they, and others of the same nation, to the number of about a thousand horse, were overtaken just at the edge thereof, and a sharp conflict happening thereupon, the *Macedonians* were victors. Of the *Barbarians* about one hundred and fifty were slain; the rest escaped into the desert, *Craterus* and his soldiers not being able to pursue them farther. In the mean while *Artabazus*, begging to be discharged from his government of *Bactria*, by reason of his advanced age, his petition was granted; and *Alexander* substituted *Amyntas* the son of *Nicolaus* to succeed him, and having left *Cænus* there, with his own and *Meleager's* troops, besides four hundred of the auxiliary horse, all the pikemen on horseback, and the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians* under *Amyntas*, the chief command over all those was given to *Cænus*, who ordered them to winter in *Sogdia*, partly for garisons to defend the country, and partly to encounter *Spitamenes*, if he should attempt to make any inroad there during the winter. But *Spitamenes*, understanding that all places were filled with *Macedonian* garisons, and that it would be a difficult matter for him to make a retreat, if he had occasion, resolved at once to turn his whole power against *Cæ-*

nus and his forces, imagining he would penetrate the most easily into the country that way; and when he approached *Gabæ*, a fortified place belonging to the *Sogdians*, seated on the borders between them and the *Massagetæ-Scythians*, he drew in four thousand *Scythian* horse to join his forces, that they might make an irruption into *Sogdia*. These *Scythians* being extreme poor, as having neither cities, nor fixed and certain habitations, nor possessing any thing which they were afraid to lose, were easily induced to join their forces with any nation. *Cænus*, having intelligence of *Spitamenes*'s approach, marched forth with his army to meet him; and a sharp battle thereupon ensued, in which the victory fell to the *Macedonians*. The *Barbarians* lost above eight hundred horse, and *Cænus* about twenty five horse and twelve foot in this conflict. The *Sogdians* who survived this day's action, as also many of the *Bactrians*, leaving *Spitamenes* in his flight, came to *Cænus*, and, having surrendered themselves into his power, swore fidelity to him. But the *Massagetæ*, and other *Scythians*, after the loss of the battle, having seized upon the baggage of the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians* their allies, accompanied *Spitamenes* in his flight into the desert; but when they came to understand, that *Alexander* was preparing to scour these places, they slew *Spitamenes*, and, having cut off his head, sent it as a present to *Alexander*, hoping by this action to make him cease his pursuit after them. This is *Arrian*'s account; as for that of *Curtius*, it is so little consistent therewith, that we are under a necessity of giving it by itself, and leaving it to the reader, whether he will credit the foregoing very probable, or that very surprizing story^s (A).

AT

^s ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 18.

(A) *Spitamenes* had a wife on whom he doated, and as the dangers and fatigues she was exposed to in accompanying him wherever his misfortunes drove him, were become troublesome to her, she employed all her charms to prevail with him to desist from flying any farther; and as he had already experienced *Alexander*'s clemency, to try to appease the anger of an enemy he could hope no otherwise to escape. She had three sons by him, who were pretty well grown up. These she brought to his embraces, and begged he would at least take pity of them; and, to enforce her prayers, she told him *Alexander* was not far off. But he thinking he was betrayed, and not advised, and that it was the confidence she had in her beauty, which made her not care how soon she came into *Alexander*'s power, drew his sword, and would have killed her, if her brothers had not happily interposed. However, he commanded her to be gone out of his sight, threatening her with death

it

AT the opening of the spring, the king marched into *The Sog-*
Sogdia, in order to besiege a fortress built on a rock, to which *dian rock*
Oxyartes the Bactrian had conveyed his wife and family, *besieged*
and taken.

if she offered to come into his presence; and that he might not be sensible of her absence, he passed the night with his concubines; yet as his passion for her was great, it was the more inflamed by the distaste he took to their company. He therefore gave himself intirely again to her, conjuring her never to speak to him more on that account, but willingly undergo with him whatever fortune did allot them; since, for his own part, he had rather die than surrender himself. Hereupon she excused herself, telling him, that she had advised him only to what she thought was most for his interest, and, admitting she had talked like a woman, yet it was with a faithful intention; however, for the future she would conform to his pleasure. *Spitamenes*, won by this counterfeited complaisance, gave a great entertainment on account of their reconciliation, where, having loaded himself with wine and good cheer, he was brought half asleep into his apartment. As soon as his wife perceived he was in a sound sleep, she drew a sword she had under her garment for the purpose, and cut off his head, and, all besmeared with the blood, gave it to a servant who was privy to her crime; and, being attended by him, came in this bloody condition to the *Macedonian* camp, where she sent word to *Alexander*, *she had something of importance to communicate to him, and which he must hear from her own mouth.* The king immediately ordered her to be introduced, and observing her to be stained with blood, imagined she came to complain of some affront offered her; he therefore asked her what she had to say? Hereupon she called for the servant that waited in the entry, who, having *Spitamenes's* head under his garment, gave the guards a suspicion, and, upon their searching him, he pulled out the head, and shewed it; but the bloodless paleness had so disfigured its features, that it was a hard matter to distinguish whose it was. *Alexander* being informed, that it was a man's head that he brought, went out of his tent, and inquired into the matter; which he accordingly told him. The king's mind was now perplexed with variety of thoughts; for, on the one hand, he looked upon it as a considerable piece of service, that he who was first a refugee, and had afterwards proved a traitor, and was like to have delayed the execution of his great designs, was killed; but then again he detested the barbarous action of her having thus treacherously murdered her husband, who had deserved well of her, and by whom she had several children. At last the foulness of the fact got the better of the service it did him, so that he sent her word to be gone from the camp, lest the *Greeks* more humane minds and gentler manners should be corrupted by the example of so barbarous an action (70).

(70) *Curt. l. viii. c. 12.*

as to a place impregnable. It was indeed the last resource of the rebels, and *Alexander* rightly judged, that unless he could reduce it by force, it would afford them a constant retreat, and so spin out the war to an excessive length. When he arrived at the place, he found it strong beyond his apprehension ; for the rock was not only rugged and steep, but so slippery also, that it was almost impossible to ascend it ; besides it was covered with snow, which melted afforded the besieged plenty of water, their granaries being filled with corn ; so that there was as little probability of starving them by a blockade, as reducing them by a siege ; yet *Alexander* resolved to attempt it by the method last-mentioned. To this he was the more strongly urged by the answer sent him, when he summoned the place ; for the commandant then told him, That when he had a corps of soldiers with wings, he might expect to take the place. In order to push matters as far as they would go without loss of time, of which the *Macedonians* were always frugal, he caused a proclamation to be made, offering the soldier who should first gain the rock twelve talents, and prizes of an inferior, but still great, value to those who should mount after him : The last being to have three hundred darics, which amounted to about three hundred pounds. On the publication of this reward, no less than three hundred of the *Macedonians* offered themselves for this service. These men taking with them their tent pins and strong ropes, went to make their attempt on that side of the rock which was least accessible, on a supposition, that there they should find the least opposition. In this conjecture tho' they were not deceived, yet in the very getting up they lost thirty of their number, whose bodies were never found, being, by the height of their fall, deeply interred in the snow ; for the manner in which they ascended the rock was thus : They struck their iron-pins into such places as would afford them fastening, and having fixed ropes to these pins, they ascended by those ropes ; whenever therefore either the pins or the ropes gave way, the *Macedonians* fell, and, as we observed before, were lost in the snow. Those who got up safely making the appointed signal from the top of the rock, *Alexander* summoned the place a second time, giving the besieged to understand, that he had now a corps of winged soldiers. The *Macedonians* above, in compliance with the signal from below, making a loud shout and clattering their weapons, the garison were so much affrighted, that, without making any inquiry as to the number of those who were got up, they surrendered the place at discretion.

Oxyartes

Oxyartes was absent when this fortress fell thus into the hands of the king, who entertained his wife and family with that civility and honour for which he was so justly famous. The daughter of *Oxyartes*, whose name was *Roxana*, was esteemed the most beautiful woman in *Asia*, after the death of the wife of *Darius*; and she had the good fortune to subdue the heart of *Alexander*, who hitherto had not given any signs of an amorous disposition. Some writers say, that he saw this lady at a feast, and that he was so taken with her beauty, that he immediately ordered bread to be divided between them, according to the *Macedonian* method of espousing; but *Arrian* says nothing of this. He only tells us, that *Alexander*, falling violently in love with his captive, was yet a man of so much honour and temperance, that he would not make use of the privilege of war, but openly and generously espoused the lady; of which *Oxyartes* having advice, he instantly came and rendered himself, and was received with all the testimonies of kindness and respect ^b.

AFTER the reduction of *Sogdia*, *Alexander* determined to *As also* march into the country of the *Paratacæ*, where there was *another* another fortress on a rock held to be absolutely irreducible. *fortress* This was called the rock of *Chorienæ*, because one of the *beld im-* principal noblemen of the country of that name had retired *pregnable*. thither for shelter, and had with him a very numerous garrison, well stored with all sorts of provisions. The sloping height of this rock was near five miles, its circuit near fifteen; but it was every-where so steep and craggy, that, except by a narrow way wrought by art, it was absolutely inaccessible. The whole was surrounded by a deep and broad ditch. These difficulties served only more strongly to determine *Alexander* to overcome them; he therefore provided instantly for the siege, by cutting down a vast number of trees, of which ladders were made for descending the ditch, it being dry. One half of his army was employed all day in this labour; the other half, by three divisions, wrought all night in the ditch itself, where they began to drive huge piles, and to cover them with hurdles, and other proper materials for establishing a solid bridge, over which the army might march to the assault. At first those in the fort derided their attempt; but when they saw them proceed briskly in it, and found, that themselves, with all their advantage of situation, were not able to injure them with their missile weapons, by reason of their contrivances to cover themselves in the ditch, they be-

^b ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 20,—24. CURT. l. viii. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

gan to be dismayed ; so that at length *Chorienes* sent to desire that *Oxyartes* would come and confer with him ; which was accordingly granted. *Oxyartes* having assured him, that nothing was inaccessible to the spirit and industry of the *Macedonians* ; and that, on the other hand, there could not be a more generous or merciful enemy than *Alexander*, he so wrought on *Chorienes*, that, with some of the principal persons who were with him, he descended the rock, and went to wait on *Alexander* in his camp. The king received him so obligingly, that he presently sent back some who accompanied him, to direct the garison to yield up the place ; which was performed without delay. *Alexander* then ascended with five hundred armed foot, to take a view of the place, which afforded him great satisfaction, on account as well of its capaciousness and conveniency, as of its extraordinary strength. However, in respect of *Chorienes*, he left no garison there ; but having enrolled him in the number of his friends, committed it again to his charge. This nobleman, to give some testimony of the sense he had of such honourable treatment, finding *Alexander's* army was much distressed for want of provisions, distributed corn, wine, and salt-meat, for two months to all his soldiers, and at the same time declared, that he had not exhausted the tenth part of his own stores. This made the favour appear still greater in the king's eyes, since it demonstrated the surrender of *Chorienes* to have proceeded solely from the sense of *Alexander's* generosity, and not of any necessity he was under¹ (B).

Catenes

¹ ARRIAN l. iv. c. 24, 25.

(B) The accounts given us by *Curtius* of the *Sogdian* rocks are really irreconcilable to probability, or to themselves. The commander of the first rock he calls *Arimazes*. He describes the rock itself as if it were hollow within ; and as he is fond of any opportunity of digressing, describing, and exercising his talent in rhetoric, so on this occasion he introduces *Alexander* making a speech to those who were to mount the rock, obliges us with their answer, and afterwards enters into a long and pompous detail of the difficulties surmounted by them in scaling of this rock. Last of all he tells us, that when *Arimazes* came down and submitted himself to the king, with thirty of the principal persons who had taken shelter with him, he ordered them to be first whipped, and then crucified, notwithstanding that he was in great doubt of their throwing his handful of men down who had scaled the top of the rock ; a proceeding directly opposite to common sense and reason (71). In the province of *Naura* he tells us, that *Alex-*

(71) *Curt. l. vii. c. 11.*

ander

Catenes and *Austanes* were now the only rebels remaining in this country. Against these *Craterus* was dispatched, with a considerable body of horse and foot; and a battle ensuing, the barbarians were entirely routed, *Catenes* slain, and *Austanes* taken alive, and put in chains. All things being now in a state of quiet, *Alexander* advanced over mount *Caucasus*, as his soldiers called it, and in ten days time reached the city of *Alexandria*, which he had founded. There he displaced the governor, because he had been wanting in his duty; and leaving here such of his *Macedonian* foot as were unfit for further service, he, after pompous sacrifices to *Minerva*, advanced to the river *Cophenes*. Thence he dispatched a herald to *Taxiles* and the other princes on this side the river *Indus*, directing them to come forth and meet him, as he advanced towards their territories; which they accordingly performed, bringing with them the most valuable presents which their dominions would afford; *Taxiles*, in the name of the rest, making him a promise, that they would present him with twenty-five elephants *. *Curtius* tells us, that this In-

* *Idem* *ibid.*

ander besieged another prodigious rock, of which *Sifimithres* was governor. This man, he says, had two sons by his own mother; which, he informs us, was a thing customary in that country; and that this wife and mother of his with-held him, by her arguments, from surrendering the place, when his friend *Oxyartes* had taken pains to come and treat with him. At last, however, *Sifimithres* yielded himself, his family, the people under his command, and the rock, to *Alexander*, who treated him with great humanity (72). A little after *Curtius* tells us of the king's entering into a province governed by one *Cobortanus*, who treated the king with great magnificence: and that his daughter *Roxana* coming in at this feast, the king fell passionately in love with her, and being immediately betrothed to her afterwards married her (73). Here are a multitude of mistakes, if we credit the best *Greek* authors; for *Roxana* was not the daughter of *Cobortanus*, but of *Oxyartes*; nay, this *Cobortanus* is met with no-where else. In all probability he was the same with the *Chorieneus* of *Arrian*. As for *Sifimithres*, he is mentioned by *Plutarch*, who tells us, that *Alexander* asked *Oxyartes*, if this man was a man of courage? To which he answered, No. Then, said the king, the rock is our own, if it were indeed impregnable in its nature (74). These passages are evidently discordant, and therefore we have not inserted them in the text, that they might not perplex or impede the reader in his prospect of *Alexander's* conquests.

(72) *Idem* l. viii. c. 2.

(73) *Idem* *ibid.* l. viii.

c. 4. (74) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

dian king, or his son, whom he calls *Omphis*, presented *Alexander* with fifty-six elephants, and three thousand bulls, a crown of gold, and a considerable sum of coined silver; which presents, as they bespoke the respect and kindness of the giver, had such an effect on the mind of the conqueror, that he not only restored the king his own presents, but added a thousand talents to them ¹. *Plutarch* has the same story with respect to these thousand talents; but, in all probability, they were extracted from some of the memoirs of *Alexander*, written rather to surprize and amaze mankind with fictitious adventures, than really to inform them of what he did ^m. *Hephestion*, with part of the army, was sent, with king *Taxiles* and the rest of the *Indian* Princes, absolutely to reduce the country as far as the river *Indus*; and on their coming thither, they were directed to make the necessary preparations for the king's passing over with all his forces. *Hephestion* executed this commission with little trouble, only one of the petty princes in the country presuming to make any resistance; and he being slain, and the city, where he had fortified himself, taken by storm, it struck such a terror as kept all the adjacent country in great quiet. *Alexander*, in the mean time, bent his march, with the rest of his forces, towards the river *Choe*, by some called *Choaspes*, on the banks of which he found a rough and barbarous people, whose cities he prepared to reduce. The first he attacked was surrounded by a double wall; and yet the people therein were so hardy, that they issued out into the field and offered him battle. *Alexander*, with his horse and light-armed troops, immediately engaged them, and, after a short and smart conflict, compelled them to take shelter in the place; he was, however, slightly wounded in the shoulder. *Ptolemy* son of *Lagus*, and *Leonatus*, two of his principal captains, shared the same fate. He then caused the place to be invested, and the next day attacked the first wall where he thought it weakest. The inhabitants made a vigorous defence; but finding it absolutely ineffectual, they at last retired within the inner wall, and while the *Macedonians* were preparing to attack that also, they opened their gates on the other side towards the mountain, whereby many of them made their escape, tho' numbers were slain by *Alexander's* foldiers, who were so enraged at his being wounded, that they gave no quarter. The king then ordered the city to be razed, and afterwards proceeded to *Andaca*, a most considerable city in those parts. This was rendered to him upon terms, and he left *Craterus* there with the heavy-armed forces, to reduce

¹ CURT. l. viii c. 12. ^m PLUT. in vit. Alex.

all the rest of the country and to settle it. Himself, with the horse and light-armed troops, continued their march to the river *Euaspla*, where the chief strength of the *Aspii*, the principal nation in those parts, was assembled. After two days hard march they drew near the city, which the enemy immediately fired and withdrew towards the mountains, whither, however, the *Macedonians* pursued them, and cut off great numbers in their rear. Here it was, that *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* gave a shining proof of his bravery; for he attacked the general of the *Aspii*, who was posted on a little hill, and in a single combat slew him. The barbarians, on the other hand, fought desperately to preserve his body, till that *Alexander*, at the head of some dismounted horse, ascended the hill, and charging them in flank, obliged them to retire without carrying off their dead general. He passed next over one of these mountains, and advanced to the city *Ariganus*, which he found burnt and deserted; but *Craterus* having now rejoined the army, he left him there with orders to repair it, and people it with such of the inhabitants of the country as were willing to dwell therein, and such invalids as were glad to have a place to dwell in. The king still advanced, till encamping at the foot of a mountain, *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* informed him, that he discerned a great camp of the barbarians, and a multitude of fires therein. *Alexander* thereupon divided his army into three bodies; the first under the command of *Leonatus*; the second under *Ptolemy*; and the third commanded by himself. All three advanced towards the enemy; which when the barbarians perceived, trusting to their numbers, they rushed into the plain; but their violence putting them into confusion, tho' they behaved bravely, and fought stoutly, yet the *Macedonians* had the victory in the centre, where *Alexander* commanded, after putting vast numbers to the sword. *Ptolemy* was constrained to attack a considerable body of the enemy posted upon a hill. He, marching up that side of it which was most accessible, without attempting to surround it at the bottom, constrained the enemy to fly, and, by leaving them an open passage, tempted them to fly the sooner. *Leonatus* on his side also prevailed; but the victory was bloody every-where. According to *Ptolemy's* memoirs, the enemy lost forty thousand men, and two hundred and thirty thousand head of cattle; which *Alexander* perceiving to excel those of *Greece*, both in size and beauty, he caused the largest and fairest to be chosen out and sent them into *Macedon*, where they might serve to mend the breed, and to perpetuate the memory of his conquests. After this battle he continued some time encamped, that *Craterus* might have time

to

to join him ; which when he had done with the heavy-armed foot, *Alexander* began immediately to project a new expedition for reducing the *Affaceni*, who were said to have twenty thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to take the field ^a.

The city of
Mazaga
with much
difficulty
taken.

IN order to reach these *Affaceni*, *Alexander* was forced to pass through the territory of the *Guræi*, which he did with his horse and light armed troops, and crossed a very rapid river in that country, not without much difficulty, on account of the swift current of the water, and round slippery stones at the bottom, whereon neither man nor horse could tread with safety. The *Affaceni*, when they were well assured of this, retired into the city, and abandoned all thoughts of defence of the plain and open country. This capital of theirs is by *Curtius* called *Mazaga*, by *Strabo* *Magosa*, by *Diodorus* *Massaea*, by *Arrian* *Massaga*. It was certainly a well fortified city, from the pains that it cost *Alexander* to reduce it ; and if *Curtius* took the description he gives us from any author who had really seen it, we might reasonably esteem the siege thereof one of the boldest enterprizes that *Alexander* ever undertook. The government of this country, at the time *Alexander* invaded it, was in the hands of a woman, as *Plutarch*, *Curtius*, and *Justin* agree ; the latter calls her *Cleophes*. She was according to them the wife of *Affacenus*, but *Arrian* says nothing of her, though he seems to acknowledge that the fact was so ^o. This lady had very providently entertained a body of seven thousand mercenary *Indians*, who, from the upper *India*, came to put themselves into the place, and, as *Plutarch* tells us, they also hired themselves out for the defence of other cities. These *Indians*, perceiving that the army of *Alexander* was far from being numerous, persuaded the garrison to issue out, and try their fate in the field, that so, if it were possible, a siege might be avoided. This was accordingly done, and *Alexander* rightly conceiving, that if the battle was fought immediately under the walls of the city, the enemy would reap great advantages therefrom, drew up his phalanx a mile behind his horse and archers, causing these to advance before the enemy, and then, as if amazed or dismayed, to retire towards those. His stratagem had its desired effect, the *Indians*, conceiving highly of their own valour, followed the *Macedonians*, as if they had already defeated them ; but when they drew near the hill where *Alexander* had

^a ARRIAN. ubi supra. ^o ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 26. CURT. lib. viii. c. 10 JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

posted his phalanx, the horse and archers attacked them in both wings, and the king with his foot charged in the centre. Thus the *Indians* were broke at the first shock, and exposed to great slaughter in their retreat to the city, though they behaved with great bravery, and taught *Alexander* to conceive better of them, than of any of the nations he had yet met with. Immediately after this victory, *Alexander* caused the city to be invested, and going to take a view of the works which he had ordered to be erected before it, he had the misfortune to be wounded in the leg. *Curtius* enlarges mightily upon this accident; he informs us, that the king, notwithstanding this wound, continued his observations on horseback, without suffering it to be bound up; that afterwards, feeling himself exceedingly pained, he was forced to have it dressed, but continued, however, giving the necessary directions, till all things were done that he desired; being, however, so sensible of pain, that he could not help saying, *Though I am called the son of Jupiter, I feel like other men the smart of wounds, and the pain of diseases* ^p. *Arrian* tells us, that he was wounded indeed, but that the very next day he ordered his engines to be brought to batter the place. A bridge being made, the king gave directions that it should be immediately assaulted, which was accordingly performed with that vigour and vivacity shewn by the *Macedonians* upon all occasions. The *Indians*, however, repulsed him with considerable loss. The next day the city was stormed again with the like ill success. On the third day *Alexander* caused a large wooden tower to be drawn before the breach, and a draw-bridge to be let fall from thence, that his men might pass over the more easily. This was a good contrivance, and answered the end; but, the soldiers rushing forwards in too great numbers, the bridge broke, and they fell all into the ditch, where the defendants from the wall plied them with stones, arrows, and darts, so that *Alexander* was forced to send *Alcetas* with a fresh body of troops to bring them off. The fourth day a new bridge was made, and the soldiers again attempted the place, but to no purpose. The mercenary *Indians*, as long as their general survived, behaved themselves so gallantly, that *Alexander* was not likely at all to gain the city; but he being killed by a dart from one of the engines, and many of the soldiers disabled by their wounds, the rest were desirous of treating with *Alexander*, which they did by a herald; and for the sake of avoiding unnecessary effusion of blood, the king granted them these terms, as *Arrian* affirms, that they should

^p JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7. CURT. lib. viii. c. 10.

safely march out of the city, and serve under him upon the same terms they did there. On these conditions they accordingly marched out, and, armed as they were, encamped on a hill at some distance from *Alexander's* camp. In the evening *Alexander* received advice, that these *Indians* were determined to march off in the night, that they might not be obliged to serve amongst the *Macedonians* against their brethren. Upon this he surrounded their camp with his own soldiers, and cut them all to pieces^a. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a very distinct account of this business, and treats it as the blackest act of perfidy that ever was committed; he does not indeed say, that the *Indians* were to be taken into the service of *Alexander*, but that they had leave to march out of the place, and that when they were marched out, the king followed them, and fell upon them. This engaging them to cry aloud, that he had violated his oath, and to call upon the gods to revenge it; he equivocally answered, that he had given his oath that they should come safely out of the city, but not that they should remain friends to the *Macedonians*; in consequence of which impious distinction, he killed them and their wives too, who bravely fought to defend their husbands^r. *Plutarch* allows, that this barbarous action left an indelible stain upon his memory^r. The city of *Massaga* was soon after taken, and therein, according to *Arrian*, the mother and daughter of *Assacenus*; according to all other authors, his widow. *Curtius* says, that she went out at the head of a procession of noble ladies, carrying golden goblets of wine in their hands; and that she procured to herself not only pardon, but the continuance of her dignity, rather from her excellent beauty, than from her eloquence, or from any inclination of pity in the king. He adds, that she had some time after a son, who, whatever father he had, was called *Alexander*^r. *Justin* is still more plain, he says that she procured this indulgence by prostituting herself to *Alexander*, and that the *Indians* ever after were pleased to stile her the *royal whore*^u; so far, it seems, *Alexander* travelled to find a more steady and settled virtue, than was known in the schools of Greece.

Ora taken, THE next undertaking of *Alexander* was the siege of *Ora*,
and Bazi- in order to which he detached *Attalus*, *Alcetas*, and *Deme-*
ra. trius, to invest it, while in the mean time *Cænus* marched to

^a ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 27.^r DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii.^r In vit Alex.^r CURT. lib. viii. c. 10.^u JUSTIN. ubi

supra.

besiege



besiege *Bazira*, another strong city. Neither of these places surrendered on the arrival of the king's forces, as it had been supposed they would; but on the contrary, made all the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence; so that *Cænus* was forced to turn his siege into a blockade, and the king himself was constrained to go in person to the siege of *Ora*. This city was surrounded with a strong wall, and had in it a considerable garison of mercenary *Indians*; yet *Alexander* quickly reduced it, seizing all the elephants therein for the use of his army. The inhabitants of *Bazira*, when they were informed of this, took the advantage of a dark night to pass by the troops left by *Cænus* to block up the city, and escaped to the mountains behind them. From these hills the inhabitants of *Bazira*, associating themselves with such as were willing to defend their liberty to the last, withdrew to a certain rock, which, if not impregnable by its situation, they thought might be rendered so by their own skill and courage^w.

THE rock of *Aornus* was in circuit two hundred furlongs, or not much less than twenty five of our miles. Its height even in its lowest parts eleven furlongs, the way leading to it artificial, and very narrow: On the top of it there was a fine plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood; the rest arable land with a fountain, furnishing abundance of excellent water. There was a report among the inhabitants of the adjacent country, that *Hercules* himself had besieged this place in vain. *Arrian* delivers it as his opinion, that this report was without foundation; but it is more than probable, that the report itself was raised after *Alexander* had taken it, in order to magnify his exploit. However it was, after making the necessary dispositions for preserving the country in peace behind him, he marched to *Embolina*, the nearest city, from whence he afterwards advanced to the rock itself. While he was preparing all things for the siege, an old man and his two sons, who had long lived in a cavern near the summit of the rock, came to offer their services to *Alexander*, to shew him a private way of ascending it; which proposition was readily embraced, and *Ptolemy* with a considerable body of light-armed troops, were sent with him; with orders, in case they succeeded, to intrench themselves strongly upon the rock, with the wood which the old man was to direct them to, before they attempted to attack the *Indians*. *Ptolemy* exactly executed all that had been given him in charge, and when he had so done, caused a lighted torch to be erected in

^w ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 27—28. DIODOR. ubi supra. CURT. lib. viii. c. 11. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7.
VOL VIII. C c his

his camp upon a pole, as a signal to *Alexander* that they were safely got up.

*The rock of
Aornus re-
duced.*

THE king gave immediate orders for a body of troops to attempt the passage, whereby the rock was ordinarily ascended, from which, however, they were repulsed by the *Indians* with great slaughter. Then the king sent an *Indian*, whom he could trust, with letters to *Ptolemy*, directing him at such time as he attacked the rock next, to issue from his camp, and fall upon the enemy behind. But in the intermediate space, those who defended the rock attacked *Ptolemy* with great vigour, and were, though with much ado, at last repulsed. This, however, did not hinder that general from obeying the orders that were sent him ; for when *Alexander* renewed the attack the next day, he on his side came out of his camp with a part of his soldiers, and attacked the enemy in the rear : the *Indians* repelled the *Macedonians* on both sides, and though *Alexander* did himself ascend as far as *Ptolemy's* post with a detachment of chosen men, yet still all they could do was ineffectual, so that the king was forced to turn his thoughts another way ; he saw clearly, that the great advantage of the *Indians* was the streightness and declivity of the way by which they were attacked ; in order therefore that his forces might fight upon more equal terms, he caused a vast quantity of trees to be cut down, and with them filled up the cavities between the plain where the enemy was encamped, and the highest of his advanced posts. When the *Indians* understood his design, they despised it as a thing impracticable ; but when they saw with what ardor this work was carried on, and felt the effects of it from the missive weapons which were now thrown among them by the engines, they began to change their sentiments, insomuch, that they sent deputies to propose terms of surrender, which when *Alexander* had heard, he presently suspected their true design was to amuse him till they made their escape ; upon which he withdrew his guards from the avenues, and as soon as he knew that the *Indians* were descended, he with seven hundred light-armed foot from *Ptolemy's* post, took possession of the deserted rock, and then made a signal for his forces to fall upon the flying *Indians*. They, setting up a loud shout, so terrified the fugitives, that numbers of them fell from the rocks and precipices, and were beat to pieces ; of the remainder, the greater part were cut off in the roads. Thus, as *Alexander's* soldiers boasted, that rock was taken, before which *Hercules* himself had been foiled. Certain it is, that the king sacrificed there with great pomp, and left a garison under the command of *Sisicottus*, who had formerly served *Bessus* ; but had now

for

for some time been in *Alexander's* army, and behaved with much fidelity *. From hence he marched again into the territories of the *Affaceni*, where the brother of the deceased king had taken up arms; however, when he came he found the cities deserted, and the country totally abandoned. Finding therefore that little could be done there, he made it his business to find out and seize such elephants, as the *Indians* had been forced to leave in the plain country; and after a march of sixteen days he arrived at the river *Indus*, where *Hephestion* and *Perdiccas* had already provided a bridge of boats for the passage of the army † (C).

Arrian is very nice in his account of *Alexander's* passing this river; but neither the importance of the thing, since he passed it without opposition, or the nature of this work, which would be rendered tedious thereby, allow us to dwell here upon matters which must be retouched, when we come to the history of *India*. The king refreshed his army for thirty days in the countries on the other side of the river, which were those of his friend and ally *Taxiles*, who at this time performed all that he had promised to the king giving him thirty elephants, and joining his army now with seven hundred *Indian* horse, to which, when they were to enter upon action, he afterwards added five thousand foot; the true reason of this seems to have been his enmity to *Porus*, a famous *Indian* prince, whose territories lay on the other side of the river *Hydaspes*. During this recess, the king sacrificed with great solemnity,

Alexander passes the rivers Indus and Hydaspes.
Year of the Flood, 2672.
Before Christ, 327.

* *ARRIAN.* lib. iv. c. 28. *DIODOR. SICUL.* lib. xvii. *CURT.* lib. viii. c. 11. *JUSTIN.* lib. xii. c. 7. † *ARRIAN.* lib. iv. cap. ult. *DIODOR.* ubi supra. *CURT.* ubi supra.

(C) *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that, after the taking the rock of *Aornus*, the king was advised that one *Apbrices*, an *Indian*, lay not far distant with an army of twenty thousand men and fifteen elephants, in order to oppose his passage. But before the king had time to think of reducing him, the *Indians* themselves, whether out of hatred to their general, or in hopes of *Alexander's* favour, our author pretends not to determine, put their commander to death, and brought his head and armour as a present to the king (74). *Curtius* calls him *Eryces*; but he varies little in the rest of the story; it should seem that he was the general of some mercenary *Indians*, (75). How *Arrian* came to omit this event, we cannot pretend to say, unless we suppose that he doubted the truth of it, because it was omitted in the memoirs of *Aristobulus* and *Ptolemy*.

(74) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.*

(75) *Curt. l. viii. c. 12.*

C c 2

receiving

receiving also embassadors from *Ambifurus*, a very potent prince, and from *Doxareas*, who was also a king in those parts, with tenders of their duty and considerable presents (D).

(D) There is not the least notice taken in *Arrian* of the *Taxiles* here spoken of, being another *Taxiles* than him mentioned before. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Curtius*, however, are positive that it was the son of him heretofore mentioned, and that the name of this man was *Mopbis* or *Ompbis* (76); and that he refused to take upon him the name of *Taxiles*, which was common to all the kings of the country, till *Alexander* commanded him so to do, and put the crown upon his head, which he did with great willingness, being extremely pleased with this extraordinary mark of submission (77). *Strabo* tells us, that the city of *Taxila*, which was the capital of this kingdom, was seated between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaspes*; that it was extremely well built, governed by good laws, the country round about being extremely fruitful and well planted; the same author tells us, that this kingdom was as large as *Egypt* (78), which is also confirmed by *Plutarch*; he adds, that at the first interview between *Alexander* and *Taxiles*, the latter, who was reputed a very wise man, addressed him thus: *To what purpose should we destroy the subjects of each other, if it be not your design to deprive us of our fruits and our water, which as they are the only things necessary to preserve the lives of men, are only worth fighting about? As to what the world calls riches, if I am better provided than thee, thou shalt share with me with all my heart; but if thou art already richer than I, I am not so proud as to refuse being obliged to you, or so base as to think of being ungrateful for your favours.* To which *Alexander* replied, *Do not think, Taxiles, that by these fair speeches you shall avoid contending with me; I will no more be overcome in civility than war; and therefore, do what you will, I will oblige you still more.* Which promise of his he accordingly made good, not only by bestowing on the king great presents, but also by making large additions to his dominions (79). After this, *Arrian* and indeed all other authors agree, that *Alexander* proceeded to reduce *Nysa*, a famous city, said to be built *Bacchus*, at this time governed by its own laws, and living in a state of freedom: We did not think fit, however, to enter into a detail of what passed between *Alexander* and the deputies from this city in the text, because *Arrian* himself, though he has related it at large, seems to doubt very much of the fact, or rather to look upon it as a fable (80). To say the truth, there are so many things of importance belonging to the history of *Alexander*, that we are willing to pass by, as briefly as we may, such romantic stories as these, that we may not omit things at once more pleasing and more profitable to the reader.

(76) *Diodor. l. xvii.* (77) *Curt. l. viii. 12.* (78) *Strab. Geogr. l. xv.*
 (79) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (80) *Arrian. l. v. Diodor. Curt. Justin.*
Plut. &c.

These ceremonies over, *Alexander* appointed *Philip* governor of *Taxila*, and put a *Macedonian* garison into the place, because he intended to erect an hospital there for the cure of his sick and wounded soldiers. These things once performed, he ordered the vessels, of which his bridge had been composed when he passed the *Indus*, to be taken to pieces, that they might be brought to the *Hydaspes*, where he was informed, that *Porus*, with a great army, lay encamped to hinder his passage. When he approached the banks of this river with his army and the auxiliaries under the command of *Taxiles*, he found that the people he had to do with were not so easily to be subdued, as the *Persians* and other *Asiatics*. The *Indians* were not only a very tall and robust, but also a very hardy and well-disciplined, people; and their king *Porus*, a prince of high spirit, invincible courage, and great conduct. It was about the summer solstice when *Alexander* reached the *Hydaspes*, and consequently its waters were broader, deeper, and more rapid than at any other time; for in *India* the rivers swell, as the sun's increasing heat melts the snow, and subside again as winter approaches; *Alexander* therefore had every difficulty to struggle with. *Porus* had made his dispositions so judiciously, that *Alexander* found it impossible to practice upon him, as he had done upon others, and to pass the river in his view; wherefore he was constrained to divide his army into small parties, and to practice other arts, in order to get the better of so vigilant a prince². To this end he caused a great quantity of corn and other provisions to be brought into his camp, giving out, that he intended to remain where he was till the river fell, and, by becoming fordable, should give him an opportunity of forcing a passage: This did not, however, hinder *Porus* from keeping up very strict discipline in his camp, which when *Alexander* perceived, he frequently made such motions as seemed to indicate a change of his resolution, and that he had still thoughts of passing the river. The main thing the *Macedonians* stood in fear of was the elephants; for the bank being pretty steep on the other side, and it being the nature of horses to start at the first appearance of those animals, it was foreseen, that the army would be disordered, and incapable of sustaining the charge of *Porus's* troops. But after some time, that the kings had amused each other, *Alexander*, who hated inactivity, determined to pass at all events;

² ARRIAN. lib. v. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 8. CURT. lib. viii. c. 13.

yet, before he took that resolution, he contrived a method of passing with the least danger possible, which was this: There was at the distance of one hundred and fifty stadia from his camp, a rocky promontory projecting into the river, thick covered with wood, and over-against this promontory there lay a pretty large uninhabited island almost overgrown with wood. The king therefore conceived within himself a project of conveying a body of troops from this promontory into that island, and upon this scheme he built his hopes of surprizing *Porus*, vigilant as he was. To this end, he kept him and his army constantly alarmed for many nights together, till he perceived that *Porus* apprehended it was only done to harass his troops, and therefore no longer drew out of his camp, but trusted to his ordinary guards: Then *Alexander* resolved to put his designs in execution. A considerable body of horse, the *Macedonian* phalanx, with some corps of light-armed foot, he left in his camp under the command of *Craterus*; as also the auxiliary *Indians*, giving these orders to be observed in his absence: That if *Porus* marched against him with part of his army, and left another part with the elephants behind in his camp, *Craterus* and his forces should remain where they were. But if it so happened, that *Porus* withdrew his elephants, then *Craterus* was to pass the river, because his cavalry might then do it safely. *Alexander* having marched half the way, or about nine of our miles, ordered the mercenary troops, under the command of *Attalus* and other generals, to remain there; and directed them, that as soon as they knew he was engaged with the *Indians* on the other side, they should pass in vessels provided for that purpose in order to assist him. Then taking a round-about road, that the enemy might not perceive his design of reaching the rock, he marched as diligently as he could towards that post. It happened very fortunately for him, that a great storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, rose in the night, whereby his march was perfectly concealed, his vessels of thirty oars put together, and his tents stuffed and pitched, so that they passed from the rock into the island, without being perceived, a little before break of day; the storm ceasing just as he and his soldiers were ready for their passage. When they had traversed the island, they boldly set forward to gain the opposite shore in sight of *Porus's* out-guards, who instantly posted away to give their master an account of this attempt. *Alexander* landed first himself, and was followed as expeditiously as possible by his forces, whom he took care to draw up as fast as they arrived. When they began their march again,

again, they found that their good fortune was not so great as at first they esteemed it ; for it appeared now, that they had not reached the continent at all, but were in truth in another island much larger than the former. They crossed it as fast as they could, and found that it was divided from the *terra firma* by a narrow channel, which, however, was swollen by the late heavy rain, that the poor soldiers were forced to wade up to the breast ; when they were on the other side, the king drew them up again carefully, ordering the foot to march slowly, they being in number about six thousand, while himself with 5000 horse advanced before. As soon as *Porus* received intelligence that *Alexander* was actually passing the river, he sent his son, with two thousand horse and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to oppose him. But they came too late, *Alexander* was already got on shore, and even on his march. When the *Macedonian* scouts perceived them advancing, they informed the king, who sent a detachment to attack them, remaining still at the head of his cavalry in expectation of *Porus*. But when he found that this party was unsupported, he instantly attacked them with all his horse, and defeated them with the slaughter of many, and the loss of all their armed chariots, the son of *Porus* being slain in the fight. The remainder of the horse returning to the camp with this disastrous account, *Porus* was in some confusion ; however, he took very quickly the best and wisest resolutions his circumstances would allow, which were, to leave a part of his army with some of his elephants to oppose *Craterus*, who was now about to pass the river also, and with the rest to march against *Alexander* and his forces, who were already passed. This resolution once taken, he marched immediately out of his camp at the head of four thousand horse, thirty thousand foot, three hundred chariots, and two hundred elephants. He advanced as expeditiously as he could, till he came into a plain, which was firm and sandy, where his chariots and elephants might act to advantage ; there he halted, that he might put his army in order, knowing well that he need not go in quest of his enemy. *Alexander* soon came up with his horse, but he did not charge *Porus* ; on the contrary, he made a halt, and put his troops in order, that they might be able to defend themselves in case they were attacked. When he had waited some time, his foot arrived, whom he immediately surrounded with his horse, that after so fatiguing a march, they might have time to cool and breathe themselves before they were led to engage. *Porus* permitted all this, because it was not his interest to fight, and because
he

he depended chiefly upon his order of battle, the elephants covering his foot, so that the *Macedonians* could not charge them. When *Alexander* had disposed his foot in proper order, he placed his horse on the wings, and observing that he was much superior in them to the enemy, and that the cavalry of *Porus* were easy to be charged; he resolved to let the foot have as little share as possible in this battle. To this end, having given the necessary directions to *Cænus* who commanded them, he went himself to the right, and with great fury fell upon the left wing of *Porus*. The dispute, though short, was very bloody; the horse of *Porus*, though they fought gallantly, were quickly broken; and the foot being by this means uncovered, the *Macedonians* charged them. But the *Indian* horse rallying, came up to their relief, yet were again defeated. By this time the archers had wounded many of the elephants, and killed most of their riders, so that they did not prove less troublesome and dangerous to their own side than to the *Macedonians*; whence a great confusion ensued, and *Cænus*, taking this opportunity, fell in with the troops under his command, and intirely defeated the *Indian* army. *Porus* himself behaved with the greatest intrepidity and with the most excellent conduct: He gave his orders, and directed every thing as long as his troops retained their form; and when they were broken, he retired from party to party as they made stands, and continued fighting till every corps of *Indians* was put to the rout. In the mean time *Craterus* had passed with the rest of the *Macedonian* army; and these, falling upon the flying *Indians*, increased the slaughter of the day excessively, insomuch that twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse were killed, all the chariots hacked to pieces, and the elephants not killed were taken: two of *Porus's* sons fell here, as also most of his officers of all ranks. As for himself, *Alexander* gave strict directions that no injury might be done to his person; he even sent *Taxiles* to persuade him to surrender himself, and to assure him, that he should be treated with all the kindness and respect imaginable; but *Porus* disdainning this advice from the mouth of an old enemy, threw a javelin at him, and had killed him, but for the quick turn of his horse. *Meroe* the *Indian*, who was also in the service of *Alexander*, succeeded better; he had been the old acquaintance of *Porus*, and therefore, when he entreated that prince to spare his person, and to submit himself to fortune and a generous victor, being weary and almost choaked with thirst, *Porus* stopped his elephant, alighted, and, having refreshed himself with a little water,

water, desired his friend to conduct him to *Alexander*. As soon as the *Macedonian* knew that *Porus* was coming, he went with some of his friends to meet him. At this interview, *Alexander* was greatly surprized; the *Indian* king was seven foot high, exactly proportioned, of a noble aspect, and in his air and behaviour preserved such an unconquered spirit, that *Alexander* was charmed with him, insomuch that he desired *Meroe* to ask him, *How he would please to be treated?* *Porus* answered, *As a king*; which when it was reported to *Alexander*, he said, *That for my own sake I shall do. And therein, returned Porus, is comprehended all that I can ask.* This so well suited the genius of his conqueror, that we may say, the condition of this *Indian* king suffered nothing by the loss of the battle. *Alexander* gave him his liberty immediately, restored him shortly after to his kingdom, to which he also annexed provinces almost equal to it in value. Neither was *Alexander* a loser by his munificence, for *Porus* remained his true friend, and constant ally ^a.

Alexander, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be erected, one on the field of battle, which he named *Nicæa*, which seems to have been the same which *Plutarch* says was built to the memory of his famous dog *Peritas*; the other on this side of the river, where his camp had been, which he called *Bucephala*, in honour of his horse who died there, as *Arrian* says, of mere old age, being on the verge of thirty. All the soldiers who fell in the battle he buried with great honours, offered solemn sacrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous shews on the banks of the *Hydaspes*, where he had forced his passage. After this short recess from war, he, at the head of his horse and light-armed troops, entered the territories of the *Glausæ*, in which there were thirty seven good cities and a multitude of populous villages; all which were delivered up to him without fighting; and as soon as they were given up to him, he presented them to *Porus*; and having reconciled him to *Taxiles*, he sent the latter home to his own dominions. About this time embassadors arrived from *Abissarès*, professing, that himself and his kingdom were at his devotion; among these embassadors was his brother who brought a large present and forty elephants. *Alexander* directed *Abissarès* to repair to him in person, and having given orders to *Philip* to march with a body of troops to reduce the *Affaceni* who were revolted, himself

His proceedings in the conquest of India.

^a *ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 14, 15, 16. PLUT. invit. Alex. CURT. lib. viii. JUSTIN. lib. xii.*

with the rest of his army marched to the river *Acesines*, which being fifteen furlongs broad, extremely rapid, having great rocks in the midst of its channel, he passed it with much difficulty, [making use both of his vessels and his skins. However, those on the latter escaped best, for when they struck against the rocks, the very force of the blow threw them off again; whereas the like accident dashed the vessels to pieces. On the other side of this river lay the territories of another *Porus*, whose conduct had been very fluctuating during the course of this war; for at some times he had thoughts of submitting himself to *Alexander*, at others he determined to oppose him, at last he abandoned his dominions, and led away with him those soldiers who ought to have defended them. *Alexander* in pursuit of him passed the *Hydraotes*, another *Indian* river, and having now conquered the whole kingdom of this other *Porus*, he gave it to *Porus* his ally ^b.

The Indians confederate against him.

IN the midst of all this success, *Alexander* received advice that the *Cathei*, *Oxydracæ*, and the *Malli*, the most warlike nations in *India*, were confederated against him, and had drawn together a great army. The king immediately marched to give them battle. In a few days he reached the city of *Sangala*, seated on the top of a hill, and having a fine lake behind it. Before this city the confederate *Indians* lay encamped, having three circular lines of carriages locked together, and their tents pitched in the centre. It was evident enough to the *Macedonians*, that the forcing of these people would be a work of great difficulty; however, *Alexander* resolved immediately to attack them; in pursuance of which resolution, he encamped as near as possible to their first intrenchment of carriages, and having taken a view of it, chose out a place which he thought the most proper for an attempt to be made on. The *Indians* made a noble defence, but at last the first line of their carriages was broken, and the *Macedonians* entered. The second was stronger by far, yet *Alexander* attacked that too, and after a desperate resistance, forced it; the *Indians* without trusting to the third, retired into the city, which *Alexander* would have invested; but the foot he had with him not being sufficient for that purpose, he caused his works to be carried on both sides as far as the lake, and on the other side of that, ordered several brigades of horse to take post; he likewise commanded the engines to be brought up for battering the walls, and in some places employed miners. The second night he received intelligence

^b ARRIAN. DIODOR. JUSTIN. CURT. PLUT. in vit. Alex.
that

that the besieged, knowing the lake to be fordable, intended making their escape through it. Upon this he ordered all the carriages which had been taken on forcing their camp to be placed up and down the roads in order to hinder their flight, giving directions to *Ptolemy*, who commanded the horse on the other side of the lake, to be extremely vigilant, and to cause all his trumpets to sound, that the forces might repair to that post where the *Indians* made their great effort. These precautions had all the effect he could wish; for of the few *Indians* who got through the lake, and passed the *Macedonian* horse, the greater part were killed on the roads; but the gross of their army was constrained to retire through the water again into the city. Two days after the place was taken by storm, in which seventeen thousand *Indians* were killed, seventy thousand taken prisoners, with three hundred chariots, and five hundred horse. *Alexander* is said to have lost but a hundred men in the siege, but he had twelve hundred wounded, and amongst them many persons of distinction. This done, he sent *Eumenes* his secretary with a party of horse to acquaint the inhabitants of the cities adjacent of what had befallen the *Sangalans*, with a promise that they should be kindly treated, if they submitted; but they were so much affrighted at what had happened to their neighbours, that all *Eumenes's* good words and promises were lost upon them, in so much that, abandoning all their cities, they fled into the mountains, chusing rather to expose themselves to wild beasts, than to those invaders, who treated their countrymen so cruelly. When the king was advised of this, he sent detachments of horse to scour the roads, and these finding aged, infirm, and wounded people, to the number of about five hundred, put them to the sword without mercy. Perceiving that it was impossible to retrieve the inhabitants of this country, he razed *Sangala*, and gave the territory to the few *Indians* who had submitted to him. These points once settled, he prepared to pass the river *Hyphasis*, having nothing in view, as *Arrian* tells us, but still to seek out new enemies, when he had subdued the old ones.

THE chief reason which induced the king to think of this expedition was, the informations he had received of the state of the countries beyond this river. He was told, that they were in themselves rich and fruitful; that their inhabitants were not only a very martial people, but also very civilized; that they were governed by the nobility, who were them-

His resolution to pass the Hyphasis.

^c *ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 25. DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.*

selves subject to the laws ; and that, as they lived in happiness and freedom, it was likely they would fight obstinately in defence of those blessings. He was farther told, that among these nations there were the largest, strongest, and most useful elephants bred and broke ; he was fired with an earnest desire of reducing such bold and brave people under his rule, and of attaining to the possession of the many valuable things that were said to be amongst them. As exorbitant as his personal ambition was, he found it impracticable to infuse any part of it into the minds of his soldiers, who were so far from wishing to triumph over new and remote countries, that they were highly desirous of leaving those they had lately conquered, and returning to their own. When therefore they were informed of the king's intentions, they privately consulted together in the camp on the situation of their affairs ; at this consultation, the gravest and best of the soldiery held down their heads, wept and lamented their misfortune, that the king should make use of them, not as lions, who fall fiercely on those by whom they are injured, but as mastives to fly upon and tear such as were shewn them for enemies by their master ; the rest were not altogether so modest, they expressed themselves roundly against the king's humour of leading them from battle to battle, from siege to siege, and from river to river ; protesting that they would follow him no farther, nor lavish away their lives any longer to purchase fame for him. *Alexander* was a man of too much penetration not to be early in perceiving that his troops were very uneasy ; he therefore harangued them from his tribunal, and, if we might depend upon them, *Arrian* and *Curtius* both have given us the substance of that harangue ; but they differ widely from each other, and the frame of each of the speeches agrees exactly with the genius of the author, in whose works we find it. That in *Arrian* is grave, solid, and at the same time very specious ; whereas that in *Curtius* is copious, florid, and full of strong rhetorical figures, which serve rather to amaze than to persuade : We may therefore reasonably suppose, that *Arrian* and *Curtius* composed each his harangue ; as to that of *Alexander*, it turned probably on the same general heads with theirs, and consisted in a warm representation of the glory that would redound to them, if, after conquering *Asia*, they went on to subdue the habitable world ; a recapitulation of the victories they had already gained, and large promises of vast rewards and gratifications, if they continued to be the companions of his labours, and enabled him to maintain the character of invincible, which as
the

the son of *Jupiter* the oracle of *Hammon* had bestowed upon him. His eloquence was great, and the love his army had for him was yet very strong ; however, they did not relent, but remained sullen and silent, and at last turned their eyes on *Cœnus*, an old experienced general, whom *Alexander* loved, and in whom the army confided. He had generosity enough to undertake their cause, and to tell *Alexander* frankly, that men endured toil and labour in hopes of repose ; that the *Macedonians* were already much reduced in their numbers ; that of those who remained, the major part were invalids, and that they expected, in consideration of their former services, he would now lead them back to their native country ; an act which of all others would contribute most to his own great designs, since it would encourage the youth of *Macedon*, and even of all *Greece*, to follow him in whatever new expedition he should please to undertake, whether to the north or to the south, against the *Indians* beyond *Hyphasis*, or the unknown nations bordering on the *Hyrcanian* sea. The king was far from being pleased with *Cœnus*, and much less satisfied with the disposition of the army, which continued buried in a deep silence. He therefore dismissed the assembly ; but the next day he called another, wherein he told the soldiers roundly, that he would not be driven from his purpose, that he would proceed in his conquests with such as would follow him voluntarily ; as for the rest, he would not detain them, but leave them at their liberty to go home to *Macedon*, where they might publish that they had left their king in the midst of his enemies. Even this expedient had no success, his army was so thoroughly tired of long marches and desperate battles, that they were unanimously determined to go no farther, either for fair speeches or foul. The king thereupon retired to his tent, where he refused to see his friends, and put on the same gloomy and discontented temper which reigned among his forces. For three days things remained in this situation ; at last the king suddenly appeared, and as if he had been fully determined to pursue his first design, he gave orders for sacrificing for the good success of his new undertaking. *Aristander* reported after the sacrifices were over, that the omens were altogether inauspicious ; upon which the king said, *That since his proceeding farther was neither pleasing to the gods, nor grateful to his army, he would return.* When this was rumoured among the army, they assembled in great numbers about the royal tent, saluting the king with loud acclamations, wishing him success in all his future designs, giving him

him at the same time hearty thanks ; *For that he, who was invincible, had suffered himself to be overcome with their prayers* ^d (E).

Alexander,

^d ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 25—29. DIODOR. lib. xvii. Olymp. cxiii. 2. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. l. ix. c. 5—10. JUSTIN lib. xii. c. 8.

(E) *Diodorus Siculus* insists largely on the battle between *Alexander* and *Porus* ; he tells us, that king was so wounded, that he fell from his chariot to the ground, that he lost in the engagement twelve thousand men, and that of the *Macedonians* there fell two hundred and eighty horse and seven hundred foot : After this he describes the countries through which *Alexander* passed, and the singularities observable in them. He asserts the *Hyphasis* to be seven furlongs over and six fathoms deep ; and he tells us, that *Alexander* was informed, that if he continued his march, he would meet with a desert twelve days journey over, and then the river *Ganges*, the largest and deepest in *India* ; on the other side of which, he would find *Xandranes* king of the *Gangarides* at the head of an army of twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, two thousand chariots, and four thousand elephants. The king looking upon this story to be a mere romance, sent for *Porus*, and charged him to tell him the truth, who assured him, that the thing was so, and that he was not imposed on. These accounts, joined to the hardships they had endured, induced the *Macedonians* to refuse to be led farther, which at first exceedingly displeased the king ; but when he found they could not be moved, he consented to return, having first given orders that they should first erect twelve altars, each fifty cubits high, to draw a trench round his camp fifty foot broad and forty deep, casting up out of the earth, which was dug from thence, a very strong retrenchment on the inside ; every foot soldier was likewise directed to provide two beds of five cubits ; and all the cavalry, besides these beds, were ordered to put up a manger twice as big as the ordinary size ; these things were done to amuse posterity, and to make them believe that *Alexander* had led an army above the common standard of men into *India* (81). — *Plutarch* says expressly, that the battle with *Porus* took off the edge of the *Macedonian* courage, and made them unwilling to meddle any more with the *Indians*, especially when they heard that beyond the *Ganges* the kings of the *Gangarides* and *Præfians* had assembled eighty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, eight thousand armed chariots, and six thousand fighting elephants. Our author assures us, that this was no vain report ; for that *Andracottus* ; who was then a youth, and

(81) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*

saw

Alexander, having once resolved to make the *Hypbafis* *The king is* the limits of his conquests, divided his army; and having prevailed ordered on to return.

saw *Alexander* in his camp, lived afterwards to conquer all these countries with an army of six hundred thousand men, and made *Seleucus* a present of five hundred elephants at once; which prince was often heard to say, that if *Alexander* had pursued his design, he would in all probability have succeeded, the king then reigning in those parts being hated for his cruelty, and despised for the meanness of his birth. We have also from *Plutarch* an account of *Alexander's* causing arms of an extraordinary bigness, managers of an excessive largeness, and bits for bridles of unusual size to be left behind in his camp, when he was compelled by his soldiers to think of returning (82).—*Strabo* in his description of *India* agrees very well with *Diodorus*, relating almost the same things which he does: We have in both stories of venomous serpents, of a nation putting children to death for want of comeliness and well-proportioned limbs, and dogs so strong, and of such spirit, that they encounter lions, with many other tales of the like nature taken from *Onesicritus*, who was indeed the captain of *Alexander's* galley, but had the honour also to outlye every author that meddled with his history, which was in truth no ordinary performance (83).—*Curtius* in the main agrees pretty well with the authors mentioned in this note; however, he differs in certain circumstances; some of no great moment, and some which deserve notice. He makes the distance from the *Hypbafis*, which he stiles *Hypafis*, and the *Ganges*, eleven days journey; he calls the king of the *Gangaridæ*, *Aggrannes*, and says he had twenty thousand horse, two hundred thousand foot, three thousand chariots, and three thousand elephants. In relating the sedition in the *Macedonian* camp, he hath inserted rhetorical speeches of excessive length; as to the extraordinary altars, arms, and beds, he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* (84).—*Justin* gives a short, but very magnificent detail of the battle with *Porus*, whose character he has raised more in a line or two, than many authors in pages; he places the *Gangaridæ* amongst the nations conquered by *Alexander*, and says, that when he came with his army to engage the *Cupbites*, the *Macedonians* perceiving they were to fight with two hundred thousand horse, intreated him to spare the small remains of the forces his father had made use of, and allow them the moderate favour of carrying home their mangled carcasses to be buried in the sepulchres of their ancestors, to which reasonable request he at length with much ado assented (85).—*Polyænus*

(82) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*(83) *Strab. Geogr. lib. xv.*(84) *Curt. lib. ix. c. 2. & seq.*(85) *Justin. lib. xii. c. 8.*

amongst

ordered twelve altars to be erected equal in height, and exceeding in breadth redoubts of an ordinary size, he caused sacrifices to be offered on them; and having exhibited public shews after the *Grecian* manner, he added all the conquered country to the dominions of *Porus*, and then began his march towards the river *Hydraotes*; from thence he marched on to the *Acesines*, where he found the city which he had directed *Hephestion* to build, to which he invited all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and left also therein such of his mercenaries as were infirm, and desired to reside there. *Abissares*, a petty king, who had submitted to him in his march this way, and whom the king had ordered to repair to him, sent deputies to excuse himself on account of sickness, which excuse the king was pleased to accept, because that prince had sent the thirty elephants which he had promised, and offered to submit to what-ever terms the king should impose. *Alexander* therefore ordered *Arfaces*, president of the province adjoining to his dominions, to inspect his conduct; and having settled the tribute he should pay, marched on to the river *Hydaspes*, where finding the new cities, *Nicea* and *Bucephala*, somewhat damaged by the great rains which had fallen in his absence, he ordered his soldiers to repair them, gave the necessary directions for the security of his conquests, and then addressed himself to the care of the preparations necessary for passing down the river *Indus* into the ocean * (F).

THE

* ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 1—3.

amongst many instances of *Alexander's* wisdom and military skill mentions several which happened in his *Indian* war, amongst others the passage of the river *Hydaspes* and the battle with *Porus*; the success of the former of which he attributes to the king's invention, and the victory obtained over the latter to the masterly disposition *Alexander* made of his troops before the engagement (86). This we have fully explained in the text, and it is without question one of the noblest acts which stands recorded of this conqueror.

(F) *Alexander's* design was to sail down the *Hydaspes* to its junction with the *Acesines*, and then through the *Acesines* into the *Indus*, and through the last mentioned river to the ocean. As the king was a diligent inquirer into whatever regarded natural history, when he first arrived in these parts, he from general informations took up a very odd opinion; it was this, that he had

(86) *Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. iv. c. 3, 4, 5, 9.*

THE care taken by *Alexander* for the execution of this project, shewed much more prudence than the project itself, he had ordered vast quantities of timber to be felled in the neighbourhood of the *Hydaspes*, through which he was to sail

*Embarques
his army.*

found out the source of the *Nile*. The grounds of this mistaken notion were these: *Alexander* had seen in the river *Indus* crocodiles, and on the banks of the *Acesines* such beans growing as in *Egypt*; putting these things together, he fancied that this great river, rolling on into vast deserts, lost in them its name; but entering again the well inhabited country of *Ethiopia*, was there called the *Nile*, and thence rolled down with the same name into *Egypt*. He was confirmed in this odd conjecture by *Homer's* calling the *Nile*, from its entering *Egypt* to its fall into the sea *Egyptus*; for this seemed to imply, that the same river running through different countries, acquired different names. At last he became so confident, that amongst other things which he wrote to his mother *Olympias*, he set down this; that he had found the springs of the *Nile*. But inquiring farther, and receiving full satisfaction that the *Indus* did not lose itself in any desert, but by two large mouths entered the ocean, he caused the passage before-mentioned to be struck out. It may to some seem strange, that we have insisted so largely upon a point which at first sight may seem trivial; our reason is this: Many have erred in the like manner with *Alexander*, though few have had the good sense to retract their errors like him, even when they have discovered them. The matter here stated is a fact, and a fact attended with very curious circumstances, sufficient to direct us in all cases of a like nature, and to engage us not to depend too much on the conjectures of the greatest men, and the greatest travellers, but to rely on them only for facts (87). A little before this his embarkation died *Cænis*, *Alexander's* old captain, and who had dared to take upon him the arduous employment of being the army's orator against the will of their prince; *Curtius* tells us, that *Alexander* was afflicted at his death, but that he could not help saying, *That he had made too long a speech, considering the short time he had to live*, with other things to the same purpose; However, he was interred with great solemnity, and if *Alexander's* sorrow was not over sincere, we may be sure that of the army was unfeigned; for they had now lost their best friend, as well as a most experienced general. *Diodorus* (88) and *Curtius*, in what they say of the king's passing down these rivers, vary in some respects from *Arrian*, and in others contradict him; but there is no need of troubling the reader with particular accounts, because they are matters of small importance, and such as have in them more of the wonderful, than of the credible or the useful (89).

(87) *Arrian. lib. vi. c. 1.*

(88) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.*

(89) *Curt. l. ix. Arrian. l. vi. c. 2.*

into the *Indus* ; he had caused the vessels with which he had passed over rivers to be brought thither ; and had assembled a vast number of artificers, capable of repairing, rebuilding and equipping his fleet, which, when finished, and in a condition to be launched, consisted of eighty vessels of three *banks of oars*, and of lesser ships and transports about two thousand. As for those who were to manage this fleet, he collected them out of the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, *Carians*, and *Egyptians* following his army, and who were held to be perfectly well versed in all the branches of the *nautic art*. As for the disposition of the army, it was settled thus ; the archers, *Agrians*, the light-armed foot, and some horse, he took on board the fleet ; *Craterus*, with a body of horse and foot, marched on the right-hand *bank* ; *Hephestion*, with the major part of the army, and two hundred elephants, on the left-hand. *Nearchus* was admiral of the whole fleet ; and *Onesicritus* captain of the royal galley. When all things were ready, the army embarked about break of day, the king, in the mean time, sacrificing to the gods, according to the rites used in his own country, and to those of that country where he now was. Then he himself went on board, and causing the signal to be given by sound of trumpet, the fleet began to move. *Craterus* and *Hephestion* had marched some days before. From the third day, we are informed by *Arrian*, *Alexander* came to that part of the river which was over-against their camps. Here he had information, that the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli* were raising forces to oppose him ; whereupon he determined to reduce them, for he made it a rule with him in the course of this voyage, to compel the inhabitants on both sides the river to yield him obedience ; but, before he arrived on the coasts of the people before-mentioned, he himself sustained no small danger ; for coming to the confluence of the *Acesines* with the *Hydaspes*, from whence both rivers roll together into the *Indus*, the eddies, whirlpools and rapid currents rushing with tremendous noise from the respective channels of those rivers into the great one formed by them both, at once terrified those who navigated his vessels, and actually destroyed many of the long vessels, with all who were aboard them ; the king himself being in some danger, and *Nearchus* the admiral not a little at a loss. As soon as this danger was over, and the fleet and army had once more joined, he went himself on shore, and having ordered his elephants, with some troops of horse and archers, to be carried a-cross, and put under the command of *Craterus*, he then divided his army on the left-hand bank into three bodies ; the first commanded by him-
self

self; the second by *Hephestion*; the third by *Ptolemy*. *Hephestion* had orders to move silently through the heart of the country five days march before the king, that if, on *Alexander's* approach, any of the barbarians should attempt to shelter themselves, by retiring into the heart of the country, they might fall into the hands of *Hephestion's* forces. *Ptolemy Lagus* was commanded to march three days behind the king, that if any escaped his army, they might fall into *Ptolemy's* hands. As for the fleet, it had orders to stop at the confluence of this river with the *Hydraotes*, till such time as these several corps should arrive.

Alexander himself, at the head of a body of horse and light-armed foot, marched through a desert country against the *Malli*, and scarce affording any rest to his soldiers, arrived on the third day at a city into which they had put their wives and children for security, and a good garison for their defence. These people having no apprehension that the king would attempt to march through a barren country, were all unarmed and in confusion. Many of them therefore were slain in the field; the rest fled into the city, and shut the gates. But this only protracted their fate for a small time; for the king having ordered the city to be invested by his horse, attacked it, and, with some loss, took both it and the castle by storm, putting all he found therein to the sword. He sent at the same time *Perdiccas* with a considerable detachment, to invest another city of the *Malli* at some distance; but when he arrived, he found it abandoned; however, he pursued the inhabitants, who had but lately left it, and slew numbers of them on the road. After this the king took several other cities, not without considerable resistance; for the *Indians* sometimes chose to burn their houses, and themselves therein, rather than surrender. He seems, in respect to this nation, to have acted with more than ordinary resentment, hunting them rather as beasts, than fighting with them as men, and taking pains to cut off not only such as resisted him, but those who fled into woods and deserts to escape him. At last he marched to their capital city, and, finding that abandoned, he proceeded to the river *Hydraotes*, where he found fifty thousand men encamped on the opposite bank. He hesitated not to enter the river, though he had with him only an inconsiderable party of horse; and the *Indians* were so affrighted at his presence, that even with all these troops they retired; but when they saw how few accompanied the king, they returned, and charged him; but

*He reduces
the Malli.*

^f ARRIAN, l. vi. c. 6, & seq. DIODOR. ubi supra.

by this time the rest of his forces were passing the river, so that the *Indians* were constrained to retire to a city which lay behind them, which *Alexander* invested that very night. The next day he stormed the city with such violence, that the inhabitants were compelled to abandon it, and to retire to the citadel, where they prepared to make a very resolute defence. The king instantly gave orders for scaling its walls, and the soldiers prepared to execute those orders as fast as they could; but the king, who was impatient, catching hold of a ladder, clapped it against the wall, and mounted it himself, covering his body with his shield, *Pencestas* following him, after him *Leonatus*, all by the same ladder. *Abreas*, a man of great courage, who, on that account, had double pay allowed him, mounted by another. The king, having gained the top of the battlements, cleared them quickly of the defendants, killing some of them with his sword, and pushing others over the walls; but, when he had done this, he was in more danger than ever, for the *Indians* from the adjacent tower, galled him with their arrows, though they durst not come near enough to engage him. His own battalion of targeteers mounting in haste to second him, broke the ladders; which when *Alexander* perceived, he threw himself down into the castle, as did also *Pencestus*, *Leonatus*, and *Abreas*. As soon as the king was on the ground, the *Indian* general rushed forward to attack him, whom the king slew presently with his sword, as he did several of those who followed him; upon which the rest retired, and contented themselves with throwing stones and darts at him at a distance. *Abreas* was struck into the head with an arrow, and fell upon the spot, and shortly after another struck through the king's breast-plate into his body. As long as he had spirits he defended himself valiantly, but, through a vast effusion of blood, losing his senses, he fell upon his shield. *Pencestas* then covered him with the sacred shield of *Pallas* on one side, as did *Leonatus* with his own shield on the other, though they were themselves dreadfully wounded. The soldiers on the out-side, eager to save their prince, supplied their want of ladders, by driving large iron pins into the walls. By the help of this contrivance many of them ascended, and threw themselves over, where some covering the body of the king, compelled the *Indians* to retire, and others having pulled down the bars, broke down a gate between two towers, and thereby gave admittance to their companions. The soldiers, in the heat of their resentment, put all that they found to the sword, women and children not excepted. Then they took up the king, and bore him away upon his shield to the camp. There he continued,

continued for some time in so weak a state, that his recovery was very doubtful. The news of this accident having reached the camp on the river side, where was the head quarters of the whole army, it struck such a panic, that they scarce knew what to do; for they immediately reckoned that he was dead; and when, from time to time, they were informed that he grew better, they attributed this to the arts of the general officers who were about him, nor would they suffer themselves to be convinced, even when they received advice that he was returning to the army. The king was perfectly sensible of all the mischiefs which might attend these fears and apprehensions of his soldiers: As soon therefore as his health would permit, he caused himself to be put on board his galley, and rejoined his forces. When he came to the camp, and shewed himself, both on horseback and on foot, the soldiers gathering round him, eagerly kissed not only his hands and his knees, but his feet and his robes, and resumed in a moment that courage and alacrity which had hitherto rendered them invincible. The officers, however, of the first rank, who were *Macedonians* by birth, after the first compliments were over, did not spare to tell the king, that he had done very much amiss in hazarding his person after such a manner. At which *Alexander*, who was no longer a lover of truth, was very much displeased; but received into his favour, and ever after treated with the greatest kindness, an old *Bæotian*, who told him, to sooth his vanity, that such extraordinary attempts became a hero ⁶ (G).

THE

⁶ ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 12, 13. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. CURT. l. ix. c. 14, & seq. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 9.

(G) *Arrian*, speaking of the king's misfortune, vindicates his own credit, and that of his history. He tells us, that it is not certain, whether a physician or *Perdiccas* opened the king's wound, and drew out the arrow; but he assures us, that a great effusion of blood happened at that time, and that the king's fainting saved his life; for the blood then stopping, gave them time to apply medicines and bandages, for want of which he must otherwise have perished. He then acquaints us, that many strange things relating to this accident are to be found in historians, who, drawing their materials from romantic memoirs, were in danger of deceiving posterity, if no stop were put to that way of writing. He proceeds to give many instances of the flights of such kind of writers, and then returning to the fact before us, takes notice, that it was the vulgar opinion, that *Alexander* received his wound before the

The Malli
and Oxy-
dracæ sub-
mit.

THE Malli being by this time convinced, that nothing but submission could save the small remainder of them, sent their deputies to beseech *Alexander* to forget what was past, and to accept of the dominion of their country, which they offered him. At the same time arrived deputies from the *Oxydracæ*, to tender their submission. They had formerly entered into an alliance with the *Malli*, to oppose *Alexander*, and put a stop to his conquests; and, in order thereto, they assembled a great army, with which they proposed to have joined the forces of the *Malli*; but *Alexander's* marching through a desert, and thereby entering the country of the last mentioned people, when they did not in the least expect it, rendered this project impracticable; and the ruin which then fell upon the *Malli*, induced this other *Indian* nation to seek their safety by a timely compliance with the king. Their deputies therefore acquainted him, that, not out of any disrespect to his person, but merely from the love of liberty, they had hitherto declined submitting to him; but that now they were ready to accept of such terms as he should please to give them. *Alexander* commanded, that they should send him no less than a thousand of the principal men among them to serve in his army, and to remain as hostages for the fidelity of the rest. As for the *Malli*, he added them to *Philip's* province, commanding him to have a strict eye over them. While he continued in this camp at the confluence of the *Hydraotes* with the *Acesines*, for the recovery of his health, and in expectation of *Perdiceas*, the thousand men he

the capital of the *Oxydracæ* (90). It is not easy to pronounce what was *Diodorus's* opinion; for in many copies we have *Syracusians* instead of *Oxydracians*. However, it is most probable, that he held that which *Arrian* (91) calls the vulgar opinion, in which he is followed by *Curcius* (92). *Plutarch* is right as to the place; but he is among the number of those authors, who report, that the king received a blow with a club upon his helmet, which so stunned him, that a mist seeming to fall over his eyes, he fell down; but, recovering his spirits, rose again, and continued fighting till he was shot in the breast (93); yet *Ptolemy*, who could not but be well informed, wrote expressly, that he was only wounded in the breast (94). We might insist here on many other particulars, which, to avoid prolixity, we chuse to omit. These are sufficient to shew what care ought to be taken in writing the history of *Alexander*, and how dangerous it is to trust any author too much.

(90) *Arrian. l. vi. c. 2.* (91) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii.* (92) *Curt. l. ix.* (93) *Plut. in vita Alex.* (94) *Arrian. ubi supra.*

had demanded of the *Oxydracæ* arrived, together with five hundred chariots of war, properly harnessed and equipped; which being over and above his demand, and a free gift of the people, he was so pleased therewith, that he gave the whole thousand men leave to return home, adding, that the faith of so generous a nation was a full security for their obedience. These affairs settled, he employed his thoughts first about augmenting his fleet, to which end he caused several new vessels to be built, as also in erecting a city; to which he was led from the commodious situation afforded by the confluence of two great rivers. *Oxyartes*, the father of his wife *Roxana*, came hither to pay his respects to him, and was kindly received, having the government of *Paropamis* bestowed upon him, the old governor having been displaced for male-administration. To this province, that he might further gratify his father-in-law, the king joined all the country, from the falling of the *Aceſines* into the *Indus* to the sea, joining *Python* with him in commission; then having transported *Craterus* and his forces cross the river, and giving him such directions as he thought fit, *Alexander*, with a larger part of his army than before, embarked on board his fleet, and continued his voyage. He had received information, that the kingdom of *Musicanus*, which lay at no great distance, was one of the richest and most populous in *India*. He was therefore highly incensed, that this prince should neither have sent ambassadors to make his submission, nor have taken any other method to bespeak his favour; and for these reasons would not hear of making any stop or stay till his fleet arrived on the coasts of this kingdom. *Musicanus*, surprised at his sudden visit, immediately went forth to meet him, with all his elephants in his train, and, having offered him presents of the highest value, delivered himself and realms into his hands, and acknowledged his offence; which kind of behaviour always weighed much with *Alexander* towards obtaining whatever was requested. Having therefore pardoned him, and admired at the wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, he delivered the government of both again into his hands; but, lest he should attempt any innovation when he was at a distance, he ordered *Craterus* to build a castle in the city, and himself tarried there to see it finished. This done, he left a strong garison therein; because this fort seemed extremely commodious for bridling the neighbouring nations, and keeping them in subjection. Then, with his archers and *Agrians*, and all the troops of horse which he had on board his navy, he marched against a neighbouring prince named *Oxycanus*, and invaded his dominions; because he neither came forth to meet him, nor sent embas-

fadors

fadors with the surrender of himself and country. He took two of his chief cities at the first assault, in one of which the king himself was taken prisoner. *Alexander* gave the spoils of them to his soldiers, and carried away his elephants; whereupon all the other cities belonging to *Oxyconus* immediately submitted without blows. So much did the courage and fortune of *Alexander* prevail against the *Indians* in those parts. After this he led his forces against *Sambus*, whom he had before declared governor of the *Indian* mountaineers; but who had fled, when he heard that *Musicanus* was dismissed in a friendly manner, and had his dominions restored; for he was at enmity with *Musicanus*. When *Alexander* approached the capital city of his province, called *Sindomana*, the gates being set open, the friends and domestics of *Sambus* came forth to meet him, with presents of money and elephants, assuring him, that *Sambus* did not retire out of his territories by reason of any sinister designs against him, but for fear of *Musicanus* after his enlargement. Having then received the homage of these, he attacked, and won a city which had revolted from him, and put to death as many of the *Brachmans* as fell into his hands, having charged them with being the authors of this rebellion. About this time he received advice, that king *Musicanus* was revolted; whereupon *Python* the son of *Agenor* was dispatched with a body of troops sufficient to reduce that kingdom again, which he performed effectually, distributing garisons throughout all the country, and bringing with him, on his return to the camp, *Musicanus* in chains. *Alexander* directed that prince to be carried back into his own dominions, and there crucified, together with all the *Brachmans* who were about him, and had instigated him to this revolt ^h (H).

THE

^h ARRIAN. I. vi. c. 15, & seq. DIONOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Alex.

(H) *Diodorus*, from the embarkation of *Alexander* to his entering the territories of *Sambus*, hath abundance of passages which are not to be found in *Arrian*. The reason seems to be, because they are either ill-founded or trivial (95). *Curtius*, however, hath transcribed the same tales very carefully, and, as usual, with some improvements (96). But, what is not a little odd, neither of these writers have obliged us with any distinct account of *Alexander's* war with *Musicanus*, though they have both mentioned it slightly. *Strabo* treats of it accurately, as indeed he does of every thing, of

(95) *Diodor. ubi supra.*(96) *Curt. ubi supra.*

which,

THE king of *Pattala*, a noble island in the river *Indus*, Alexander came and submitted himself to *Alexander*, who restored him his dominions, promising to come shortly and visit him, and directing him to furnish his army and fleet with provisions. The king then dispatched *Craterus* with a considerable body of horse and foot to escort the invalids through the countries of *Arachosia* and *Drangia* into *Caramania*, where they were to embark for *Macedon*, the elephants being also committed to his care. As to the rest of his army, part of it, under the command of *Python*, marched on one side of the river; another part, under *Hephestion*, on the other side; the rest remained on board with the king, who, as soon as his affairs would permit him, continued his voyage to *Pattala*. When he came thither, he was exceedingly surprised to find that the prince, who had lately submitted to him, was fled with almost all his subjects, leaving the cities empty, and the fields destitute of husbandmen. The king thereupon dispatched some

which, by his subject, he is led to treat at all. He informs us, that the subjects of this prince were a very wise and polite people; and therefore we need not wonder, that they could not long brook slavery (97). As to *Oxycanus*, *Diodorus* and *Curtius* are also very concise; however, they differ with *Arrian*, for they expressly affirm that the king was slain; whereas, he says, he was taken prisoner. *Diodorus* calls him *Porticanus*, and he is called so likewise in the best editions of *Curtius*. As to *Sambus*, whom *Diodorus* calls by the same name, but who is called by *Strabo* *Sabutas*, by *Plutarch* *Sabbas*, *Curtius*, who calls him *Sabus*, insists very largely (98), all authors agree, that the revolt of this prince was, by *Alexander*, charged upon the *brachmans*, whom he punished most severely for it, till such time as he became acquainted with their wisdom and generous notions; for then, if we may believe *Plutarch*, he revered and used them kindly, especially on account of an excellent maxim in government taught him by *Calanus*, one of the principal philosophers of the country; which happened thus: *Calanus*, through the intreaty of *Taxiles*, came, contrary to the custom of the *Indian* sages, to visit the king; and when *Alexander* desired to receive from him some mark of his extraordinary science, he called for a dry hide, and throwing it upon the floor, he first trod on this side, and then on that, which made it continually rise in one place, as it became flat in the other. At last he set his foot in the middle, which made the whole hide lie even; thereby instructing *Alexander*, that to keep so great an empire quiet, he ought to reside in its centre, and not make expeditions into remote countries, to endanger the rest of his dominions (99).

(97) *Diodor. Curt. ubi supra. Plut. in vita Alex. Strabo Geogr.*

l xv. (98) *Ubi supra. (99) Plut. ubi supra.*

light-armed troops, in order to make prisoners; which having done, and brought them to the camp, the king kindly dismissed them, ordering them to tell their countrymen, that they might safely return to their habitations; for that he would do them no injury whatsoever. Perceiving that, at the point of the island *Pattala*, the river *Indus* divided itself into two vast branches, he ordered a haven and convenient docks to be there made for his ships; and when he had careened his fleet, he sailed down the right-hand branch towards the ocean. In his passage however he sustained great difficulties through the want of pilots, and at the mouth of the river *Indus* very narrowly missed being cast away; yet all this did not hinder him from pursuing his first design, tho' it does not appear that he had any other motive thereto, than the vain desire of boasting he had entered the ocean beyond the *Indies*; and this is confirmed by what he performed when he did enter the ocean; for, having consecrated certain bulls to *Neptune*, and thrown them into the sea, performed libations out of golden cups, and thrown them also into the ocean, he came back again, having only surveyed two little islands, one at the mouth of the *Indus*, and one seated farther in the ocean: (1).

ON

¹ ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 18, 19. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(1) When *Alexander* sailed down the right hand branch of the *Indus*, he found its mouth to be there two hundred furlongs broad. Here the flux and reflux of the sea, with which himself and his principal commanders were unacquainted, exceedingly amazed them (100). *Curtius* has described their surprize in too rhetorical a manner, and for it has been severely censured (1). At this mouth of the river there lay an island, called by *Arrian* *Cillutas*; by *Plutarch* *Scillustis* (2). *Curtius* has given it no name. Here his fleet anchored, while himself sailed out farther to sea, and took a view of another island; after which he returned to his fleet, offered sacrifices on that island where he had left them, and afterwards sailed again beyond the other island, that he might boast of his daring exploits in the ocean. He then sacrificed once more to the gods, and besought them, says *Plutarch*, that no other man might exceed the bounds of his expedition (3); which carries in it little probability. What is said in the text of his sacrificing for the safety of *Nearchus*, who was to sail from thence through the *Persian* gulf to the mouth of the river *Euphrates*, is reasonable and just. It is said, when this design was first undertaken by *Nearchus*, that *Alex-*

(100) *Arrian*. l. vi. c. 19. (1) *Curt*. l. ix. c. 31. (2) *Plut.*
in vit. Alex. (3) *Idem ibid.*

On his return to *Pattala*, he found, that the commands he had issued when he left that place, were, in a great measure, complied with ; that the fort was in a defensible condition, and the dock capable of being made use of. He then resolved to sail down the other branch of the *Indus* into the ocean, that he might see whether it were safer and more commodious for his fleet than that which he had already tried ; nor did he fail of offering very plausible reasons for his conduct in this respect. He was informed, that the season of the year would not permit a favourite design of his to be executed ; which design was this : He had resolved to send *Nearchus* with his fleet by the ocean, through the *Persian* gulf, up the river *Tigris*, to meet him and his army in *Mesopotamia* ; but the possibility of this voyage depending on the ceasing of the *Etesian* winds, there was a necessity of laying up the fleet, till the season should prove favourable. *Alexander* therefore sailing through this branch of the *Indus*, sought on the sea-coasts for *Bays* and *Creeks*, where his fleet might anchor in safety ; he caused also pits to be sunk, that they might fill with fresh water for the use of his people, and took all imaginable precautions for preserving them in ease and safety, till the season would allow them to continue their voyage. In this he succeeded to his wish ; for he found this branch of the river *Indus* at its mouth, spread over the plain country, and formed a kind of lake, wherein a fleet might ride without any danger ; he therefore appointed *Leonatus*, and a part of his army, to carry on such works as were necessary, and cause them to be relieved, as occasion required, by fresh troops. Then having given his last instructions to *Nearchus*, he departed with his army, in order to march back to *Babylon* by land.

ander affected a degree of coldness. He who feared nothing for himself, had a mind to pass for one who was apprehensive of all things for his friends, and who could scarce think of exposing them to the peril of such a voyage, when he was not to share with them their dangers in person. But *Nearchus* overcame all these real or pretended scruples, by assuring the king, that he believed it very practicable for him to fulfil all that had been proposed ; and, on the other hand, *Alexander* was himself extremely cautious in providing for the safety of his fleet, by all the methods that human wit could devise, or human labour execute, as we have shewn in the text, therefore need not expatiate further on it here. The curious and inquisitive reader may, if he pleases, inform himself further on this head, from the authors mentioned at the bottom of the page (4).

(4) *Strab. Geog. l. xv. Arrian. Hist. Ind.*

Before his departure, there wanted not some who had so much love for him, and concern for his army, as to inform him that nothing could be more rash or dangerous than this resolution. They acquainted him that the country through which he was to travel was a wild uncultivated desert, where his soldiers would be doubly exposed to the danger of dying for hunger, and to the peril of being lost through heat and thirst; they added, that *Semiramis*, when she fled out of *India*, endeavouring to lead her army this way, brought but twenty of them home; and that *Cyrus* doing the same thing, escaped with but seven. This was so far from having the desired effect, that it more than ever determined *Alexander* to this very method; for it was his peculiar vanity to desire not only to overcome all nations, but even nature herself, and to attempt and perform those things which none but himself would have dared to think of. He remained therefore fixed to his first purpose, and as soon as he had put things in order, marched at the head of a convenient body of troops to reduce the *Oritæ*, who had been hitherto free, and who had never vouchsafed either to make submission, or to court his friendship; their territories lay on the other side the river *Arabis*, which river *Alexander* crossed so speedily, that they had no intelligence of his march, and so made an easy and quick conquest of the whole country, though not of the inhabitants, for most of them fled into the deserts. Their capital he found to be so well situated, that he resolved to take it out of their hands, and to cause a new and noble city to be erected there, the care of which he committed to *Hephestion*; then he received the deputies of the *Oritæ*, and the *Gadrofi*, and having assured them, that if the people returned to their villages, they should be kindly treated, and having appointed *Apollophanes* president of the *Oritæ*, and left a considerable body of troops under *Leonatus* to secure their obedience, he began his arduous march through *Gadrosia*. The most sober writers of the affairs of *Alexander* find themselves constrained to launch out a little into rhetorical descriptions of this more than *Herculean* labour, which the king imposed upon himself and his soldiers, merely that he might have the reputation of surpassing all the heroes of antiquity; we shall, as the nature of our work requires, give as distinct, but at the same time, as short an account of it as we may *.

The miseries sustained by the Macedonians. THE road itself was exposed to many inconveniencies: For, first, it was very uncertain; secondly, it was extremely
 * ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 21----27. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

ly troublesome on account of its lying through deep and loose sands, rising in many places into hillocks, which forced the soldiers to climb, and at the same time sunk under their feet : Thirdly, there were no towns, villages, or places of refreshment to be met with, so that after excessive marches, they were forced to encamp among these dry sands. As to provisions, they hardly met with any during their whole march ; the soldiers were therefore forced to kill their beasts of carriage ; and such as were sent to bring some corn from the sea-side, were so grievously distressed, that though it was sealed with the king's signet, they cut open the bags, chusing rather to die a violent death for disobedience, than to be famished. But *Alexander*, when he was informed of the matter, freely pardoned them, conceiving that his own commands were dispensed with by the necessities of nature ; he was likewise forced to overlook the excuses that were daily made him for the loss of mules, horses, &c. by excessive heat, which were in truth eaten by the soldiers, and their carriages broke in pieces to avoid farther trouble. As for water, their want of it was a great misfortune, and yet their finding it sometimes in plenty was a greater ; for as by the first they perished thro' thirst, so by the latter they were burst, thrown into dropsies, and rendered incapable of travel. Frequently they met with no water for the whole day together ; sometimes were disappointed of it at night, in which case, if they were able, they marched on, so that it was common with them to travel thirty, not seldom they were forced to march forty, sometimes they were constrained to go fifty, nay, and sixty miles without encamping ; numbers through these hardships were constrained to lag behind ; and of these, numbers, not to say few, for indeed scarce any ever joined the army again, but were left behind, and perished ; so that of all others, this was the most dreadful misfortune that had ever befallen them, which however they sustained with the more patience from the example of their king, who not only supported all these evils with invincible patience, but even carried his courage and self-denial farther, and performed such things as nothing but the authority of the authors who relate them could engage us to credit (K).

When

(K) These extraordinary acts of *Alexander* are recorded by *Arrian* after this manner. As the forces continued their march through these sands, which reflected the burning rays of the sun upon them, it was necessary that they should send out parties daily to seek for water ; the king though ready to faint away with thirst, marched

on

When he arrived at the capital of *Gadrosia*, he allowed his fatigued army some rest. Here he removed *Apollophanes* for non-execution of his orders. *Thoas* was the successor assigned him, and he dying soon after, *Sibyrtius* had the government given to him. About this time *Alexander* was informed that *Philip*, whom he had left president in *India*, had been murdered by the mercenary soldiers, but that most of these had been put to death by the *Macedonians*; which occasioned his writing to *Endemus* and *Taxiles* to take upon them the administration of affairs there, till such time as he should send another president. The king then began his march into *Caramania*, a very plentiful country, where the troops made themselves amends for the hardships and fatigue they had sustained. Here the king again halted to give time to those who were appointed to meet him to come thither. *Craterus* first joined him with the troops and elephants; then came *Stasanor*, president of the *Arrians*, and *Pharismanes* the son of *Phratta-*

on foot at the head of his troops, that his officers and soldiers, as is usual in such cases, might the more patiently endure those hardships which their general shared in common with them. In the mean while, some light-armed soldiers, who were dispatched to search for water, found a small quantity not far from the army in the channel of a brook almost dried up, but it was very muddy: However they drew it up, and bringing it in a shield, presented it to the king as a choice gift: He received it, and returning due thanks to those who brought it, poured it immediately upon the ground in presence of the army. This action of his encouraged the soldiers, as much as if every man had drank a share of that water, which he refused to taste; and his extraordinary self-denial is no less praise-worthy than the noble example he shewed of a wise and consummate general. Another accident happened here, which, if it had not been speedily remedied, might have occasioned the loss of the whole army; for the sands being moved to and fro by the winds, and all the surface reduced to a level, their guides themselves were at a loss how to conduct the army any further. In this difficulty *Alexander* was forced to proceed as chance directed him. However, he ordered his army to turn to the left, and himself with a few choice horse, went before to point out the road; but their horses quite spent with heat, were most of them left behind; insomuch that only he, with five of his followers, pass'd through the sands to the sea-shore safe on horseback. However on their arrival there, they dug nigh the coast and found plenty of water sweet and clear; whereupon he ordered the army thither, and after that travelled seven days along the sea coast, and always found plenty of water. Then his guides assuring him they knew the way again, they left the sea, and led the army into the inland parts (95).

(95) *Arrian lib. vii.*

Plut. in vit. Alex.

phernes

phernes, governor of *Parthia*; they brought with them camels, horses, and other beasts of burthen in vast numbers; for they foresaw, that the king's march through *Gadrosia* would be attended with the loss of most if not all the cavalry, and beasts belonging to his army. Their care in this respect was highly commended, as also that of *Craterus*, who seized *Ordones* a *Persian* nobleman, who had been practising to raise a rebellion¹.

THE king's return into *Caramania* made a vast alteration *The male* in the affairs of his empire; for as from the moment he entered it, he heard and redressed all grievances, so the people *adminis-* from all the neighbouring provinces, who had been grievously *tration of* oppressed in his absence, came readily to inform the king *governors* of their griefs. *Clitander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracon*, who had *punished by* since the death of *Parmenio* commanded in chief the forces *the king.* quartered in *Media*, came hither with their troops; and were hardly arrived, when they were accused of many flagrant crimes, such as suppressing the *Persian* religion, extorting vast sums of money from the people, ravishing women, and in short giving a loose to their passions in all things. *Clitander*, and *Sitalces* being fully convicted, were immediately put to death; but *Heracon*, baffling his accusers, was acquitted, yet the inhabitants of *Susa* preferring a new charge against him, he was seized, convicted, and executed; which effectually fixed the affections of the people in all the provinces to *Alexander*, and at the same time obliged all the magistrates acting under him to behave as became them. The king after a short recess continued his march through *Caramania*, not with a *Bacchanalian* solemnity, as some authors, and particularly *Plutarch*, have reported, but gravely, and in good order; as *Arrian* assures us from *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, who in their memoirs contradicted the vain relations which others took pains to propagate (L). In his march, *Nearchus* his
admiral

¹ ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 27. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

(L) *Diodorus Siculus*, after having given us a dreadful picture of the miserable condition of *Alexander's* army, when it returned out of *India*, tells us expressly, that as soon as they entered a rich and plentiful country, the king caused them to celebrate a feast to *Bacchus*, himself leading the dance, and the army following dressed in the *Bacchanalian* mode, seven whole days being spent in rioting and drunkenness (96). *Plutarch* heightens this scene a good deal, and runs into a long description of the pomp and splendor of this

(96) *Diodor. lib. xvii.*

admiral joined him, and gave him an account that all under his command were in perfect safety, and in an excellent condition; with which the king was mightily pleased, and having treated him with singular marks of favour and respect, sent him back to the navy. Some informations having reached the king's ear of great disorders committed in *Persia* during his absence, he immediately set out with a body of horse, and light-armed troops, for *Passargadae*, where was the tomb of *Cyrus*. It was a small, but neat pile of building, with a fine plantation about it; and near it a convenient house for some of the magi, who were appointed to take care of it. In the tomb itself lay the body of *Cyrus* in a coffin of gold; placed on a bed of state, the apartment being in every respect royally furnished. This place to his great con-

romantic cavalcade (97): *Curtius* exceeds *Plutarch*, and displays his rhetoric in a very pompous detail of this *Dionysian* festival. At the close of his account he has added some political reflections, which do indeed shew that such a march was excessively foolish and ridiculous, but at the same time bear so hard on the probability of the fact, that one would think they were sufficient to overthrow it. He observes, that if but one thousand men of courage had attacked this drunken and dissolute rout, they must at least have defeated, and might have easily cut them all to pieces (98). *Arrian* however assures us, that *Ptolemy* and *Aristobulus*, who accompanied the king in his march, said nothing in their memoirs of the celebrating any such festival (99): The great Sir *Walter Raleigh* (100), and the learned dean *Prideaux*, (1), both mention this march, without giving their readers the least notice, that there is reason to doubt what some authors have delivered about it. Nay, the latter actually quotes *Arrian* in support of this passage, which however he flatly contradicts. This shews the necessity of separating the relations of different authors; if we intend to instruct, and not to confound readers; and this shews too the use of a history written truly from what is delivered by the antients, and not after the collections of the moderns, who are too apt to regard the symmetry and beauty of their own works, to intersperse those doubts which necessarily arise from the consideration of divided authorities. We thought this no less necessary to be said in defence of our own work, than proper for the information of the reader, since we presume not to dissent from the opinions of men of so great worth as *Raleigh* and *Prideaux*, but for the sake of siding with truth and justice, which no authority ought to overbear.

(97) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (98) *Curt. lib. ix. prop. fin.* (99) *Arrian. lib. vi. c. 28.* (100) *History of the world, Book II. sect. 22.*
 (1) *Connection of the Old and New Testament. P. 1. B. 8. A. A. C. 325.*

cern and amazement he found rifled, all things valuable taken away, except the coffin, which was strangely battered and bruised. All the enquiry he could make produced no discovery of the authors of this villainy; for the magi either could not or would not declare by whom it was done. All that in such a case therefore the king could do, was to direct that every thing should be restored to the state it was in before this accident, which accordingly was done, and *Aristobulus* was appointed to see those orders executed. *Orsines* a *Persian* acted at this time as governor of *Persia*, not by any appointment from the king, but of his own head, the governor settled there by *Alexander* dying while he was in *India*; this *Orsines* was charged by the people with many grievous crimes, particularly with putting many persons of distinction to death, merely to gratify his own resentments. Upon which accusations, after due proofs exhibited, he was condemned to be crucified. This story by some authors is related in a very different manner, as if not he, but *Alexander* himself, had been the criminal; however, there seems to be no just grounds for any such charge, and therefore we may justly wonder that modern writers of great credit have given into it, and thence taken occasion to charge *Alexander* with a vice which the best authors tell us he vehemently detested (M). *Peucestas*, who had

(M) *Curtius* tells us, that *Orsines* the *Persian* was lineally descended from *Cyrus*; that he met the king with a most prodigious train of carriages filled with all sorts of provisions and refreshments; to which he added presents of great value, and four thousand talents in ready money. He was also, as the same author tells us, extremely liberal to *Alexander's* friends; but passed by *Bagoas* the eunuch, whom this author makes *Alexander's* catamite, without affording him any taste of his bounty. Nay, when he was put in mind of him by his friends, he answered, that he loved the king, and honoured his counsellors and captains; but as for such infamous fellows as *Bagoas*, he contemned and despised them; upon this the eunuch determined to destroy him, and for that purpose hired certain mean wretches to forswear themselves by vouching upon their oaths certain stories which he taught them. Himself took pains to poison the king's mind with the most malicious tales, and the most cruel suggestions against this innocent and worthy man, whom at length he took this opportunity to destroy: The king going to visit the tomb of *Cyrus*, which we have elsewhere described, found it robbed of every thing valuable. *Bagoas*, seeing *Alexander* surprised, immediately said, he wondered not at all at it, for that some governors were so rich, that their houses would not contain their wealth; and that in all probability *Orsines* would not have parted with his money so freely, if he had come by it very

had saved the king's life when he fought against a whole garrison, was appointed governor of *Persia*. Which dignity was no sooner conferred upon him, than he laid aside the *Macedonian* garb, and put on the *Median* habit, being the only one of *Alexander's* captains, who, by complying with the manners of the people he governed, acquired their affection. *Baryaxes* a *Mede*, who had put on the royal tiara, and assumed the regal style, being brought prisoner hither by *Atropates*, governor of *Media*, with those who had counselled him to revolt, was with them by order of the king put to death: After which *Alexander* marched to *Persepolis*, the ruins of which when he had a while considered, he is said to have expressed great concern for what he had done. In these marches, *Galanus* the *Indian*, who had accompanied *Alexander* at his intreaty, finding himself declining in health by reason of a flux which hung upon him, besought the king that a funeral pile might be prepared, which with some difficulty was granted. The sage, now so weak as to be carried in a litter, caused himself to be placed therein on the top of the pile, after having taken an affectionate leave of the *Macedonians*, particularly of *Lyfmachus*, who was his disciple, and stretching himself at full length, remained without voice or motion in the midst of the flames ^m.

Endea-
vours to
unite the
Macedo-
nians and
Persians.

THE king having dispatched *Atropates* to his government, marched himself to *Susa*, where *Abulites* and his son *Oxathres*

^m ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 3, 4, 5. DIOBOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

honestly. Then *Bagoas* put his false witnesses upon accusing *Orsines*, and on their testimony he was condemned and executed. *Curtius* tells us, that as he went to death, *Bagoas* struck him; and that thereupon *Orsines* said, *I have heretofore been informed that the Persian empire hath been governed by women; but that it should be ruled by an eunuch, is a new thing* (2). We are not able to trace any part of this story in any of the histories remaining of *Alexander's* life, excepting this of *Curtius*. *Arrian* says expressly, that *Orsines* was put to death for sacrilege, oppression and cruelty (3). *Plutarch* speaking of the robbery committed in *Cyrus's* tomb, says, that *Alexander* put to death *Polymachus*, a man of quality, and native of *Pella* in *Macedonia* (4). As to the fact, we can say no more; but as to the dying words, they certainly belong to *Curtius*, for *Orsines* could not possibly use them. He must have remembered the empire ruled by a namesake of this very eunuch; nay, he must have remembered this very eunuch in the highest favour with *Darius*. Let the reader decide of the rest as he thinks fit.

(2) *Curt. lib. x.* (3) *Arrian. lib. vi. cap. 30.* (4) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.*

being

being charged with great crimes in the administration of public affairs, were put to death. Afterwards the king gave an extraordinary loose to pleasure, resolving to make himself, his officers, and soldiers, an amends for the difficulties they had hitherto undergone, purposing at the same time so effectually to unite his new-conquered with his hereditary subjects, that the jealousies and fears which had hitherto tormented both should no longer subsist. With this view he took himself two wives of the royal blood of *Persia*, *Barsine*, or *Statira*, the daughter of *Darius*, and *Parisatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. *Drypetis*, another daughter of *Darius*, he gave to *Hephestion*; *Amastri* the daughter of *Oxyartes*, the brother of *Darius*, married *Craterus*; and to the rest of his friends, to the number of eighty he gave other ladies of the greatest quality. All these marriages were celebrated at once, *Alexander* himself bestowing fortunes on them; he directed likewise that the numbers of his officers and soldiers who had married *Asiatic* wives should be taken; and though they appeared to be ten thousand, yet he gratified each of them according to his rank. He resolved next to pay the debts of his army, and thereupon issued an edict, directing every man to register his name, and the sum he owed; with which the soldiers complying slowly from an apprehension that there was something else behind, he ordered tables heaped with money to be set in all the quarters of the camp, and caused every man's debts to be paid on his bare word; without so much as making any entry of his name; though the whole sum came to twenty thousand talents. On such as had distinguished themselves in an extraordinary manner, he bestowed crowns of gold. *Peucestas* had the first; *Leonatus* the second; *Nearchus* the third; *Onesicritus* the fourth; *Hephestion* the fifth; and the rest of his guards each of them one. After this he made other dispositions proper for conciliating, as he supposed, the differences among all his subjects. He reviewed the thirty thousand youths, whom at his departure for *India* he had ordered to be taught *Greek*, and the *Macedonian* discipline; expressing high satisfaction, that the fine appearance they made rendered them worthy of the appellation he had bestowed on them, viz. *Epigoni*, i. e. successors. He promoted also, without any distinction of nation, all those who had served him faithfully and valiantly in the *Indian* war. When all these regulations were made, he gave the command of his heavy-armed troops to *Hephestion*, and ordered him to march directly to the banks of the *Tigris*, while in the mean time a fleet was

*The Ma-
cedonians
mutiny.*

equipped at the *Euleus* for carrying the king and the troops he retained with him down to the oceanⁿ.

IT is clear from this short expedition, that *Alexander* began to have a great taste in maritime affairs, which had been too much neglected by his predecessors, his father *Philip* only excepted. It is said, that he meditated a voyage to the coasts of *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*, and thence round the whole continent of *Afric* to the streights of *Gibraltar*. However, of this there seems to be no great certainty; but that he really intended to subdue the *Carthaginians*, and make some attempt on *Italy*, is more than probable. When he arrived with his fleet in the ocean, he directed his course to the mouth of the river *Tigris*, which he entered, and sailed up to the camp of *Hephestion*, without meeting either with any extraordinary obstacle, or himself performing any thing worth recording, except that he directed certain engines to be removed, which the *Persians* had placed in the river to render it less navigable; for he conceiving this to be a cowardly and scandalous practice, worthy of the old masters of the river, though not of him, would not permit these incumbrances to remain any longer, and therefore set the river free. When the king came to *Opis*, a city seated on the *Tigris*, he issued an edict, purporting that such of the *Macedonians*, as through infirmity or wounds, were incapable of serving longer, or who through the hardships they had undergone, were unwilling to make any more campaigns, might have their discharges, and return home; but that such as chose rather to remain with him, should receive so great encouragement, that those in their own country should envy their condition; this was certainly intended to please the soldiers, and to make them perfectly easy: It had however a quite contrary effect; for as soon as the army was informed of his intent, they began immediately to clamour in an unusual manner, and to transgress all the bounds both of reason and duty; insomuch that when the king mounted his tribunal, they assembled round it, demanded, *That they might all be discharged, reproached the king with the favours he had done to the Barbarians, bid him take his dancing boys and conquer nations*; and some of them had the insolence to tell him, *That his father Hammon and he might go and subdue the world by themselves*. It was upon this occasion that the King performed the most shining action in his whole life; he leaped from his tribunal, and calling to his guards, made them seize one by one thir-

ⁿ ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 6. DIONOR. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.
CURT. lib. x.

teen of the ring-leaders, whom he pointed out, and ordered to be put to death upon the spot ; this struck such a terror into the rest, that they were all silent ; whereupon the king remounted his tribunal, and in an eloquent speech, shewed the justice of his own conduct, and the folly of theirs. When he had done speaking, he leaped again from his tribunal, and retired to his palace, where he neither put on his robes, nor admitted any of his friends for two days ; on the third he called the *Persian* nobility round him, promoted them to the principal commands in the army, and permitted such of them as were become his relations by marriage to kiss him. In the mean time, the *Macedonians* stood most of them about the tribunal like statues ; but when they were told that the king was forming a *Persian* army after the *Grecian* manner, and that he intended to give the title of the royal regiment to a *Persian* corps of horse, they ran like distracted people to the palace ; and surrounding it laid down their arms, offered to deliver up the authors of the sedition, and protested that they would remain there day and night, till the king had pity on them. When *Alexander* was informed of this, he came to the gate in order to speak to them ; but when he saw their arms upon the ground, and their dejected looks, he melted into tears, and lost the power of speaking. A quarter of an hour past in deep silence ; at last *Callines*, an antient man, who had served in an auxiliary troop of horse, broke it : *Thy Macedonians, O king!* said he, *are full of grief, because you have stiled the Persians your kindred, and have suffered them to kiss you, while they were excluded.* The king answered, *I now make you all my kindred, and henceforward will have you reputed so.* *Callines* thereupon stepping forward, kissed him, as did every one of the *Macedonians*. After this *Alexander* gave a solemn feast, at which were present nine thousand persons. The *Macedonians* sat next the king, next them the *Persians*, and after them persons of all nations. This vast company eat together, and drank all out of one golden cup, to the prosperity and perpetual affection of all the nations over whom *Alexander* was king °.

THE *Macedonians*, who were sent home as invalids, a-
 mounted to ten thousand : they had each of them their pay, der
 and a talent apiece given them over for their expences ; *Gra-* marches
terus was appointed their commander, and *Polysperchon* no- into Me-
 minated to assist him ; orders were likewise sent into *Mace-* dia.
donia, directing that these old soldiers should have great re-
 spect paid them, and themselves and their children enjoy large

° ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. CURT. & JUST. ubi supra.

privileges ;

privileges ; their sons however by *Asiatic* women the king retained, appointing them schools and masters at his own expence. The severity with which he punished such of the governors as had offended during his absence, as it extremely pleased the people in general, so it frightened such as were guilty, as those who were executed, insomuch that many of them fled. Amongst the rest, *Harpalus*, who had done so once before ; but now, to secure himself effectually, he took five thousand talents out of the king's treasury, and having collected about six thousand mercenary soldiers he left them at *Tanarus*, and went himself to *Athens* ; from whence, after some time, being obliged to withdraw, he returned to his troops, and was killed by *Thimbro*, one of his intimate friends. As for *Alexander*, having cured the army of sedition, he was plagued with disputes among his friends. *Hephestion* his favourite especially presumed too far on his kindness towards him, and had once the insolence to remove *Eumenes*, the king's secretary, and the man of the clearest head in his whole army, out of his lodgings, for the sake of a musician belonging to himself ; whereupon *Eumenes* went to the king, and in the height of his passion told him, *That the way to be in his favour now was to lay down their arms, and turn fiddlers.* The king was very angry with *Hephestion*, and after having reproved him sharply, obliged him against his will to be reconciled to *Eumenes*. Then the king continued his march through *Media*, in which as *Arrian* informs us, it was said that he received from *Atrobates* a troop of female warriors, who were supposed to be *Amazons* ; but the same author tells us, that no author of any dignity had presumed to publish such a story in his writings ; he therefore rejects it as a fiction, as we also do, nor shall we trouble the readers with what other authors relate of *Thalestris*, her corps of female warriors, and her desiring *Alexander* to get her with child ; tales fitter for a romance, than for any thing which bears the name of history, much less the history of *Alexander*, the most prosperous captain of the *Greeks*, once the most eminent and deserving people in the world. The cause of the king's march this way is not expressed by *Arrian*, or indeed by any other author ; but it may with probability be imputed to *Harpalus's* flight, and the danger there was, that the rest of the royal treasures might be dissipated ; however it was, the king continued his rout to *Ecbatana* by pretty quick marches ^P.

^P *ARRIAN*. lib. vii. c. 13. *DIODOR. SICUL.* lib. xviii. *PLUT.* in vit. *Alex.* *JUSTIN.* lib. xii.

ON his arrival at that noble capital, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and exhibited solemn sports and plays, making also a royal banquet on that occasion; but the joy and mirth, as well of the king as of his army, was very shortly interrupted by *Hephestion's* falling suddenly very ill, and appearing to be in great danger of death. Authors are not agreed as to the occasion of his sickness; some expressly affirming that he overdrank himself; others, that he took a surfeit; however on the seventh day of his illness mortal signs appeared, of which when the king had notice, he immediately quitted the place of exercise, where he was at that time, and went to see him; but he came too late, for before he reached his lodgings, *Hephestion* was dead. It is said, that his physician having prescribed him a low diet, he refused to comply with it, eat a boiled capon, and drank freely of some wine which he liked that day; whereupon his fever, returning with greater violence than ever, carried him off. The king expressed very deep concern for the loss of his friend, and did him all the honours that he could possibly devise. *Plutarch* says, he ordered ten thousand talents to be spent on his monument; *Arrian* mentions the same sum spent in his obsequies at *Babylon*: As for what *Ælian* tells us, that he razed the castle of *Ecbatana*, crucified *Hephestion's* physician, and forbade the sound of the flute, or any other musical instrument in his camp, it really deserves no credit¹. One thing *Arrian* informs us relating to this business, which is more probable, and at the same time more curious and better worth relating, viz. that all the great officers in *Alexander's* army devoted themselves and their arms to *Hephestion* at the motion of *Eumenes*, who took this method of shewing, that, far from being pleased at the death of a man who had differed with him, he was deeply concerned at it². In the neighbourhood of *Ecbatana* dwelt the *Cossians*, a race of rude and barbarous people, sheltering themselves in the *Median* mountains, and whom some writers affirm never to have been subdued by the *Persian* kings. Against these people on account of their having committed some new robberies, *Alexander*, though it was winter, resolved to march, which accordingly he did, dividing his army into two bodies, one under his own command, the other under that of *Ptolemy Lagus*. The *Cossians*, as soon as they entered their country, fled to their old hiding places, supposing they would be now, as they had been heretofore, so many inaccessible fortresses; but they were quite mistaken, for

¹ *ÆLIAN. Hist. Var. lib. ii. c. 41.*
supra.

² *ARRIAN. ubi*

Alexander

Alexander and *Ptolemy* continually pursued them, and at the head of the light-armed foot clambered up the rocks, and either compelled those who had taken shelter there to come down, or blocked up the mouths of their caves, and left them to starve. Whereupon the *Cossians* in despair sent deputies to submit themselves to *Alexander's* mercy. Some authors have affected to call this expedition man-hunting, and tell us, that *Alexander*, having slain many thousands of these poor people, called it offering a sacrifice to the manes of *Hephestion*. But if, as all authors agree, the *Cossians* were no better than a race of highland robbers, who, presuming on the natural strength of their country, thought to plunder such as passed through the skirts of it with impunity, with what propriety can the king's punishing these criminals be styled man-hunting? as to his sacrificing to the manes of *Hephestion*, we are told, that at *Babylon* he offered ten thousand beasts of different kinds to him; yet even this is taken from romanee-writers; for neither *Ptolemy* nor *Aristobulus* mention any such thing; what credit then ought we to give this story of sacrificing men? If we may be indulged a conjecture, we can offer some account of the origin of this tale. It is highly probable, that some of *Alexander's* officers might propose the undertaking of this expedition to cure his grief, and in all likelihood some rhetorical flourish, in his memoirs after *Alexander's* death, took from thence a hint of calling this a sacrifice to the manes of *Hephestion*, and, as is natural enough, some dull writer or other transcribed this flourish for truth. *Arrian* often complains of such things, and *Eratoſthenes* had before exposed them; we may therefore justly wonder when we find modern writers transcribing these improbable stories without giving their readers the least caution, or putting them in mind that they are taken from writers of doubtful credit. If the following a different method hath something lengthened this history, the judicious peruser will not complain, since it is certainly of equal importance to be acquainted with the authority on which facts are founded, as to be told the facts themselves^c. But to return to *Alexander*; while he was at *Ecbatana*, he gave orders for felling a great quantity of timber in the mountains for building a navy, with which he designed to examine the *Hyrceanian* or *Caspian* sea, and to make himself as thoroughly acquainted therewith, as he now was with the coasts of the ocean, and the passage into the *Tigris* by the *Persian* gulph. These directions given, and the necessary

^c ATHEN. Diepnosoph. lib. x PLUT. in vit. Alex. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

orders distributed for the quiet administration of affairs in the province, he set out for *Babylon*.

IN his march from *Ecbatana* to the last mentioned city, he Alexander gave directions for collecting whatever *Grecian* statues or o-marches to ther curiosities had been brought by *Xerxes* or any of his offi-Babylon. cers in any of their expeditions out of *Greece* into the *Persian* dominions, and ordered they should be carefully sent back. He likewise gave audience to many ambassadors, not only from the states of *Greece*, but also from *Barbarian* princes, who came to congratulate him on his safe return from his *Indian* expedition, giving them not only courteous and obliging answers, but also gratifying them in whatever requests they made him. When he drew near *Babylon*, the magi are said to have sent a deputation, requesting the king not to enter that city, because they foresaw that it would be fatal to him. Others say, that they were afraid to deliver the message they were charged with to the king himself, but that they applied themselves to *Nearchus*, who was then at court, and informed him of the king's danger; however it was, all agree that the king had notice of these predictions of the magi, and that at first they made great impression on him; but that when he had heard the *Grecian* philosophers reason upon this subject, he began to slight such things, and to return to his first resolution of marching directly to *Babylon*. When the *Chaldeans* found this, they offered the king another piece of advice, which was this; that if he would needs enter *Babylon*, he should march round it, and so enter it with his face towards the east. To this the king assented; but when he attempted to put it in execution, he found it impracticable, for the country, on the other side of *Babylon*, being a deep impassable marsh, he was constrained to return, and to enter it with his face to the west. This with some other presages, and unlucky omens, some of which fell out, and others were remembered about this time, gave the king great uneasiness (N). However, when he

(N) The presages referred to in the text are thus related by *Arrian*. *Aristobulus* tells us a strange story which happened to one of *Alexander's* men in this manner: When *Apollodorus* the *Amphipolitan*, one of the king's friends, who had been deputed to preside over the army, which was left for the security of the province, *Mazeus* being then governor, met him at his return from *India*, and perceived how severely he had treated several governors of provinces, he wrote to his brother *Pythagoras*, one of those augurs who gave answers by inspecting the intrails of beasts, and consulted him about his own safety. *Pythagoras* asked him in an-

he had been some time in *Babylon*, he resumed his former spirit, and began to bend his thoughts to the execution of certain vast designs he had formed, such as the conquest of the *Arabians*, the draining the *Babylonian* fens, and making a basin at *Babylon* capable of containing a thousand galleys. As to the first of these designs, he directed proper inquiries to be made concerning the country, people, and most proper

answer to his letter, of whom he principally stood in fear, that he might divine accordingly? and when he replied, that he chiefly dreaded *Alexander* and *Hephestion*, and when he saw the livers or fillets of the liver wanting, he wrote a letter, and sent it sealed to his brother *Apollodorus* then at *Ecbatana*, wherein he assured him he need not stand in fear of *Hephestion*, for he would shortly be taken off by death. And *Aristobulus* tells us, that *Apollodorus* received this letter the day before *Hephestion's* decease: Then *Pythagoras* again consulting for *Alexander*, and finding the fillets of the liver wanting thereto, wrote to the same purpose a second time to *Apollodorus*. He never so much as endeavoured to conceal the matter, but freely communicated the whole story to the king, as a testimony of his sincere good will towards him; and intreated him to beware of the danger which threatened. *Alexander* hereupon commended him for his fidelity, and when he entered into *Babylon*, he demanded of *Pythagoras* by what means he was informed of those things which he had written to his brother concerning him? and being answered, that the livers of the sacrifices offered for that purpose were defective; he again enquired what that portended? to which the augur replied, some great mischief. However, the king was so far from being offended at him, that he respected him the more for relating the whole matter to him simply and sincerely. *Aristobulus* tells us, that he received this story from *Pythagoras's* own mouth, who also afterwards inspected the intrails for *Perdiccas* and *Antigonus*, and gave the same responses, and the events happened accordingly; for *Perdiccas* was slain making war against *Ptolemy*, and *Antigonus* lost his life in a battle against *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*, at the river *Ipsus*. A strange story is also related concerning *Calanus the Sage*, to this effect: When he was carried towards the funeral pile, immediately before his death, he kissed all his friends, and took his leave of them, except *Alexander*, and when he drew near the king for that end, he refused to kiss, and take his leave of him then; but told him, he would find him again at *Babylon*, and do it there. These words were not at all regarded at that time by those who heard them; but the decease of *Alexander* afterwards at *Babylon* brought them fresh into their memories, and they then looked upon them as a prophecy of his death (5).

(5) *Arrian. lib. vii. c. 18.*

proper time for invading *Arabia*. For his third project, he instantly assigned a number of ship-builders, architects, and labourers to carry it on; and as to the second, he went in person down the *Euphrates*, about fourscore of our miles, to examine the canal called *Pallacopas*, by which the waters of the *Euphrates* were let out, in order to judge the better of the proposals he should receive for remedying those evils which fell so heavy upon *Assyria*. From thence he passed to the mouth of the canal, and so to the *Arabian* confines, where, finding an agreeable situation, he built a new city, and left in it a colony of *Greek* mercenaries. Then he determined to sail back through the marshes, having the city on his left hand. To shew the skill he had acquired in naval affairs, he directed the royal galley himself; but as he was upon deck for this purpose, his *tiara* and *fillet*, which, according to the eastern mode, he wore to denote his regal dignity, were blown off by the wind. The *tiara* by its weight was carried to the bottom of the river; but the *fillet* was borne by the winds to the sepulchre of one of the *Assyrian* kings, and there it stuck upon the reeds. A sailor seeing this, and being desirous to shew his zeal and courage in his master's service, jumped into the water, swam to the monument, and recovered the fillet. But being afraid that it might be wet as he swam back again, he put it upon his head, which was believed to increase the presage already held ominous enough^a. Some writers have informed us, that this sailor on his coming on board had a talent given him as a reward for his boldness, but that he was immediately put to death; but what *Aristobulus* says, besides the credit it derives from his saying it, is much more probable, *viz.* that he was rewarded with a talent for saving the fillet, and scourged for his indiscretion in putting it on his head. When the king returned to *Babylon*, he found there *Peucestas* who was come from *Persia* with twenty thousand regular troops, besides a considerable corps of *Cossians* and *Tapurians*, nations lately reduced. *Philoxenus* also arrived with an army out of *Caria*, *Menander* with a body of troops from *Lydia*, and *Menidas* with several squadrons of horse. Embassadors from *Greece* also arrived, who approached the king with garlands on their heads, and presented him with golden crowns, intending thereby to offer him divine honours, a thing which had been fatal to his father, and proved no less so to the son. He was extremely desirous of forming the *Persian* troops on the *Ma-*

^a ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 22. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii.

cedonian model, and having first appointed them officers of that nation, he next determined to incorporate them into his grand army. For this purpose, having directed a review, he assisted thereat for some time with great pleasure; but finding himself on a sudden very dry, he quitted his throne to go and take some refreshment. A mean fellow, who was a prisoner, but sometimes permitted to go without chains, seeing the royal seat empty, passed briskly through the eunuchs, and sat himself down on the throne. When the king was informed of this, he ordered the man to be seized, and examined whether any body put him upon this, or what was his motive, if he did it of his own accord. The man answered, that himself only was to blame, and that he did it from a levity of mind, for which he could not account. On this account the thing was held still the more ominous, and the unhappy wretch for his unaccountable presumption, immediately put to death. A few days after this, when he offered the accustomed sacrifices for the success of his affairs, and had added some new ones, by the advice of his soothsayers, he feasted his friends, and continued the banquet till late at night. He is also said to have given the flesh of the sacrificed beasts to his army, and ordered wine to be distributed among them, according to their numbers in each troop and company. Some authors add, that he was then willing to have retired from the banquet to his bed-chamber, but was met on his way by *Medius*, one of his friends at that time in high favour, who intreated him to go and make merry with him that night, for that the sports and entertainments in his apartment would not displease him. The royal diary gives us an account that he eat and drank with *Medius*, and then retired to rest, and when he awaked, and had washed and refreshed himself, he again supped with *Medius*, and drank till late at night. When he retired from the banquet, and had washed, he eat a little, and lay down there, because he had some symptoms of a fever. Afterwards he was carried in a chair to the temple, and there sacrificed after his usual manner, and this he repeated several days; and when the sacrifices were performed, he lay in an apartment prepared on purpose for him, till the evening. In the mean time he issued out orders to the captains of his troops to make ready for a march in four days time, and even nominated those who should travel on foot; but those that were to go on board the fleet with him were to prepare themselves gainst the fifth day. After this he was carried to the river, and being put on board one of his gallies,

gallies, was conveyed to some pleasant gardens on the other side, where, after he had washed, he went to rest. The next day he again bathed, and performed his accustomed sacrifices, which done, he entered his chamber, and held discourse with *Medius*, having given orders to his officers to attend him in the morning. He then supped moderately, and being conveyed to bed, had a continued fever upon him all that night. However, the next morning he again washed and sacrificed, and ordered *Nearchus* and the rest of his captains to prepare for sailing the third day. The next day he washed and sacrificed as before, but his fever still continued; notwithstanding which he again called his captains to him, and ordered all things to be made ready for a voyage, and having bathed, his fever increased towards the evening. The next day he was carried into a house adjacent to the bath, where he performed his usual sacrifices, and once more called his chief officers about him, to give orders concerning the intended voyage. The day following he was with great difficulty carried to sacrifice; however, he still continued to renew his orders, and notwithstanding he grew manifestly worse, could not be restrained from sacrificing the day after. He then commanded his chief officers to remain with him in the hall, and the inferior ones to wait at the gates, and growing still worse he was conveyed from the hall in the garden, where he then was, into the palace; and his chief officers approaching near to pay their attendance, he made signs, that he knew them, but was not able to speak, nor pronounce any thing articulate; and thus he remained all that night. The day following his fever still increased, and all that night and the next day continued strong and violent. The army by this time began to suspect that the king was dead; and as all crowds are violent in the pursuit of whatever they believe, they openly published this opinion of theirs, and when it was contradicted by those about his person, some of the soldiers had the assurance to force into the royal apartments, and even into that where the king lay. He was by this time speechless, and scarce able to stir; however he raised himself up, and made shift to extend his hand for them to kiss; which when they had done, they retired. A little after *Python*, *Attalus*, *Demophon*, *Peucestas*, *Gleomenes*, *Menidas* and *Seleucus* came in. They had watched all night in the temple of *Serapis*, and had proposed the following question to the god, Whether *Alexander* should be brought into his temple to recover his health? To which the oracle answered, That it would be best

best for him to remain where he was. They had been in the room but a small time when the king expired, so that it was conjectured the oracle meant death was best for him: This is *Arrian's* account. As for those of other writers, the reader will find them in a note, it being absolutely necessary to let whatever is said upon that subject rest on the particular credit of him who writes it * (O).

WE

* *ARRIAN. lib. viii. c. 24, 25, 26.*

(O) *Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the death of *Alexander*, ushers it in with an account of his losing his *Tiara* and *Fillet*, to avert which ill omen, he informs us, the king was enjoined to offer certain sacrifices; which having performed, *Medius* invited him, on his return, to a banquet, where the king drinking off the *Herculean* cup, was immediately struck with excessive pains, so that he was carried instantly to his lodgings. His sickness increasing, he began himself to despair of life, and gave his ring to *Perdiccas*. His friends inquiring to whom he left the kingdom, he answered, *To the most worthy*. He also intimated his foresight of their broils, by saying, *He could already view the funeral games which would attend him*. This author mentions the report of *Alexander's* dying by poison, through the contrivance of *Antipater*, with the circumstances alledged to support that opinion. But he leaves the reader to judge for himself on the facts and reasons produced (5). *Plutarch* relates the manner of his death circumstantially. He says, that after having given an entertainment to *Nearchus*, as he was going from the bath to bed, *Medius* would needs conduct him to a banquet. There, he says, the king drank all night, and the next day, which threw him into a fever that carried him off. He expressly rejects the story of the *Herculean* bowl, and of the king's being taken in an extraordinary manner. As to his being poisoned by *Antipater's* contrivance, he mentions it, and all its circumstances; but openly professes his disbelief of it. He cites the king's diary, as *Arrian* does; from whence it is clear, that there was nothing hasty or violent in *Alexander's* death, but that he was taken off by a fever (6). *Curtius* copies the same authors with *Diodorus*, but either delivers what they say more at large, or amplifies out of his own head. He tells us, that the king directed his body to be carried to *Ammon*; that when *Perdiccas* demanded at what time divine honours should be paid him? he answered him, *when you are all happy*. He is positive that the king was poisoned, and affirms that this black affair was stifled by the power

(5) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. prop. fin. lib. prop. fin.*

(6) *Plut. in vit. A.*

WE have seen from the before-mentioned relation, as also *Other relations of* from what we have noted out of other antient writers, that *Alexander* died a natural death. There was, however, an opinion propagated very early, that he died of poison; and the story is told thus. *Antipater*, say they, perceiving that he declined much in the king's favour, that *Craterus* was assigned him for a successor, and that himself was sent for into *Persia*, began to be fearful of the event. He therefore first of all sent his son *Cassander* to apologize for his conduct, with directions, if he found the king inexorable, to take him off; for which purpose, by the contrivance of *Aristotle*, who was in fear that the king would put in execution the threats thrown out against him when *Callisthenes* was in prison, *Cassander* was furnished with some *Arcadian* water of a deadly nature, put up in a vessel made of a mule's hoof, in which alone it could be contained. This water, it is said, *Cassander*, when he thought it necessary, gave to his brother *Follas*, who was the king's cup-bearer, by whom it was mixed with the wine which the king drank at the banquet given by *Medius*. The whole tale was, in all probability, a contrivance of *Olympias*, who, to give it the greater colour, would not suffer the body of *Follas*, who died not long after, to remain interred, but cast out his remains, as if she was satisfied that he had a hand in the death of his sovereign. The hatred

the king's death.
Year of
the Flood,
2676.
Before
Christ,
323.

of his successors. This is at least very improbable, for the king died at *Babylon*, *Antipater* commanded in *Greece*, a sedition followed on the king's demise, is it not strange none of the contending parties should mention it then (7)? *Seneca*, speaking of the dreadful effects of drunkenness, expatiates on the death of *Alexander*. "He who in so many marches (says this elegant writer) so many battles, and so many harsh seasons, had vanquished all the difficulties of time and place; after so many rivers and seas traced in safety, by intemperance in drinking was destroyed, and by the fatal *Herculean* cup was sent to his grave (8)." *Justin* writes more clearly than all the rest as to the poisoning, which he takes for an indubitable fact. In other circumstances he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Curtius*. He is clear also as to the king's speaking after the soldiers had quitted the room; and yet *Arrian* and *Ptolemy*, from the king's diary, seem to agree he was speechless before they saw him. Perhaps he gave his ring to *Perdiccas*, and expressed his sentiments to his friends just before he lost his speech (9).

(7) *Curt. l. x.*
l. xii.

(8) *Senec. Epist. lxxxiii.*

(9) *Justin.*

which

which *Cassander* expressed towards the family of *Alexander*, hath been also used as an argument in support of the probability of this story; but it has little in it, for, as the reader will see hereafter, this antipathy of *Cassander* may be accounted for as well, if not much better, from later causes. There is another story relating to *Alexander's* death, which, for its oddity, deserves to be recorded. It is said, that, when he found himself past recovery, he desired to be carried to the *Euphrates*, that, throwing himself thereinto, posterity might believe, as he came from, so he was returned to the gods; but in this he was hindered by his wife *Roxana*, to whom, upon that occasion, he said, That she envied him the honour of his divine origin. *Arrian*, from whom we have this, tells us, that he inserted it in his history, only that it might appear that he was acquainted with such reports, but that, however, he gave no credit to them^a.

*Remarks on
his charac-
ter.*

WE are now come to the end of that famous reign, which makes so great a figure in all history; but we shall not take upon us to conclude it with any character of *Alexander*, because, in the best authors of antiquity, there are many characters of him already. To these we cannot altogether assent, and it would be perhaps setting our own authority too high, should we attempt to censure them: We shall therefore observe, that, in reading these characters, just regard ought to be had to the rank and credit of the several authors who have wrote them. Historians have considered him either as an enterprising and successful prince, the glory of whose great actions scarce suffers the blemishes in his personal conduct to be seen; which is the light *Arrian* has placed him in; or they make his virtues and vices alike conspicuous, which seems to be the view of *Curtius*. Philosophers and moral writers have dealt more strictly with him, and have therefore seldom run into high panegyrics, *Plutarch* only excepted, who, in his orations on the fortune and virtue of *Alexander*, speaks as a rhetorician. The satyrist *Lucian* hath depicted him with great spirit, and with consummate judgment; but he seems to have kept his eye too closely on the latter scenes of his life, when his fortune, not his merit, was at its greatest height. However it is considered, his character is always shining, as his actions were in themselves very extraordinary. He died, according to the account of *Aristobulus*, in the hundred and fourteenth *Olympiad*, when he had lived thirty two years and eight months, and had reigned twelve years

^a ARRIAN. I. vii. c. 27.

and eight months ^b. *Plutarch* agrees pretty well with this ^c; but *Justin* asserts, that he was thirty three years old and one month, for which questionless he had some, though we think, not sufficient authority (P).

As

^b Ap. *ARRIAN*. l. vii. c. 28. ^c *PLUT* in vita *Alex*. *JUS-*
TIN. l. xii. c. ult.

(P) We propose, in this note, to say somewhat of the historians who have written of *Alexander's* history, and of those especially from whom we have collected it. We will begin with *Aristobulus*. He was an eminent officer in *Alexander's* army, and much in his favour, as is evident from his being intrusted with the care of seeing the tomb of *Cyrus* restored to its first condition (10). He wrote memoirs of what he saw, which are much commended, and in a great measure copied by *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, and *Strabo*; yet they had not the good luck to please *Alexander*, who, reading in them the story of his engagement with *Porus*, threw the book into the river *Hydaspes*. *Anaximenes* of *Lampsacus*, who had once been *Alexander's* tutor, wrote of his actions; but his work, which was not much approved, hath been long lost. *Bæton*, who acted as engineer in *Alexander's* army, published an account of *Alexander's* encampments during his expedition (11). *Callisthenes* the philosopher; the history he wrote of *Alexander* is said to have been excellent so far as it went; yet it is questionable whether he wrote any history at all (12). *Clytarchus*, another of his followers, wrote a very fabulous history of his achievements (13). *Marfyas*, the brother of *Antigonus*, and who commanded the fleet under his nephew *Demetrius*, wrote a complete history of *Macedon*, including the reign of *Alexander*, which was much esteemed; and another treatise of the education of *Alexander*, for which he was exceedingly well qualified, because he was educated with him (14). *Nearchus*, *Alexander's* admiral, left the journal of his *Indian* voyage, which *Arrian* made use of in his *Indian* history, not without a gentle censure of the author's veracity (15). *Onesicritus*, the captain of *Alexander's* gally, writ a history, or rather a romance, in relation to his master's achievements. This man had genius, was a great philosopher, and had a good stile. It is said, that *Alexander*, having read this performance, said, He should be glad to come to life again after some time, to see what reception that book met with. Its author, it seems, read part of it once, which contained *Alexander's* war against the *Amazons*, to *Lyfimachus*; And where, I pray, was I, said the king, when all these strange things happen-

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| (10) <i>Arrian</i> . l. vii. | (11) <i>Joseph. contra Appion</i> . | (12) |
| <i>Arrian</i> . l. iv. c. 15. | (13) <i>Curt</i> . l. ix. | (14) <i>Athen</i> . |
| <i>Dipnosoph</i> . l. 14. | <i>Diodor. Sicul</i> . l. xx. | (15) <i>Arrian. hist</i> . |
| <i>Indic. Strabon. Geog</i> l. xi. | | |

The wives
and de-
scendants
of Alex-
ander.

As to the issue he left behind him, we shall speak generally here, and more particularly in the subsequent chapter. By *Barsine* the daughter of *Artabazus*, and the widow of *Memnon*, a lady of great beauty and merit, he had a son named *Hercules*, who was afterwards murdered. By *Roxana* the daughter of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*, he had a posthumous son named *Alexander*, who had for a time the title of king. By *Cleopbes*, queen of part of *India*, he had a son named *Alexander*, who succeeded his mother in her kingdom. By *Statira*, the daughter of *Darius*, he had no children; nor by *Parisatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. As to the former, the very judicious dean *Prideaux* seems to think, that *Arrian* mistook her name when he called her *Barsine*, and that he confounded her with the widow of *Memnon*^d; but, upon looking farther into this matter, we find, that *Arrian* did not confound them, though there is a mistake in the name in the present copies; for it appears from the excerpts in *Photius*, that she was called by *Arrian*, not *Barsine*, but *Arfinoe*, which, for aught we know, might be her true name^e. Of these ladies we have reason to suppose, that *Roxana* was the best beloved, since it appears, that he married her from the dictates of his passion, the rest for reasons of state.

^d Connection of the Old and New Testament, p. i. b. viii.
A. A. C. 325. ^e Ap. Phot p. 214.

ed (16)? There is still a manuscript history in *Latin*, which goes under the name of *Valerius*, stuffed with these romantic accounts, and for that reason never printed. As to authors in better repute, *Craterus* is said to have written memoirs of his master's victories, which were also recorded in the commentaries of *Eumenes*, and in the history of *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, whom, of all others, *Arrian* commends, and follows most. On this account it is, that we prefer his history to all that are now extant; and, amongst other reasons, it is valuable for this, that we have it intire, excepting only a passage of no great length in the seventh book. *Strabo*, as he has occasion to mention the provinces conquered by *Alexander*, mentions also abundance of passages of his life, and furnishes us with various particulars, which are not to be found elsewhere. *Diodorus Siculus* hath afforded us much assistance, and would have afforded more, if there had not been so large a chasm in his seventeenth book. *Curtius* we have all along examined, and, where it was necessary, made use of him, as also of *Justin*. *Ælian*, *Polyænus*, and *Frontinus*, have been consulted as to particular facts, together with *Lucian*, *Seneca*, and many others, whose names it is unnecessary to retail to the reader.

(16) *Plut. in vita Alex.*

WE

WE have now perfected the history of a reign, which bestowed the epithet of *Great* on him of whom we have been speaking, and extended his empire, in name at least, over the world. This indeed was rather a flight of *Grecian* flattery, than any adequate description of his dominions. He was far from being master of the world then known, for he possessed but part of *Asia*, a small part of *Afric*, and a still smaller of *Europe*; yet he was the lord of a multitude of fair provinces, the sovereign of many large and powerful kingdoms, and held an empire more extensive than the world had till that time seen. *Macedon* was his hereditary kingdom; a great part of *Thrace* and *Illyria* he had subdued; all *Greece* was under his protection, and the protection of so great a prince always did, and always will include sovereignty. His *Asiatic* conquests reached from the *Hellepont* to the *Indian* ocean, including all that the great king possessed, and more. *Egypt* and *Libya* were his; and all the *Greek* islands owned his authority. All these were the acquisition of a few years, and many of them obtained in as little time as he could pass through them. We have, in the course of our history, endeavoured to place all these conquests according to the order of time in which they were made, as also according to their vicinity to each other. For the better understanding of the whole, we have subjoined a map of his dominions, wherein is marked the rout of his army, from his first march out of *Macedonia* to his last coming to *Babylon*; and, that this might be still more intelligible, we have, in a note, shewn the value of that map in point of accuracy, and likewise explained its uses (Q). Here then let us quit this subject,

with

(Q) The map which we have given our readers, was drawn by the famous M. *De Lisle*, in the year 1729, for the use of the *French* king. There is therefore all the reason in the world to believe, from the known ability of the author, and from the design of his work, that it is excellent in its kind, and was performed with all imaginable accuracy. In this map there is a double description of the countries laid down therein. One by M. *De Lisle*, founded upon astronomical observations; the other according to our modern geographers in general. The reader will have the satisfaction of comparing both, and of seeing all *Alexander's* marches and conquests, as they are delineated in one and in the other. The situation of places in M. *De Lisle's* map were, as we have said, determined by observations, where they were to be had, and, where they were not, from the geographical tables of the eastern astronomers, who, by comparison of the situations assigned of places where observations had been made, were judged

with this remark, that the foregoing history is not collected from any one author, or with a partial regard to any of those it is collected from. We have compared the best writers of antiquity on this subject, and have from them laid down a regular series of events, distinguishing, as far as we were able, the probable from the improbable, the certain from the doubtful; and, where we were not able thus to distinguish, we have cited the authorities which hindered us from distinguishing, and have placed the evidence before our readers, that they may decide for themselves. Such is this history of the rise, progress, and establishment of the *Macedonian* empire, which, we hope, will be found consistent with the plan laid down of this work, and very different from any other yet extant in our language.

S E C T. VI.

The Division of the MACEDONIAN Empire.

*State of
things at
the death
of Alexander.*

THE death of *Alexander* had well nigh proved the dissolution of his empire; for at first the extreme grief of every body hindered them from paying a proper respect to public affairs; and, when these high transports of affection were over, their feuds and jealousies had almost occasioned the shedding a deluge of *Macedonian* blood round

to come very near the truth. Where both of these were wanting, the distances set down in the relations of travellers in the highest credit were made use of. The inquisitive reader may be further satisfied of the care and nicety with which this map was done, if he will take the trouble of perusing a short, but very full memoir on that subject, written by the author's son-in-law (17). We ourselves have taken some pains in the same way, and have compared the situation of the *Caspian* sea in M. *De Lisle's* map, by the chart of the same sea drawn by order of the *Czar*, and published in the year 1731, and find them to correspond very well. We have also found, that M. *De Lisle's* map reconciles the descriptions given by antient authors, with those which have been delivered to us by the most judicious modern travellers. On the whole therefore we are well satisfied, that what we have just now said, and also what we have advanced in the text, is agreeable to truth, and no more than what every judicious reader will readily discern; to add more on this head therefore would be tedious.

(17) *Recherches Geographiques sur l'etendue de l'empire d'Alexander, &c. par M. Bauche. Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, 1731.*

the dead body of their king. The want of an historian who might be depended on, and the having many on whose works we cannot so well rely, have concurred in throwing a dark veil of obscurity over this part of our history ; which, from the best materials we have, and in the best manner we can, we will endeavour to remove. A day or two after the death of the king, his friends assembled in the council-room, and summoned thither all the principal commanders of the army ; but the soldiers and people who were not summoned, and who neither ought, nor with any propriety could have any share in such consultations, came in vast crowds, and so blocked up the passages, that many of the great officers could not get in. Proclamation was then made by a herald, that none should presume to approach the assembly, or to remain there, but such as were called by name ; which proclamation however was very little regarded ; and we mention this as a remarkable instance of the difference between *authority* and *power*. Those who had commanded this proclamation to be made, had assumed the administration ; but the people presuming on their own power, and knowing that these governors had none but what they should think fit to lend them, gave little heed to their commands ; but, on the contrary, made them give way to their own curiosity ; so that numbers of mean rank and little consideration remained at present in the council. *Perdiccas*, as soon as silence could be obtained, ordered the chair of *Alexander* to be brought forth, and having placed the robes and regalia upon it, laid upon them the royal ring, declaring, that he most willingly resigned any authority that might be intended him by the king when this ring was delivered to him. However, he proposed it as a thing not only expedient, but necessary, that the empire should have a head ; and when he had demonstrated this by proper arguments, he told them, that *Roxana* was with child, and that, if she brought forth a son, he ought to be acknowledged his father's successor. *Nearchus* applauded the design of preserving the regal dignity in the family of *Alexander* ; but said, it would be too long to wait for *Roxana's* delivery, especially as it would be attended with uncertainty. He therefore put them in mind of *Hercules* the son of *Alexander* by *Barsine*. The soldiers signified their dislike of this by the clangour of their arms. *Ptolemy* then propounded, that the chair of *Alexander* should retain the shadow of sovereignty, and that the state should be governed by a council of officers ; but this being disliked, a motion was made in favour of *Perdiccas* ; but he, out of modesty, refused it. At last somebody mentioned *Arideus* the brother of *Alexander*, who had always accompanied the king, and was wont to sacrifice

grifice with him. The *Macedonian* phalanx, full of affection, as all brave and honest nations are to the hereditary line of their antient kings, closed immediately with this proposition, and called for *Aridæus*. *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy*, and most of the horse officers, were extremely averse to this measure; and they carried their obstinacy so far, as to retire from the assembly, and even to quit the city. However, *Meleager*, at the head of the phalanx, supported vigorously their first resolution, and threatened loudly to shed the blood of those who affected to rule over their equals, and to assume a kingdom which no way belonged to them. *Aridæus* they arrayed in royal robes, put on him the arms of *Alexander*, and saluted him by the name of *Philip*, that he might be rendered more popular^a. While things remained in this situation, *Meleager* managed affairs about the new-created king, and *Perdiccas* transacted all things for the other party. Both pretended vast concern for the public, yet, at the bottom, intended nothing so much as their own private advantage, each having formed a scheme of ingrossing the administration, under colour of serving the interests of those they had drawn, not to favour them personally, but their specious pretences. In order to apprehend these things clearly, let us view all these great ones in their proper lights.

The characters of
Perdiccas,
Meleager,
&c.

Perdiccas was a man of high birth, had a supreme command in the army, was much in favour with *Alexander*, and strongly confided in by the nobility. *Meleager* had rendered himself formidable by uniting the *Macedonians* who composed the phalanx in one opinion, and by raising one to the kingdom who was wholly under his direction^b. *Aridæus* was, as we have heretofore shewn, the son of *Philip* by a dancer named *Philina*; he was of small parts, not by nature, but by the practices of *Olympias*, who by poisonous draughts had taken care to weaken both his constitution and his mind. He had however for his wife *Eurydice* his cousin, as we shall see hereafter, by whose assistance he was able to manage pretty well. At present, alone and without counsellors, he acted as the times required, he did what *Meleager* would have him, but he declared that whatever he did he did by the advice of *Meleager*, so that he made his minister accountable for his own schemes, and no way indangered himself. The *Macedonians* besides their affection for the royal house, began to entertain a personal love for *Aridæus*, now called *Philip* on account of

^a CURT. lib. x. DIODOR. SICUL lib. xviii. JUSTIN. lib. xiii. OROS. lib. iii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. & EUMEN. ^b PLUT. in vit. EUMEN. DIODOR. CURT. ubi supra.

his mildness and moderation^c. Besides these who were the principal characters on the stage at this time, there was another who through modesty declined public notice, and was notwithstanding a prime instrument in adjusting the differences which were now on foot, and made a most shining figure in public affairs afterwards. This was *Eumenes* the *Cardian*, the late king's secretary. He was, as far as we find, little distinguished by birth, though his father could not have been a waggoner, as some report, because he was *Philip* of *Macedon*'s host, who taking a fancy to his son, retained him about his person, and having tried his fidelity, at length made him his secretary, in which post *Alexander* found and continued him. This post alone would have rendered him very considerable, but the king had raised him beside to the highest military commands, he being one of so rare a genius as to be alike suited to a camp or court, and no less capable of commanding in the field, than of giving advice in the closet. When the marriages were made by the king's directions at *Susa*, *Eumenes* was in some measure allied to him, for he had then given him *Artonis*, whom some call *Barsine* the daughter of *Artabazus*, and sister to *Barsine*, who was the mother of *Hercules* by *Alexander*. These were the busy actors at this period, *Perdiccas* full of ambition, *Meleager* selfish and revengeful, *Arideus* or *Philip* weak and timorous, *Eumenes* brave, wise, and inviolably attached to the royal house^d.

THE foot under *Meleager* held *Babylon*, and the king's *The sediti-*
 person in their hands, and were cloathed with his authority, *on appeas-*
 which however *Meleager* overstretched when he sent some to *ed.*
 seize *Perdiccas*, for that great officer so frightened them with his frowns, and words, that they returned *re infecta*, and so made the breach the wider. The cavalry under *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy Lagus*, and other generals, invested the city, or rather shut up the passages thereto, so that presently famine began to appear, and even to be felt. The inhabitants of the adjacent villages fled for safety to *Babylon*, and multitudes, pinched by hunger, issued from the city to seek subsistence in the country. This confusion compelled the phalanx to think of treating, and *Eumenes*, who, as a stranger by birth, had hitherto affected a neutrality, easily brought about an accommodation by blending both schemes together, allowing *Arideus* or *Philip* the regal title, and vesting the authority in the great officers, of whom *Meleager* was to be held the third.

^c ARRIAN. apud. PHOT. Biblioth. Cod. xcii. JUSTIN. CURT. ubi supra. ^d PLUT. in vit. Eumen. & CORN. NEPOS, in vit. ejusd.

In consequence of this accommodation, all the great officers of the army came to court, especially *Perdiccas* and *Ptolemy*, the former eagerly desiring to assume the sovereignty under the specious title of protector, and the latter secretly aiming at the division of the empire, that under the name of a government he might secure a kingdom to himself. *Perdiccas* soon gained an ascendancy over *Philip*, insomuch that he conducted all things according to his own will, though in the name of that prince. The first design of consequence he aimed at putting in execution was the taking off *Meleager*, in order to which he framed a plot equally subtil and successful; he put some of his own adherents on complaining openly of *Meleager's* being made equal to *Perdiccas*; this naturally led *Meleager* to expostulate with him; upon which *Perdiccas* with an air of frankness told him, that such incendiaries ought immediately to be punished, and proposed a general lustration of the army, as the only probable method of taking off such disturbers of the public peace. *Meleager* readily came into this, looking upon it as an indubitable testimony of *Perdiccas's* friendship. But when the horse and foot were drawn into the field, and the king quitting the phalanx, rode along the first line of the right wing with *Perdiccas*; the foot began to be in some terror, and in that terror all their courage forsook them; sometimes they thought of retiring into the city, at others of opposing force by force. *Meleager* of all others was least present to himself, so that after deliberating long, and proposing many things, they resolved on nothing, till *Perdiccas* formed the horse over-against them with the elephants in front. Then taking the king with him, he rode along the first line of the phalanx, and demanded the authors of the late sedition. *Meleager* and his soldiers answered nothing, yet by the dejection of their countenances, they plainly shewed how low their spirits were sunk; this encouraged *Perdiccas* to draw out by force three hundred, who in the late affair had been most active for *Meleager*, whom without more ado he cast to the elephants, and suffered to be trampled to death in the sight of the army; the king looking on rather as a surprized spectator, than as the author of so cruel a deed. As no body pretended to lay hands on *Meleager* himself, he neither spoke nor stirred to save those who had acted by his authority, which answered the end of *Perdiccas*, for on his return to *Babylon* every body shunned and was afraid of him, which had such an effect on his mind, already disordered, that he took sanctuary in a temple, vainly hoping that his enemies would not pursue him to the altar; whereas ambitious men shew no respect to religion, but when it is their tool, and

†

therefore

therefore *Perdiccas*, who thought himself not safe while this man lived, ordered him without ceremony there to be slain, which was accordingly performed; and thus the authority of *Perdiccas* was for the present established * (A).

To

* DIODOR. CURT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

(A) In this note we intend to acquaint the reader with the authors on whose authority we build what is delivered in this section. The first of these is *Arrian*, the same whom we chiefly followed in our history of *Alexander the Great*. He wrote upon this subject a treatise consisting of ten books, which are all unfortunately lost, and what we quote in their stead is no more than a very brief account of their contents preserved by the famous *Photius*, who at the end of his extract hath added a character of this author worthy of the service which he has done to the commonwealth of letters. He tells us, that as an historian he knows none who ought to be preferred before him, his stile, continues he, is strong and uniform, his narration seldom interrupted by digressions; those there are alike pertinent and short. His eloquence never misleads him into any thing forced, or hard to be understood, and while he preserves all the dignity of history, he introduces nothing of that unintelligible sublime, which is the bane of writers of warm imaginations, and who have judgments as warm. Yet in point of elegance his work is no less valuable than in point of veracity; his periods are sweet and perfectly well turned; his language so accurately proper, that it is impossible to say he ever rises above, or sinks below his subject. In a word, there is such a harmony, perspicuity, and noble simplicity in the works of this writer, that to add or take away from them, would be doing visible injury both to the author and reader (1). *Diodorus Siculus* hath written as well and more copiously than any on the matters of which we treat in this section (2). *Curtius* at the close of his work treats very fully of what happened at and immediately after the death of *Alexander*, in which he the rather deserves credit, because what he relates agrees very well with *Arrian*, particularly in the division of the provinces (3). *Plutarch* in the close of his life of *Alexander*, in his lives of *Eumenes* and *Demetrius*, and in many other treatises of his, hath afforded us frequently materials. To these we may add *Justin* (4). We have collated them all; and where they differ have selected what was most probable, and most consistent with other parts of the narration. In most of our collections of general history, this period is remarkably distracted and confused, not so much for want of authorities, as for want of using them; as also from a prejudice against

(1) *Phot. Bibliothec. Cod. xcii.* (2) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*

(3) *Curt. lib. x.* (4) *Justin. l. xiii.*

*The empire
divided.*

To satisfy the ambition of the principal commanders in the army, to provide for the safety of the empire, and to free himself from competitors, *Perdiccas* quickly called a general council, wherein the following distribution of honours and governments was made. *Aridæus*, and the son of *Roxana* now born, and named *Alexander*, were to enjoy the regal authority. *Antipater* had the government of the *European* provinces as general of the army there. *Craterus* had the title of protector. *Perdiccas* had in reality the office, with the stile of general of the household troops, in the room of *Hephestion*. *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*. *Cleomenes*, a man of infamous character, whom *Alexander* had made receiver-general in *Egypt*, was made *Ptolemy's* deputy. *Lao-medon* had *Syria*, *Philotas* *Cilicia*, *Pithon* *Media*, *Eumenes* *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and all the country bordering on the *Euxine* sea, as far as *Trapezus*; but these were not yet conquered, so that he was a governor without a province. *Antigonus* had *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia*. *Major*, *Cassander* *Caria*, *Menander* *Lydia*, *Leonatus* *Phrygia* on the *Hellepont*. In *Europe*, *Thrace*, the *Chersonese*, and the countries adjoining as far as *Salmydessus* on the *Euxine Sea* were given to *Lyfimachus*; the rest of the countries subject to the *Macedonians*, as far as the *Ceraunian* mountains, with all *Greece*, were left to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. As to the rest of the provinces not mentioned in this division, they remained under the governors appointed them by *Alexander*. We have in this account followed our old guide *Arrian*; what other authors have delivered on this subject, the readers will perceive by a note; for to have inserted in the text the different accounts we have of this matter would have taken up much time, and room, at the same time that it would have

the matter itself, as if the wars of *Alexander's* successors, till such time as the four capital empires, into which his was broken, arose, were of little importance. Whereas the giving a full, distinct, and perspicuous account of such perplexed parts of history, is one of the greatest services a writer can render to posterity; and in support to this observation, we beg leave to remark, that though *Arrian* wrote but seven books of the life of *Alexander*, yet he wrote ten of the division of his empire, notwithstanding he carries his history no lower than *Antipater's* return to *Europe*; so necessary it appeared to him that the transactions in this period should be well understood. Add to this, that the latter extract in *Photius* is four times as long as the former (5).

(5) *Vide Phot. Bibl. Cod. xci. xcii.*

perplexed

perplexed the reader, and interrupted the thread of our narration † (B).

THIS

† ARRIAN. apud. Phot. ubi supra. CURT. ubi supra.

(B) The division of *Alexander's* empire, according to other authors, ran thus: *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, that *Perdiccas* confirmed the kingdom to *Aridæus*; gave to *Ptolemy* Egypt; to *Pitthon* Media; to *Eumenes* Paphlagonia, with Cappadocia, and the neighbouring countries; to *Cassander* Caria; to *Meleager* Lydia; to *Leonatus* Phrygia upon the Hellespont; to *Lyfimachus* Thrace, with the adjacent nations as far as the sea; to *Antipater* Macedonia, with the neighbouring countries; to the rest of the officers he distributed the other provinces in Asia; to *Oxyartes* Caucasus, and the *Paropamisus*; to *Sybirtius* Arachosia and Gedrosia; to *Stasanor* the Solian, Aria and Drangiana; to *Philip* the prætor Bactria and Sogdia; to *Phrataphernes* Parthia and Hyrcania; to *Peucestes* Persis; to *Tlepolemus* Caramania; to *Atropas* Media; to *Archon* Babylonia; to *Arcefilaus* Mesopotamia; to *Seleucus* the command of the royal cavalry, which *Hephestion* had first, and *Perdiccas* afterwards; to *Taxiles* and *Porus* each their own kingdoms, as restored and augmented by *Alexander*. The king kept *Perdiccas* with him, and constituted him captain of the guards, and the forces which attended him (6). According to *Justin*, the provinces and chief commands were thus divided. *Ptolemy* had Egypt, Africa, and part of Arabia; *Laomedon* Syria; *Philotas* and his son Cilicia and Illyricum; *Atropatos*, it should be *Atropates*, Media the greater; *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* Media the less; *Scynus* Susiana; *Antigonus* the son of *Philip* Phrygia the greater; to *Nearchus* Lycia and Pamphilia; to *Cassander* Caria; *Menantander* Lydia; *Leonatus* Phrygia the less; *Lyfimachus* Thrace, and the countries adjacent to the Pontic sea; *Eumenes* Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia; to *Seleucus* the son of *Antiochus* the chief command of the forces; to *Cassander* the son of *Antipater* the command of the king's guards; *Taxiles* the countries between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaspes*; *Pitthon* the son of *Agenor* the colonies settled in India; *Parapomenus* the borderers on mount Caucasus; *Extarches* the—Argæans; *Amyntas* the Bactrians; *Scythæus* the Sogdians; *Nicanor* the Parthians; *Philip* the Hyrcanians; *Phrataphernes* the Armenians; *Tlepolemus* the Persæ; *Peucestes* the Babylonians; *Archos* the Pelasgæ; *Archefilaus* Mesopotamia. There are other accounts of this division which agree not either with these or with that of *Arrian* in the text; but in producing those of *Diodorus* and *Justin*, we have done enough to put it in the readers power plainly to perceive the sources of these discordances (7). For, first, here are some names mis-spelt, or changed through the ignorance of transcribers, which creates a seeming without a real difference. As for instance, *Scynus* is undoubtedly put for *Antigonus*, though there is not the least conformity between them. *Extarches* is for *Oxyartes*, and *Scythæus*, is put for *Sybirtius*, and in *Diodorus* the same person is called *Ibertius*. Se-

(6) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*

(7) *Justin. lib. xiii.*

Perdiccas *assumes regal power.* This division of the empire, as well as all other things, had the sanction of the royal name, and seemed to be done by authority of king *Philip*; but in truth, it was the mere act of *Perdiccas* and his associates, who shared at their pleasure the empire of their deceased master, treating his lawful heirs as pageants and cyphers; but we need not wonder at this, when we find that *Alexander* himself was no less slighted, for while these disputes were on foot, his body was altogether neglected, and seven days elapsed before any orders were given for its embalment. It is said that the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans* who were ordered to perform this office, found the royal corps not only perfectly sound, and free from corruption, but with so lively a countenance, that they were afraid to touch it. Some have conceived that this story took rise from flattery, and that those who made it their business to magnify the actions of *Alexander*, as if they were incompatible with mortality, had a mind to carry their servile panegyrics still farther, by representing his very dead body as incorruptible. But as those who are best versed in these things agree, that without any miracle dead bodies remain sometimes a considerable space without corrupting, the fact may be believed, and the inferences rejected. However it was, *Alexander* was at length embalmed, and *Aridæus*, not the king, but a commander so called, was charged with the care of the royal funeral. As they had taken so little notice of his body, they made no scruple of vacating his will, because it contained in it nothing beneficial for them. What we call his will, was a short memorandum of things he would have done; those were reduced to five points: The first concerned the building of a fleet of a thousand stout galleys to be made use of against the *Carthaginians*, and other nations, who should oppose the reduction of the sea-coasts of *Africa* and *Spain*, with all the adjacent islands, as far as *Sicily*. The second directed a

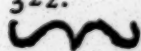
condly, *Justin* does not distinguish between the first and second division, neither do *Dexippus*, *Orosius*, or other authors; whence their differences with *Arrian*. *Diodorus* indeed mentions both the divisions by *Perdiccas*, and by *Antipater*, and is in all respects more correct as well as more copious than the rest.

The author of the first book of *Maccabees* hath a very short and very expressive account of this matter in the beginning of his work. So *Alexander* reigned twelve years, and then died, and his servants bare rule every one in his place, and after his death they all put crowns upon themselves, so did their sons after them many years, and evils were multiplied in the earth (8).

large and regular high-way along the sea-coast of *Africa*, as far as *Ceuta* or *Tangier*. The third ordered the erecting six temples of extraordinary magnificence at the expence of fifteen hundred talents each. The fourth appointed forts, arsenals, havens, docks and yards for building ships to be settled in proper places throughout his empire. By the fifth he proposed the building in proper situations several new cities in *Europe* and *Asia*; those in *Asia* to be inhabited by colonies from *Europe*; and those in *Europe* to be filled with *Asiatics*, that by blending their people and their manner, that hereditary antipathy might be eradicated, which had hitherto subsisted between such as dwelt in different continents. Lastly, he had projected the erecting a pyramid equal in bulk and beauty to the biggest in *Egypt*, in honour to his father *Philip*. All these designs, under pretence of their being excessively expensive, were referred to a council of *Macedonians* to be held no body knew when or where. The proceedings of the new government, which was entirely in the hands of *Perdiccas* and *Roxana*, grew quickly very cruel, and of consequence generally distasteful. Before *Alexander* was well dead, *Roxana* dispatched letters under his seal to *Statira* and *Drypetis*, the daughters of *Darius*, directing them in his name to come to *Babylon*, where when they arrived, she got them into her power, and by the assistance of *Perdiccas*, murdered them, that no son either of *Alexander* or *Hephestion* might give any trouble to her or her son *Alexander*. As for *Sysigambis* the mother of *Darius*, as soon as the news of *Alexander's* death reached her ears, she resolved to take away her own life, which accordingly she did, sinking under this, though she had born up against many other misfortunes. For her father and a multitude of her brethren had been put to death by *Ochus*; and her son *Darius* had lost both the empire and his life through force and fraud. The mercenary *Greeks* who were disposed up and down the inland provinces of *Asia*, despairing now of ever seeing their own countries by fair means, resolved to attempt something by force. With this view they chose one *Philo* to be their general, and assembled an army of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, marching directly towards the sea. As soon as *Perdiccas* received advice of this, he made choice of *Pithon* to command the forces destined to march against these rebels, as he called them. These forces consisted of three thousand foot, and eight hundred horse, all *Macedonians*; but *Pithon* carried with him orders to the governors to furnish him with ten thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, out of the provinces through which he passed, which accordingly they performed. From the
moment

moment he was appointed to this command, *Pithon* had formed a scheme of setting up for himself, by offering the rebels any terms, if they would join with him. *Perdiccas* was aware of this, and therefore he publicly gave him orders to put the rebels without mercy to the sword, and to distribute all their effects among his soldiers, whereby every man he commanded was made a check upon him. *Pithon* when he drew near *Philo* and his troops, found means to corrupt one *Lipodorus*, who commanded a body of three thousand men. This traitor, in the midst of a general engagement, when the victory was doubtful, retired with his troops to the top of a hill, which so disordered *Philo's* army, that a general defeat ensued. After this *Pithon* sent to *Lipodorus* to come down with his troops and join him, assuring him that he and his should be treated as well as his own soldiers. *Lipodorus* coming accordingly into his camp, the *Grecians* were mingled with the *Macedonians*, and *Pithon* began to resume his former ideas, when of a sudden the *Macedonians* conceiving that their new oath was incompatible with their old oath to *Perdiccas*, cut the throats of the *Greek* mercenaries, and seized all they had; after which bloody action, *Pithon* wholly disappointed, returned with his forces to *Perdiccas* ^g.

A war in
Thrace.
Year of
the Flood
2677.
Before
Christ,
322.



ACCORDING to the chronological order of events, we ought now to speak of the *Lamian* war in *Greece*; but inasmuch as we shall in the next chapter treat expressly of the affairs of *Macedon*, we will refer that account thither as to its proper place, and confine ourselves here to the disputes which happened in *Asia*, and elsewhere, till the governors of provinces assumed the regal dignity. *Lyfimachus* who was in *Thrace*, the province assigned him, found himself on a sudden in danger of being entirely stript thereof. For *Seuthes*, descended of the antient race of the *Odryssian* kings, had set up a claim to the dominions of his ancestors, and had raised an army of twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse. *Lyfimachus* had no more than 4000 foot and 2000 horse, yet he was forced to come to an engagement, wherein as he was not defeated, he may be said to have gained a victory; for he kept the field of battle, and preserved that part of the province which he held ^h.

Eumenes
put in pos-
session of
Cappado-
cia.

As for *Perdiccas*, he was full of great projects, and very industrious in procuring means and instruments to execute them, though as yet he did not think fit to produce them to light. First of all he chose *Eumenes* for his confident, and prime minister, whose character we have given before. He

^g DIODOR. lib. xviii. Olymp. cxiv. 2.

^h Id. Ibid.

knew

knew that this man was thoroughly loyal to the kings, and therefore doubted not his friendship to himself, wherein he was by no means deceived ; for *Eumenes* was as careful of his interests, as if they had been his own ; and, notwithstanding *Perdiccas* was a man of great parts, understood and would have conducted them better than he himself did. In the first place, it was held requisite to put this man in possession of his government, which, though stiled a province, was in truth an unconquered kingdom ; *Alexander*, when he first invaded *Asia*, passing by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and never had time afterwards to reduce him. This prince knowing well that it would one time or other fall to his lot to fight for the kingdom of his ancestors, made use of that repose, which in the midst of general confusion his territories enjoyed, to lay up great sums of money, and to hire mercenary troops for the defence of them. *Perdiccas* knowing as well how the matter stood, directed *Antigonus* and *Leonatus* by letters in the names of the kings to march against the *Cappadocian* prince, and to put *Eumenes* in possession of his province : As to *Antigonus*, he was now become too haughty to think of paying any respect to the commands of another. *Leonatus* indeed marched with an army, as if he intended to perform what *Perdiccas* had directed, and therefore *Eumenes* was sent to join him. This friend of *Perdiccas* had not been long in the army before *Hecataeus* the tyrant of *Cardia*, his native country, arrived, and began to treat with *Leonatus* to come to the assistance of *Antipater* ; to which the latter agreed. Yet he confessed to *Eumenes*, that his true design was to marry *Cleopatra* the sister of *Alexander the Great*, and in her right to seize the kingdom. *Eumenes* thereupon laying hold of his treasure, which consisted of five thousand talents, quitted the camp in the night with his attendants, and retired to *Perdiccas*. This was a new proof of his fidelity, and *Perdiccas* was so pleased with it, that he determined to march in person with an army to execute what *Leonatus* ought to have performed, which accordingly he did, carrying the kings with him. *Ariarathes* with an army of thirty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, met him on the frontiers of his dominions, where a very obstinate battle was fought, in which the *Cappadocian* was entirely defeated with the loss of one thousand men upon the spot, himself with six thousand more being taken prisoners. Upon which, to prevent any further disturbance, and to secure *Eumenes* in the peaceable possession of his province, *Perdiccas* ordered *Ariarathes* to

to be crucified, which was certainly a very arbitrary and cruel act¹.

Lauranda
and Isaur-
us taken.

THIS expedition over, *Perdiccas* determined to reduce *Lauranda* and *Isaurus*, two cities of *Pisidia*, because they had slain *Balacrus* the son of *Nicanor*, whom *Alexander* had appointed their governor. *Lauranda* was not very strong, *Perdiccas* therefore took it by assault, and dealt with the inhabitants very severely. All who were able to bear arms, he put to the sword; as for the youths, women, and children, he sold them for slaves. He next invested *Isaurus*, which, being a strong and populous place, held out gallantly for a time, till the number of the defendants being greatly reduced, those who remained resolved not to share the same fate with the *Laurandians*; but having appointed a sufficient number to defend the walls, they set the city on fire in all quarters, consuming their parents, wives, and children, in their houses, while themselves repelled the *Macedonians*, who sought to break in and extinguish the flames; and when *Perdiccas* had drawn off his troops, jumped into the fire. The *Macedonian* army having collected what gold and silver they could find in the ashes, *Perdiccas* led them into winter quarters, and left the conquered countries under the care of *Eumenes*^k.

The pro-
jects of
Perdiccas.

AT the first division of the provinces, *Perdiccas*, to strengthen himself, had proposed to marry *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, and this was so well relished, that her brethren *Jollas* and *Archias* now conducted her to him, in order to be present at the celebration of the nuptials. But *Perdiccas* had other things in his head. *Olympias*, who had always hated *Antipater*, had privately solicited him to marry her daughter *Cleopatra*; this lady was the widow of *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, at whose marriage *Philip* was slain, and she now resided at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. *Eumenes* strongly persuaded this match, without doubt because he believed it would prove beneficial to the royal family, and his reasons had such weight with *Perdiccas*, that he was dispatched to *Sardis* to compliment *Cleopatra*, and to carry her presents in the name of her new lover. In the absence of *Eumenes*, *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* persuaded him to marry *Nicæa*, which he accordingly did to sooth *Antipater* and his family, and that he might carry on his own designs more safely. These designs tended all to gratify his ambition; for first he resolved to

¹ PLUT. in vit. Eumen. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. ^k AR-
RIAN. ap. Phot. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit.
Eumen.

repudiate the wife he had just married : Next he intended to marry *Cleopatra* ; this he conceived would give him a pretence for altering the government in *Macedon* ; and as a necessary measure preparative to these, he entered into contrivances for taking off *Antigonus*. With this view he caused numberless accusations to be set on foot against the last-mentioned person, who was a man not easy to be dealt with ; for he had a spirit not to be tamed, and an understanding too penetrating ever to be imposed on. He therefore put on an appearance of submitting to *Perdiccas*, and pretended to busy himself in collecting proofs of his innocence against the day of trial ; while he secretly intended nothing less. An accident happened which compelled him to disclose his purpose sooner than he designed. *Cynane* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* by his second wife, who by *Amyntas*, the true heir of the *Macedonian* crown, had a child, brought her daughter *Ada*, who was afterwards called *Eurydice* to court, in hopes that *Arideus* or *Philip* might marry her. Against this lady *Cynane*, *Perdiccas* on some political motives conceived such a grudge, that he caused her to be murdered, which made a great noise, the soldiers retaining not only a great love for *Alexander* her brother, but a high veneration for *Philip* her father ; this so frightened *Perdiccas*, that to still the storm he had raised, he promoted the match between king *Philip* and *Eurydice*, to prevent which he had taken off her mother. *Antigonus* liked this short method of proceeding so little, that as soon as he was informed of it, he put himself, his son *Demetrius*, and all his domestics in whom he could confide, on board of some *Athenian* vessels, and sailed over to *Greece*, there to take shelter under the protection of *Antipater* and *Craterus*, whom he informed of the designs of *Perdiccas* ; above all, setting forth the murder of *Cynane* in the blackest colours !

Ptolemy in the mean time remained in peaceable possession of *Egypt*, which he governed with so much wisdom, clemency, and justice, that all who were willing to enjoy peace, and secure protection, resorted out of *Europe* and *Asia* thither, and thought themselves happy under his government. *Timbro*, who, as we have seen, had slain *Harpalus*, and possessed himself both of his army and his treasure, landed in *Cyrene*, where at first he had great success ; but at last after a long war, one *Ophellas*, who had fled into *Egypt*, and requested succours against this robber, returning into *Cyrene*,

The success of Ptolemy in Egypt.
Year of the Flood, 2678.
Before Christ, 321.

¹ *ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.*

fought and routed him, himself being taken prisoner in the battle. He was immediately crucified, as his crimes justly deserved; and thus the *Cyrenians* lost their freedom, and became subjects to *Ptolemy*. He, thus strengthened by so considerable an accession, gave a willing ear to the ambassadors from *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who proposed to him a league against *Perdiccas* to set bounds to his power at least, who plainly set none to his ambition ^m.

The corpse
of Alex-
ander
conveyed to
Ptolemy.

Aridæus, to whose care the funeral of *Alexander* had been committed, having now spent two years in making preparations for it, much against the will of *Perdiccas*, set out from *Babylon* for *Damascus*, with intent to carry the king's body into *Egypt*. There was, it seems, a superstitious report, that where-ever his body was laid, that country should flourish most. *Perdiccas* therefore, out of love to his native soil, would have sent it to the royal sepulchres in *Macedon*; but *Aridæus* pleading the king's express direction, would carry it into *Egypt*, which *Perdiccas* could not hinder. That commander therefore executed his intention with all imaginable magnificence, *Ptolemy*, as soon as he knew of his coming, marched in person to meet the corpse as far as *Syria*; he did not, however, convey it to the temple of *Hammon*, but contented himself with reposing it in a noble temple, which for this purpose he built in the city of *Alexandria*, and by this respect shewn to his dead master, drew numbers of his veteran soldiers to his service, which proved of mighty consequence to him in his affairs, as we shall quickly see ⁿ.

Perdiccas
makes war
on him.

Perdiccas having full intelligence of his enemies designs, and perceiving that he should have to deal with a veteran army out of *Greece*, and with the numerous forces of *Ptolemy* at once, he called a council of his friends, in order to resolve on the measures proper to be taken in so nice a conjuncture. In this council it was unanimously determined, that it would be best for *Perdiccas* to march with the kings, and the gallant army attending on their persons, into *Egypt* against *Ptolemy*, while some commander of approved abilities should make head against *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who, it was foreseen, would transport an army from *Macedonia* to make war upon *Perdiccas*. This captain was immediately found in *Eumenes*; him *Perdiccas* ordered to his government, creating him at the same time captain-general of the countries as far as the *Hellepont*.

^m DIODOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xiii. c. 6.
DOR. & JUSTIN. ubi supra.

ⁿ DIO-

Alcetas the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus* the governor of *Armenia*, had directions to obey the orders of *Eumenes*, which not a little displeased them. These things settled, *Perdiccas* began his march towards *Egypt* °.

Eumenes, when he came to his province, found things in a very uncouth situation ; he had indeed an excellent body of foot, but they were much inclined to mutiny. *Neoptolemus*, who should have assisted him, began already to betray an inclination to desert him, and *Alcetas*, as soon as *Antipater* and *Craterus* approached, was prevailed on to be neuter in a war made against his brother. Larger offers than had corrupted these two were made to *Eumenes*, if he would concur with *Antipater* and *Craterus*. He answered, *That he believed it would be some time before he could reconcile himself to Antipater his old enemy, the rather, because he had a way of treating his friends like enemies. As for Craterus his old friend, he would be glad to be an instrument of reconciling him to Perdiccas, whom he was determined not to desert.* During these negotiations, *Eumenes* had raised a body of three thousand six hundred horse, partly by bestowing horses on the soldiers he could confide in, and partly by encouraging the *Cappadocians* to addict themselves to military affairs. By this contrivance he gained not only a great body of cavalry on which he might depend, but also struck the phalanx with such awe, that they in some measure left off their old turbulent humour. *Neoptolemus* earnestly desiring to gain the friendship of *Craterus* by subduing his old friend *Eumenes*, contrived to attack him suddenly ; but *Eumenes* was too quick for him, and falling in the beginning of the engagement on his horse, routed them intirely, compelling *Neoptolemus* to make his escape with only three hundred men to *Antipater* and *Craterus* ; then he fell upon the phalanx of *Neoptolemus*'s army, and, having disordered them, offered to receive them into his own troops, if they would take an oath of fidelity to the kings, which they readily did. This success was far from making *Eumenes* secure ; he knew very well, that though he had beaten *Neoptolemus*, and increased his own army, yet he had still to deal with very odd people ; for he was conscious to himself, that if his own army knew they were to fight against *Craterus*, they would be so far from executing his commands, that they would infallibly desert him. When therefore he had intelligence that *Antipater* was marched into *Cilicia*, and that *Craterus* and *Neoptole-*

Eumenes
defeats
Neopto-
lemus and
Craterus.

° ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

mus were in full march against him, he told his own army, that *Neoptolemus* and *Pigris*, with some *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* horse, were marching to surprize them; wherefore he intended to decamp, and meet them in the night. When they came to engage, he placed a body of foreign horse, over-against *Craterus*, commanded by *Pharnabazus* and *Phœnix*, ordering them to charge home, and not to give the enemy any time to send heralds or messengers. They performed their commission so well, that *Craterus*, who fought bravely at the head of his troops, was mortally wounded before he was known. *Eumenes* in the mean time engaged *Neoptolemus* personally, and both of them falling together from their horses, fought it out afterwards on foot, till *Eumenes* gave *Neoptolemus* a mortal wound in the neck, and proceeded to strip him of his arms, inveighing bitterly against him for his vanity and perfidy, whereby so much mischief had been wrought; then returning to the centre of his army, he found *Craterus* yet living, over whom he wept and lamented, permitting the *Macedonian* phalanx, after they had taken an oath of fidelity, to retire to their quarters; yet in breach of that oath, they privately stole away to *Antipater* in *Cilicia*, leaving *Eumenes* the reputation of having gained two signal victories in ten days, which, however, was more than ballanced by the envy which other commanders conceived against him, and by the hatred his own army bore him, for making them the instruments of slaying their favourite *Craterus*. But it is now time to follow *Perdiccas* ¹.

Perdiccas
slain.

THE royal army marched as far as *Damascus* with all imaginable tranquillity; but when they came there, and heard every-where as they passed the character of *Ptolemy*, they began to grow diffident and uneasy; and when they entered *Egypt*, they grew more and more turbulent. *Perdiccas*, being a man of high spirit, treated them with a good deal of haughtiness, and threatened to punish them as rebels. This was so far from mending the matter, that it made it much worse, his soldiers beginning to mutter, that he, who was but tutor to their princes, should never become a tyrant over them who had been allowed all liberty even by *Alexander* himself; neither was it the private men only who were offended with his conduct, some of the chief officers were no less discontented, insomuch, that they took the first opportunity of deserting him. This brought *Perdiccas*

¹ ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

to a true sense of his error ; he therefore altered his whole conduct, caressed the soldiers, treated the officers familiarly, and encouraged all by fair words and fine promises. Then he brought them to pass the river *Nile*, and to attack *Ptolemy* in his retrenchments. The army on this occasion behaved with all the bravery imaginable, and, as they had the advantage in numbers, attacked several times. But *Ptolemy*, on the other hand, fighting in a fortification, being himself a great captain, exposing his person freely, and having scarce a man in his troops, who was not desirous of losing his life in his cause, maintained his post so well, that *Perdiccas* was forced to retire ; and, having marched a great part of the night, attempted to repass the river. Part of his forces actually got over by wading up to the chin ; but on a sudden the river grew deeper, and the stream so much stronger, that no more could pass : This accident occasioned a great deal of speculation ; but the true cause was this ; so great a body as at first passed having stirred, and, as it were, digged the loose sand at the bottom of the river, the stream had carried it away. *Perdiccas*, like an indefatigable officer, had recourse to various expedients ; but they all proved ineffectual ; at last he ordered the forces which had passed to return, which they accordingly did, but with the loss of two thousand men half drowned, and half eaten by the crocodiles. Upon this misfortune the phalanx mutinied, and a hundred principal officers, among whom was *Pithon*, immediately went over to *Ptolemy*. A troop of horse following the example mutinied also, and having surrounded the general's tent, some of them entered and murdered him. The next day they held a consultation ; but before they resolved upon any thing, *Ptolemy* came to them, and brought with him a vast quantity of provisions, which he freely bestowed upon them, kindly saluting every battalion of *Macedonians*, embracing their officers, and offering them all that was in his power. In this assembly *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were chosen protectors of the kings ¹.

Two days after the death of *Perdiccas*, news arrived in *Pithon* and the camp of the victory gained by *Eumenes*, which, had it *Aridæus* arrived sooner, would certainly have saved that general's ^{succeed.} life. As it was, it served only to heighten the misfortunes *Perdiccas* of his friends ; for the soldiers in a rage put all of them to death on whom they could lay hands ; amongst the rest *Atalanta*, the sister of *Perdiccas* and wife to *Attalus* the admiral ; they likewise proscribed *Eumenes*, and fifty persons

¹ ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. ubi supra.
of

of quality with him : amongst whom was *Alcetas*, *Perdiccas*'s brother, who had so scandalously sat still at the beginning of the war. Having thus glutted their resentment, they quitted *Egypt*, and, under the command of *Aridæus* and *Pithon*, marched back again into *Cælo-Syria*. In this march, *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip* began to take pretty much upon her, which *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were very much displeased at ; yet finding the army more inclined to favour her than themselves, they were forced to temporize till they come to *Triparadisus*, where *Antipater* joined them. There a grand council was held, in which the new elected tutors of the kings resigned their offices, and *Antipater* was chosen sole protector with sovereign power. He was no less dissatisfied with *Eurydice*'s behaviour than his predecessors had been, and therefore began to check her, which irritated her so much, that in a set oration she accused him to the army ; and though he made a long and laboured answer, yet such a sedition ensued, that *Antigonus* and *Seleucus* were forced to rescue him at the peril of their lives, as well as his. However, after some days the matter was adjusted, and the administration again put into the hands of *Antipater*. When things were a little quiet, and the army pacified with promises as to their pay, *Antipater* proceeded to make a new division of the provinces¹.

Antipater divides the provinces anew.

Egypt, *Libya* and the parts adjacent, were given to *Ptolemy*, which could not be avoided ; for he would not have parted with them, if *Antipater* had given them to any body else. *Syria* was confirmed to *Laomedon*. *Philoxenus* had *Cilicia*. *Mesopotamia* and *Arbelitis* were given to *Amphimachus*. *Babylon* was bestowed on *Seleucus*. *Susiana* fell to *Antigenes*, who commanded the *Macedonian silver-shields*, because he was the first who opposed *Perdiccas*. *Peucestas* held *Persia*. *Ptolemy* had *Caramania* given him. *Pithon* held *Media*, as far as the *Caspian* streights. *Stasander* had *Aria* and *Drangia*. *Philip* *Parthia*. *Stasanor* *Bactria* and *Sogdia*. *Sybirtius* *Arachosia*. *Oxyartes*, the father of *Roxana*, *Paropamisus*. *Python* the country between this province and *India*. *Porus* and *Taxiles* held what *Alexander* had given them, because they would not part with any of their dominions. *Cappadocia* was assigned to *Nicanor*. *Phrygia Major*, *Lycaonia*, *Pamphylia* and *Lycia* were given to *Antigonus*. *Caria* to *Cassander*. *Lydia* to *Clytus*. *Phrygia the less* to *Aridæus*. *Cassander* was appointed general of the horse.

¹ ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.

The command of the household troops was given to *Antigonus*, with orders to prosecute the war against *Eumenes*, who was now reputed a public enemy. *Antipater*, when he had thus settled all things, returned home to his own province with the kings, much commended, and highly admired by all the *Macedonians* ^c.

As for *Eumenes*, he began to provide for the war, which *Eumenes* he foresaw was breaking upon him, with all imaginable pru- ^{prepares to} dence. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* joined him; so did ^{defend} *Attalus* with the fleet. This officer, on the first news of ^{himself.} the death of his brother and his wife, sailed with the navy Year of the Flood, 2679. Before Christ, 320. under his command to *Tyre*, where *Archelaus* was governor, by the appointment of *Perdiccas*, who had also intrusted him with eight hundred talents. This governor retained so grateful a sense of the favours done him by his deceased patron, that he willingly received *Attalus*, and readily paid him the money which had been left in his hands. Here also *Attalus* collected such of the friends and soldiers of *Perdiccas*, as repaired to him, with whom he afterwards sailed to *Eumenes*. Among the principal officers in the camp of the last-mentioned general, there was one *Perdiccas*, whom he trusted much. This man prevailed on a body of three thousand five hundred horse to desert with him, and with them marched a considerable distance from the camp. *Eumenes* did not pursue him the first night; but as the second drew on, he sent one *Phœnix*, with four thousand choice foot and a thousand horse, through certain by-ways. These surprized the traitor and his soldiers, and brought them all prisoners to the camp of *Eumenes*, who hanged *Perdiccas*, and a few of those who were principally concerned, receiving the rest into favour. It was not long before a general engagement happened, wherein *Eumenes*, through the treachery of *Apollonides*, general of his horse, was totally routed, with the loss of eight thousand men. However, he performed on this occasion one of the most extraordinary actions that we find recorded in history; for, with the scattered remains of his army, striking off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy pursued him, he passed by them unperceived, and returned to the field of battle, where gathering all the wood that could be found in the adjacent villages, he burned all the dead bodies of his soldiers in one heap, and those of his officers in another; covering the ashes of each with a large mount of earth. Then dismissing such of his soldiers

^c ARRIAN. & DIODOR. ubi supra.

as were sick, wounded, or were unable to bear fatigue, he, with six hundred men, retired into the castle of *Nora*, a place exceedingly strong, by its situation on the top of an inaccessible rock, well fortified, and stored with all sorts of provisions, where he resolved to abide a siege, hoping that *Alcetas* and *Attalus* would be able to raise such a body of troops, as might enable them to deliver him before the castle could be reduced. *Antigonus* immediately caused the place to be invested; but when he was informed how well it was provided, and how resolute those men were who had chosen to be shut up therein, for *Eumenes* had none with him but such as requested it as a favour, he began to despair of taking it by force. In order therefore to get over this matter as soon as possible, he sent to desire a conference with *Eumenes*. *Eumenes* answered, that he had many eminent commanders in his army; but, if himself should be taken off, those in the fort would be destitute of any commander. *Antigonus* returned, That, as he was the greater man, he expected that he should wave such excuses, and come to him. To which *Eumenes* replied, That while he had his sword in his hand, he held no man greater than himself. *Antigonus* thereupon sent him hostages; and *Eumenes* coming to the foot of the rock, *Antigonus* went thither to meet him. As soon as they met together, they embraced, having been formerly intimate friends. Then *Eumenes* demanded to have the provinces restored to him, exhorted *Antigonus* to act dutifully towards the kings, and behaved in all things as if they had treated upon equal terms. The *Macedonians* who were near, admired the courage and spirit of the man. Those who could only see him, were charmed with the sweetness of his aspect, and the beauty of his person; for he was one of the handsomest men of his age, the most perfect in his exercises, and absolutely free either from passion or pride. At last the throng of the spectators grew so great, that *Antigonus* was in pain for his person; finding therefore that no accommodation could be made, he took *Eumenes* in his arms, and so brought him to the passage of the rock, where they parted. *Antigonus* perceiving that the siege would much incommode his affairs, ordered the place to be surrounded with a strong wall, and leaving a sufficient body of troops to guard it, he marched against *Alcetas* and *Attalus*.

Alcetas
defeated
and killed. THE celerity with which *Antigonus* marched into *Pisidia*, where *Alcetas* and *Attalus* with their army lay, was such, that he surprized them; and tho' their troops behaved very well, yet overcome with numbers, with elephants and the

†

superior

superior skill of the old *Macedonian* soldiers, they were totally beaten. *Attalus*, *Docimus*, and *Polemon* were taken; but *Alcetas*, with about six thousand men, escaped to *Termissus*. *Antigonus* followed him and invested the city, demanding *Alcetas*. The magistrates were all for delivering him up; but the people of the city, to whom *Alcetas* had done innumerable favours, swore solemnly they would live and die with him. In this the magistrates acquiesced; but while the citizens were at their posts, they sent some of their servants to murder *Alcetas*, who, perceiving their intention, killed himself. His body being delivered to *Antigonus*, he first used it despitefully, and after two days, when it began to corrupt, caused it to be thrown into the road, whence it was taken by the *Termissians*, and honourably buried, who were very hardly deterred from burning their magistrates in their houses^c.

Antigonus receiving the news of the death of *Antipater*, *Antigonus* and that he had, by his will, appointed *Polyperchon* tutor to *resolves to* the kings, he immediately conceived a great contempt of *seize Asia*. them all, resolving to make himself lord of *Asia*. He had now an army of sixty thousand foot and nineteen thousand horse, many elephants, and treasure in abundance. He began therefore to make no secret of his designs; but to remove all the governors of provinces who were not in his interests. In this, however, he had not very great success; for *Aridæus* governor of *Phrygia* immediately began to arm, and when *Antigonus* threatened to deprive him of his province, as one who affected regal authority, he sent him word his own intentions were honest, and that he armed, because he looked upon him, *Antigonus*, to be a traitor. The next step *Antigonus* took, was to bring over *Eumenes*; in order to which he sent a trusty person to confer with that great captain in his castle of *Nora*, to desire him to forget the battle in *Cappadocia*, and to assure him, that if he would become his friend, he should be the second person in his court. *Eumenes* gave a proper reception to these overtures; whereupon *Antigonus* framed an oath, which he sent to the commanders of the troops forming the blockade of the castle of *Nora*, with instructions, that on *Eumenes's* swearing thereto, they should raise the siege. The purport of this oath was, that he should be faithful to *Antigonus*, and have the same friends and enemies with him. When this oath was tendered to *Eumenes*, he observed that it was not properly drawn; wherefore, instead of *Antigonus*, he inserted *Olympias*, the kings,

^c DIODOR. ubi supra.

and the royal family. This change the *Macedonians* immediately approved, and on *Eumenes* swearing, they instantly set him and his friends at liberty. He no sooner regained his freedom than he began to collect forces for the defence of the kings, whose authority, he saw clearly, was on the very point of being extinguished in *Asia*. But when *Antigonus* was informed of what had happened, he was extremely angry, and sent to his generals to make war on *Eumenes*, and, if possible, to secure his person; but these orders came too late, for *Eumenes*, having collected about two thousand foot and five hundred horse, quitted *Cappadocia*, and marched towards mount *Taurus* ^u.

*The kings
create Eumenes
general in
Asia.*

Polysperchon finding himself exceedingly distressed, through the wickedness of many, and the extraordinary power of *Antigonus*, sought out all possible methods to secure himself and the kings from destruction. To this end he invited *Olympias*, who, for fear of *Antipater* and his contrivances, had fled from *Macedon* to *Epirus*, to return, and take upon her the education of *Alexander's* young son. He likewise dispatched letters in his own name and hers, to *Eumenes*, whereby he constituted him general for the kings in *Asia*, ordering the governors to pay him five hundred talents to indemnify him for his losses, and assigning him a thousand silver shields for his guard. *Olympias* also wrote to him herself to desire his advice, whether she should remain still in *Epirus*, or return into *Macedonia*. She likewise exhorted him to remain firm to the interests of the royal family, for that she and her children put their whole confidence in him. *Eumenes* in answer wrote her word, that to him it appeared most adviseable for her to remain in *Epirus*, where she was, till the war was over. As for himself, he promised to be ever observant of the interest of the royal family, and to hazard all things in order to check the torrent of *Antigonus's* ambition. He said he was the rather inclined to this, because the tenderness of the young *Alexander's* age, and the all-grasping disposition of his father's captains, left an honest man no part to act, but that of sacrificing his own concerns to the public safety. To shew that his loyalty did not consist in words, when his enemies were retired into *Cappadocia*, he made a quick turn into *Cilicia*, where he joined *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, who had three thousand of the *Argyraspidæ* or silver shields, under their command. They received him with all the marks of deference and respect which they could possibly devise; but he very quickly perceived, that neither they, nor the rest of the commanders who resort-

^u DIODOR. ubi supra.

ed to him, esteemed him in their hearts; but on the contrary, envied him. He therefore applied himself to two things; first, the lessening of their malice; and secondly, providing for his own safety. With respect to this he refused the five hundred talents and the title of general, saying, *That great wealth and high titles were of no use to a man who sought to serve his sovereign, and not to be a prince himself.* As to that, he borrowed large sums of those who hated him most, and thereby made them careful of his safety, lest they should lose their money. With this money he furnished such friends as he could trust, ordering them to raise soldiers, and to give them more pay than was absolutely necessary, rightly conceiving, that numbers would resort to him, in hopes of extraordinary pay, who might afterwards be induced to serve on moderate terms. By these arts, before *Antigonus* was aware, he had assembled an army of fifteen thousand men. These proceedings raised the admiration of all his contemporaries; but, however, they were so far from raising him in his own mind, that he contrived therein a scheme for lessening his own authority, and putting himself upon the same rank with all the rest of the captains. He told the officers of the army, that he had in a dream seen *Alexander*, adorned in his royal robes, sitting on his throne, and giving orders, as he was wont, to all his commanders. He gave it therefore as his advice, that a tent of state should be erected, wherein there should be placed a throne of gold, with all the ensigns of royalty thereon, before it an altar of the same metal, whereon each of the captains should offer incense, after which they should take their seats indiscriminately, and consult for the public safety. By this means he appeased the dissensions among the great, and inspired the common soldiers with enthusiastic bravery. *Antigonus* in the mean time, sent *Philotas* with letters to the army, promising the *silver shields* mighty rewards, if they would deliver up *Eumenes*. They read the letters, and debated upon them, of which *Eumenes* having some notice, he went into the assembly, and told them, that the *Macedonians* were not wont to consult, whether they should obey their prince, or deliver up his officers to traitors; and that it less became them so to do, whom not *Antigonus*, but *Alexander*, had so eminently distinguished. This determined the soldiers at that time to reject the offers of *Antigonus*. *Eumenes* then marched into *Phœnicia*, that he might be near the sea. This province *Ptolemy* had seized; wherefore *Eumenes* made no scruple of conquering it, saying, That all were his enemies who knew not their duty. But when *Antigonus* had defeated

the royal navy, and then marched against him in person, *Eumenes* thought it more expedient to retire into the higher provinces, which he did safely, notwithstanding that he passed over the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in sight of the enemy ^w.

The gover- *Eumenes* wintered with his army on the frontiers of the
nors of the province of *Babylon*. *Pithon* and *Seleucus*, who were go-
upper pro- vernors, one of *Media* the other of the territory of *Babylon*,
vinces join sought by all means to debauch his soldiers. These attempts
him. were, however, still ineffectual, and *Eumenes* having passed
the river *Tigris* in spite of them, advanced into *Susiana*,
where he was immediately joined by *Peucestas*, *Polemon*,
Sybirtius, *Stasander*, *Androbazus*, and *Eudamês*, with up-
wards of twenty thousand men and twenty elephants. The
first thing that happened after this junction, was a dispute a-
bout the command, to which every one of the governors
laid claim, and *Eumenes* was never thought of. At last they
were forced to come into his expedient of meeting in a tent.
This was done for the present; for every one of them hoped,
by caressing the soldiers, to carry his point in time; and in-
deed they all carried it in their turns, for the army saluted
every one of them general when they were eating at his cost.
But when *Antigonus* drew near, they called out for *Eumenes*,
saying openly, that, when fighting was the business, they
would have no general but him. This, however, occasioned
no disturbance, for the generals were as ready to submit to
him as the soldiers, none caring to charge themselves with the
weight of a command, where the least wrong step would
forfeit all their power and their lives into the bargain. *Eu-*
menes then led the army to the *Tigris*, drawing them up in
excellent order on the banks, where he waited for *Antigonus*.
That ambitious captain marched first to *Susa*, and finding
that castle held by *Xenophilus*, he left *Seleucus* with a corps
of troops to besiege it, and then marched on to fight *Eumenes*.
The climate was excessively hot, the soil dry and sandy, so
that his troops were prodigiously fatigued. At last he arrived
on the banks of the *Copares*, a very rapid river running into
the *Tigris* about eight miles from the camp of *Eumenes*. Here,
with a few flat-bottomed boats, he passed over six thousand
horse and two thousand foot, giving strict orders to the latter
to entrench themselves as soon as they were over. As for
the horse, they dispersed themselves for the convenience of
forage. The foot had scarce formed themselves, and consid-
ered the situation of the place, before they found themselves

^w DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Eumen.

in danger of being pushed into the river by their own horse, whom *Eumenes* had surprized, and entirely defeated. They covered them as well as they could, and received bravely the charge of *Eumenes* at the head of five thousand men, with whom he had passed the *Tigris*; but finding themselves unable to bear up against these fresh troops, they threw themselves in heaps into the boats, till they sunk, affording *Antigonus*, and the rest of his army, the melancholy spectacle of four thousand of their companions killed and drowned, and as many taken prisoners, themselves looking on. *Antigonus* was so effectually checked by this sudden blow, that he immediately retired, and left the army of the kings in possession of the field *.

THE design of *Antigonus* in retiring, was not to quit the war, but remove the scene of it to some part of *Asia*, where he might act with more advantage; with this view he determined to march into *Media*, to which there were two roads, the one safe and pleasant, the other through the country of the *Cossians*, the same base and barbarous people, against whom *Alexander* made an expedition immediately after the death of *Hephestion*. *Pithon*, knowing well the temper of these mountaineers, very prudently advised *Antigonus* rather to quiet them with a sum of money, than to attempt to pass through their territories by force; but that little suited the haughty disposition of him to whom the counsel was given. *Antigonus* thought it unworthy of himself, and of the great army he commanded, to pay these highlanders for a passage. He therefore sent *Nearchus* with the light-armed troops before in order to drive the *Cossians* from their posts, and directed him, when he had so done, to line the roads with his men. *Antigonus* led the phalanx himself, *Pithon* and a choice body of horse bringing up the rear. The army, however, paid dearly in their march for their rejecting *Pithon's* advice. The *Cossians* attacked them on all sides with equal bravery and resolution, so that for nine days together they sustained the greatest hardships; but at last coming down into *Media*, they were there so plentifully provided for, and, through the care of *Pithon*, the cavalry so well remounted, and the soldiers so effectually indemnified for their losses, that the army resumed its wonted alacrity; whereupon *Antigonus* determined to penetrate into the higher countries, in order to displace those governors who had sided with *Eumenes* †.

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Eumen. † DIODOR. ubi supra.

*Eumenes
marches in-
to the upper
provinces.*

THE confederate lords, understanding that *Antigonus* again drew near them, were much divided in their counsels; some of them were for retiring to the sea-coasts, where, in case of any misfortune, they might receive aid from *Polysperchon*. The governors of the upper provinces, mindful of their private concerns were for marching back with the army, that they might secure their friends. *Eumenes* agreed in opinion with the former, yet sided against his own opinion with the latter, foreseeing that, if he had declared for marching into the maritime provinces, the army would necessarily have been divided, and thereby become too weak to effect any thing any where. His assent therefore having determined the question, they immediately marched into *Perfis*, and, in twenty four days march, reached *Persepolis*. Here *Peucestas* made a grand feast for the army, and, having them now in his own province, he loaded them with such extravagant favours, that *Eumenes* began to suspect he aimed at somewhat more than he ought. As soon as he entertained these suspicions, he struck out an expedient for bringing the army back to their former temper without hurting *Peucestas*. He caused a letter to be writ in *Syrian* characters, in the name of *Orontes*, governor of *Armenia*, importing that the party of *Olympias* had killed *Cassander*, and that the power of the kings being thoroughly settled in *Macedon*, *Polysperchon* was about to pass with a great army into *Asia*. This letter being directed to *Peucestas*, he readily gave credit to it, and published it in the army; whereupon all the officers paid their court to *Eumenes*, and those were the forwardest who hated him most. *Eumenes* took all in good part, and, according to custom, borrowed money of those he feared, and thereby became master of their counsels. The news which *Peucestas* had received, occasioned more feasting, and *Eumenes*, contrary to his nature, was forced to drink hard, which threw him into a fever, out of which as he recovered, the generals received advice, that *Antigonus* drew near them. Immediately the army marched under the command of *Peucestas* and *Antigenes*, *Eumenes* being carried in the rear in a litter. But when they were in the midst of their march, the van of *Antigonus's* army appeared. *Peucestas* instantly gave directions for forming a line of battle, but the soldiers absolutely refused to move any way till *Eumenes* should appear. Hereupon he was brought in his litter with the curtains drawn back, and, after he had thanked the soldiers for their confidence in him, he made the necessary dispositions. When *Antigonus* drew near enough to perceive in what manner the confederate army was drawn up, he was exceedingly surprized,

ed, for he depended on the sickness of *Eumenes*. At last perceiving the litter passing through the lines, he burst out a laughing; and, turning to the officers who were near him, said, *It is not that army but you litter that bids us battle*. However, he ordered a retreat to be founded, and contented himself with encamping in a very advantageous post * (C).

WHILE the armies lay over-against each other, *Eumenes* *A battle* received intelligence that *Antigonus* intended to decamp in the *ensues*. night, he thereupon presently guessed, that his design was to put his army into quarters of refreshment in the rich district of *Gabene*. To prevent this, and at the same time to gain a passage into that country, he instructed some soldiers to pretend they were deserters, whom he sent into the camp of *Antigonus*, where they reported that *Eumenes* intended to attack them in their trenches that very night. But while *Antigonus's* troops were under arms, *Eumenes* marched for *Gabene*, which at length *Antigonus* suspected, and, having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his horse, sending all his baggage to an adjacent city, that it might not incommode him. Freed from all incumbrances, pretty early in the morning, he, from the top of a hill, discerned *Eumenes* with his army marching below; whereupon he immediately disposed his horse, as if his infantry had

* Idem, *ibid*.

(C) *Antigonus*, a short time after this, finding the country where he lay excessively wasted, and that it would be very difficult for him to subsist, sent deputies to the confederate army, to solicit them, especially the governors of provinces, and the old *Macedonian* corps to desert *Eumenes*, and to join him, which at this time they rejected with the highest indignation. After the deputies were dismissed, *Eumenes* came into the assembly, and delivered himself in these words: "Once upon a time a lion, falling in love with a young damsel, demanded her in marriage of her father. The father made answer, that he looked on such an alliance as a great honour to his family, but stood in fear of his paws and teeth, lest, upon any trifling dispute that might happen between them after they were married, he might exercise them a little too hastily upon his daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous lion caused both his nails and teeth to be drawn immediately, whereupon the father took a cudgel, and soon got rid of his enemy." This, continued he, is the very thing aimed at by *Antigonus*, who makes you large promises, till he has made himself master of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws (9).

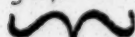
(9) *Plut. in vita Eumen. Diodor. Sicul lib. xviii.*

been behind the hill, whereby he deceived *Eumenes*, who would otherwise have marched on. Whereas, believing the whole army of *Antigonus* to be at hand, he faced about, and disposed his troops in order of battle. By degrees the infantry of *Antigonus* came up, and, as they came up, formed behind the horse. The whole of *Eumenes's* forces consisted of thirty five thousand foot, six thousand horse, and one hundred and fourteen elephants. In the army of *Antigonus* were twenty eight thousand foot, eight thousand five hundred horse, and sixty five elephants. *Antigonus* charged the troops under *Eumenes* with great bravery. The battle was most obstinately fought, and the victory won and lost several times by each party. At last, after a whole day's engagement, the stars began to appear, when *Antigonus* had visibly the worst, yet his officers could not prevail upon him to retire from the field of battle; on the contrary, he encamped there with the troops yet unbroken, and sent several persons well mounted to give notice to those who fled, that it would be their safest way to repair to his camp, which accordingly they did. He then buried his dead, which done, by forced marches he withdrew into *Media*, where he took up his winter-quarters. If *Eumenes* had been as absolute in the command of his army as *Antigonus* was, the latter would not have escaped so well, for *Eumenes* without doubt would have attacked him again, and, in all probability, would have totally routed him; for whereas *Antigonus* had almost eight thousand men killed and wounded, *Eumenes* did not lose in the whole quite fifteen hundred; but the divisions which reigned in the confederate army, and the insolence of the soldiers, hindered any thing more from being done, and even permitted *Antigonus* to enter the slain, whereby their victory was called in question. However, according to the modern rules of war, *Eumenes* was the conqueror, inasmuch as he carried his point, and actually brought his forces to winter in the rich country of *Gabene*, where they were five and twenty days march from the enemy².

Eumenes
last cam-
paign.

Year of
the Flood,
2684.
Before
Christ,

315.



As soon as the army was in winter-quarters, and began to taste those advantages which the wisdom of their general had procured for them, they very ungratefully began to despise him, and to pay all their court to the generals who treated best, and, for the greater conveniency of receiving entertainments, spread themselves all over the country. *Antigonus* had his spies amongst them, and from them he quickly re-

² DIODOR. SICUL. PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS, *ibid.*

ceived intelligence of the bad situation of their affairs. As soon as *Antigonus* received these accounts, he resolved, notwithstanding it was the very depth of winter, to attempt surprising them; of which design he conceived the greater hopes, because he was informed that there lay a passage through the deserts, which, in nine or ten days time, would bring him to *Gabene*; tho' by the ordinary rout it was twenty five days march from his quarters. Full of this mighty project, he gave out his orders for the soldiers to provide themselves with such provision for ten days as required no dressing, hoping by this contrivance to avoid lighting fires. But this proved ineffectual, for, after five days march, he and his forces found the cold so intense, that, to preserve themselves from perishing, they were forced to make fires in the nights. Some shepherds, who were upon the hills surrounding these deserts, perceiving these fires, dispatched away messengers on dromedaries to carry advice to the confederate generals, who instantly called a council, wherein they shewed all the marks of terror and confusion, and, acknowledging the miserable situation of their affairs, by the troops being quartered at many days march distance, they neither proposed nor resolved on any method for defence. *Eumenes* observing their distress told them, that he would undertake to retard the march of the enemy for four or five days, if in the interim they would assemble the troops. This promise, which to them appeared impossible to be fulfilled, they readily laid hold of, and immediately transferred to *Eumenes* the command of the troops which lay in the neighbourhood of the place where they were. As soon as *Eumenes* could draw them together, he marched directly towards the enemy, and when he was near enough for them to see the fires in his camp, he extended his troops as much in front, as if the whole confederate army had been there, and caused as many or more fires to be lighted than would then have been necessary. When *Antigonus* perceived this, he concluded that *Eumenes*, having intelligence of his march, had led all his troops out of fresh quarters to meet him; he therefore quitted the road through the desert and turned through the ordinary one through towns and villages, that his soldiers might receive some refreshment, and not be exposed, after sustaining so great fatigues, to an unequal engagement with troops just come out of quarters. This was exactly what *Eumenes* foresaw, and consequently by that time *Antigonus* by the ordinary road arrived on the frontiers, the whole confederate army was assembled, and ready to give him battle, which *Antigonus* did not decline. In the private councils, held by the generals and governors of provinces,

vinces, it was unanimously determined to make use of *Eumenes* in the approaching battle, and then to rid themselves of him; for they saw clearly in matters of moment, they neither considered each other, nor were considered by the army; but his advice and his conduct only were relied on. *Eudamus* and *Phadimus*, two principal persons in the army, immediately gave *Eumenes* notice, not out of any good-will to him, for they hated him as much or more than any of the rest, but because he was very deeply in their debt. As soon as he was acquainted with this treacherous conspiracy, *Eumenes* retired to his tent, and in the first place put all his papers out of the way, that in case of the worst none of his friends might be prejudiced; he then considered with himself whether it might not be possible for him to escape into *Cappadocia*; but then reflecting that his escape would be abdicating his command, and giving up the cause of *Alexander's* family, he generously resolved to die, as he had lived, with the glory of never having done a base or unbecoming action. This resolution once taken, he came out and encouraged the soldiers, the major part of whom were well-affected to him, and saluted him with loud acclamations. *Eumenes* thanked them for those marks of their favour, and disposed all things for a battle, never divulging any part of the information he had received, though he could not help saying sometimes to his intimate friends, that he lived amongst wild beasts, by whom he expected some time or other to be torn in pieces. The battle was fought on the sea-shore, and *Eumenes* having the advantage in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of *Antigonus*; but his cavalry having the advantage, through the base treachery of *Peucestas*, *Antigonus*, who was alike present to himself in all circumstances, perceiving that the engagement had raised a mist of small white dust by the violent tossing of the sand, he made use of the obscurity of the air to wheel round the army of *Eumenes*, and to possess himself of their baggage, a contrivance which availed him more than a victory would have done. As soon as the forces of *Eumenes* were returned into their camp, and were acquainted with the loss of their baggage with the women and children, they were ready to mutiny. *Teutamus*, who commanded a battalion of the *silver-shields*, and who had long inclined to *Antigonus*, took this opportunity of sending to him, and demanding of him the booty he had lately taken. *Antigonus* returned him for answer, that he would willingly restore the *silver-shields*, the baggage, and all else that belonged to them, and would be ready to do them what farther favours they should request, provided they would do him one, which was to deliver up *Eumenes*, a stranger, a person once condemned by the Macedonians,

Macedonians, and who had since attained power enough to do them considerable mischiefs. The *silver-shields* immediately closed with this proposition, scandalous as it was, and gathering about their unsuspecting general, seized his sword, pinioned his arms behind him, and in this plight prepared to deliver him up who had so long protected them from their enemies. As soon as that illustrious person perceived what they were about, he most earnestly desired that he might have leave to speak to them, which when he had obtained, he in a very pathetic oration shewed them the folly and ill consequences of such a procedure, besides the disgrace that it would bring upon them; concluding with this petition, that since they were determined to part with their general to regain their lumber, they would have the goodness to put him to death with their own hands, and not to deliver him up to his and their old enemy *Antigonus*, whom under his command they had so often beaten. The rest of the army wept and lamented, but the *silver-shields* cried out, *Away with him! Let us hear none of his fine speeches, carry him to Antigonus, and bring us again our wives and children.* This being accordingly performed, *Antigonus*, in pursuance of his promise, delivered up the baggage with all the women and children. As to *Eumenes* when those who had him in custody demanded how he should be kept? *As you would keep an elephant or a lion*, answered their general. The fate of *Asia* was now decided, for *Eumenes* being given up, the governors submitted and made the best terms they could, suffering their troops to be incorporated into those of *Antigonus*. The only point which remained to be settled was the fate of the captive general. At first he was not only very strictly confined, but loaded with heavy irons; but after some time, *Antigonus* was prevailed on to command part of the irons to be taken off; to allow him a servant to wait on him, and to permit his friends to visit him. While things continued in this state, *Eumenes* would often say to those who came to him, *I wonder Antigonus protracts my affair thus, and that he has not courage enough to put me to death as an enemy, or by setting me free to make me his friend.* There was indeed a party in the army of *Antigonus*, at the head of whom was *Demetrius* his son, who would have had him set *Eumenes* free, supposing that this would have bound him to his interests. But the rest of his friends, and the bulk of the army, earnestly intreated him to put him to death, which, when the army was about to march, he accordingly did. However, he and all his troops assisted with great solemnity at his funeral, and after the body was burnt, he caused the ashes to be put up in a silver urn, and ordered them to be transmitted to his

wife and children in *Cappadocia*. *Hieronymus* the *Cardian*, his most intimate friend, was taken by *Antigonus* into his favour and councils. *Antigenes*, commander in chief of the *silver-shields*, was by his order put into a coffin, and burnt alive. *Eudamus*, *Celbanus*, and many others of the enemies of *Eumenes*, experienced a like fate ^b.

He resolves to change the govern- ments in all the provin- ces. *Antigonus* had now nothing in his head but the executing of his old scheme of making himself lord of *Asia*; in order to which he resolved to sacrifice all such as he suspected, all who had obstinately opposed him, and all who by the fickleness of their conduct had shewn they were not to be depended on by any party. In the first place he resolved to take off *Pithon*, who had done him such eminent service; but who while they were in winter quarters in *Media*, had been tampering with the soldiers. *Antigonus*, to carry on his design, brow-beat all such as found fault with *Pithon's* conduct, gave out to his friends that he intended to make him governor of all the upper provinces, and under this pretence drew him out of his own province of *Media*; but as soon as he got him into his hands, he called a council of war, wherein charging him with treason, those who had been formerly concerned with him were now out of fear most ready to give him up, so that he was presently convicted, and thereon instantly executed. He then appointed *Orontobates* a *Mede* governor of *Media*, but made *Hippostratus* general of the forces, which he left for the preservation of the province. Such of the governors as he found could not be dispossessed, he confirmed in their provinces. Last of all, he sent for *Sybartius*, governor of *Arachosia*, in whom he confided. To this man he transferred the *silver-shields*, openly affirming, that they would serve him to awe the barbarous nations; but giving him privately to understand that it was his desire that they should be put out of the way as expeditiously as possible, as a race of seditious villains unworthy of returning to *Greece*. These things performed, he stript *Peucestas* of the government of *Persia*, where he was prodigiously beloved, and appointed *Ajclepiodorus* in his stead. All the money and rich curiosities which were in the treasury of *Susa* he seized to the value of fifteen thousand talents, and out of the spoils and the treasure he found in other places, he collected ten thousand talents more, with which prodigious mass of wealth, he doubted not to carry all his designs into execution. Being not a little encouraged also from this consideration, that by this time not only the famous captains, but

^b DIODOR. SICUL., PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS, ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xii. cap. 2.

many of the inferior officers who had served under *Alexander*, were destroyed, and put out of his way.

As soon as the season of the year permitted, *Antigonus* Antigonus marched with all his army, and with the mighty treasures he had collected, to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* was governor. *Antigonus* marches to Babylon. This man had done the highest services to *Antigonus*, and among these some very late ones; for through him the citadel of *Susa*, and all the wealth therein, had been delivered up to *Antigonus*. Upon this occasion too, he did all, or rather more, than could be expected; for he feasted the whole army at his own expence, and seemed to be no less pleased with the success of *Antigonus* than he himself was. All this, however, could not secure him. The ambitious have no friends; All who pretend to serve them must be absolutely their creatures. When therefore *Seleucus* had done all that was in his power, *Antigonus* demanded of him an account of the revenues of the province, which plainly discovered that he looked on him as a mere dependant. *Seleucus*, however, was very far from making any servile submissions, or even seeking to temporize any longer with a man whom he esteemed no more than his equal. He told him the province of *Babylon* was conferred upon himself by the *Macedonians* as the reward of his services, and that therefore he did not conceive he was any more bound to give an account than he had a right to demand one. But when he had considered attentively the great power of *Antigonus*, and the small capacity he had of resisting him, he began to conceive that he was in no small danger, especially when he called to mind what had befallen *Eumenes*, *Pithon*, and *Peucestas*; to secure himself therefore from such treatment as they met with, and to escape being either murdered or deposed, he with fifty horse instantly made his escape, in order to fly to *Ptolemy*. When this was first known to *Antigonus*, he rejoiced at it exceedingly, being extremely pleased, that by this means he had got the province to himself, without proceeding harshly with his old friend, and a man in high credit with the army, supposing that now he should dispose of every thing according to his pleasure. But when the *Chaldean* priests informed him that they by their *astrological* rules were certain, that if *Seleucus* escaped at present, he would be in process of time not only a formidable, but successful enemy, and that himself would fall in battle against him; *Antigonus* took it much to heart, remembering how these people had before foretold the death of *Hephestion*, as well as that of *Alexander*. Terrified therefore with gloomy

• DIODOR. SICUL. PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS. ubi supra.

apprehensions,

apprehensions, he dispatched away some chosen squadrons of horse to seize on *Seleucus*; but this method was taken too late he had already reached the territories of *Ptolemy*, where he remained in perfect safety. The chagrin this accident gave *Antigonus* made him redouble his diligence in disposing of the rest of the provinces to his own advantage. He quickly found how necessary all his care was, for before he had well taken these precautions, *Seleucus* had raised him such a number of enemies, that, with all his mighty power, he had enough to do to defend himself. *Ptolemy*, *Lyſimachus*, *Cassander*, all leagued with *Seleucus*, in order to reduce the power of *Antigonus*, that they might themselves be secure in their possessions: for though *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* was still living yet *Cassander* imprisoned both him and his mother, and treated them only as private persons, of which though *Antigonus* might be secretly glad, yet conceiving rightly that the putting on a contrary character would be of service to his affairs, he openly inveighed against *Cassander's* conduct, and alledged, that he took up arms to vindicate the rights of the royal house; whereas in truth he was the first who openly invaded them by assuming sovereign power, though he did not indeed as yet take upon him the title of king^d.

Antigonus
seizes Syria
and Phœ-
nicia.
Year of
the Flood
2685.
Before
314.

As *Antigonus* immediately after the escape of *Seleucus* had marched into *Cilicia*, in order to refresh and recruit his army, so as soon as he was thoroughly informed of the confederacy set on foot against him, he determined to proceed first to hostilities, and to secure the provinces of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* at present in the hands of *Ptolemy*. He perfectly well discerned, that, in case of a war against so many princes, his being master at sea would be of the last importance; and he hoped by conquering these countries, not only to have the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* ports, but also their shipping, at his devotion. In the former design he succeeded, yet with great difficulty; but in the latter he was totally disappointed. *Joppa* and *Gaza* he reduced by force; as for *Tyre* it sustained a siege of many months; with respect to the shipping, *Ptolemy* foreseeing what would come to pass, had withdrawn them to *Egypt*. However, *Antigonus* persisted in his former resolution of being master of the sea; in order to which, he ordered vast quantities of timber to be cut down in mount *Libanus* and other places in his dominions, which being sent to the ports respectively nearest to the places where they were cut, he had a vast fleet immediately upon the stocks. The wisdom of his proceeding appeared evidently from an accident which

^d DIODOR. PLUT. ubi supra.

happened

happened to him at the siege of *Tyre*, where while he lay with his army on the sea-coast, *Seleucus* with part of *Ptolemy's* fleet passed by in spite of him, which exceedingly dispirited his forces; but *Antigonus* restored their courage by assuring them that before the end of that summer he would have five hundred ships of war at sea, which would be more than sufficient to drive the enemy out of it; and this promise, by his great care and regular payment of all demands, he effectually performed. But as all human abilities are circumscribed, whence it becomes impossible for one man to attend to all things, while *Antigonus* was intent upon these important affairs, the army of *Cassander* made a great progress in the *Lesser Asia*^e.

To remedy this evil, *Antigonus* marched thither with a great part of his army, leaving his son *Demetrius* with the rest to preserve the conquests he had made in *Syria* and *Phæ-*^{Antigonus}
^{repels Cal-}
^{sander.}
nice. That prince was not above twenty-two years old, but of abilities far beyond his years; he was brave and generous in the highest degree, well versed in war, and a great despiser of those arts and shifts by which cunning men pass for wise ones; he was kind to his friends, gentle to his enemies, and had an innate clemency, untinged with private designs or future prospects; if with all this his greatness had not supplied him with flatterers, who led him not to pollute, but to plunge himself into the grossest vices, he would have been the worthiest, as well as one of the most remarkable princes of the age in which he lived. His amiable qualities gained him the love of the army committed by his father to his charge, and he became very agreeable to the inhabitants of the provinces over which he presided for the space of a year, while his father made war upon *Cassander*, and so effectually humbled him, that he was content to make a peace on very indifferent terms, which, however, when he had better considered of it, he presently broke and joined again with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*, to give *Antigonus* all the trouble he could^f.

THE diversions given by *Cassander* to the arms of *Antigonus* ^{Ptolemy}
afforded *Ptolemy* an opportunity of making a descent in *Cælo-*^{recovers}
Syria, and afterwards in *Cilicia*, out of which province he car-
ried great spoils into *Egypt*. On his return thither, *Seleucus* insti-
gated him to invade *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, shewing how detrimen-
tal a thing it was to his affairs for these provinces to remain in the
hands of his enemies. *Ptolemy*, entering readily into the reason
of the thing, began instantly to set on foot all the necessary

^e DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in DEMETRIO JUSTIN. lib. xiv. ^f DIODOR. & PLUT. ubi supra.

preparations for a war in those parts. At last, when all things were in readiness, he entered *Syria* with a gallant army ; but he had advanced no farther than *Gaza*, when *Demetrius* put a stop to his progress by offering him battle ; a general engagement ensued, which was very obstinate and bloody ; it ended however, in the total overthrow of *Demetrius*, who had five thousand men slain, and eight thousand taken prisoners. Among the former was *Python*, whom his father had assigned him for his colleague ; he had been a principal officer in the army of *Alexander*, was a man of great abilities, and after the death of *Eumenes* had been received by *Antigonus* into the first place of his confidence and esteem. After this rout, *Demetrius* retired with the remains of his army to *Azotus*, from whence he sent deputies to *Ptolemy* to beg leave to bury his dead, which favour was not only granted him, but *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* sent him back his royal pavillion, his whole equipage, and all the prisoners who had any dependence on his family. The rest of the prisoners were sent into *Egypt*. *Demetrius* finding it impossible for him to make head against the victorious army, abandoned *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, and *Syria* to the victor. *Tyre* indeed made some resistance. *Andronicus* commanded therein, who not long before had taken it for *Antigonus*. He was a man of spirit, and therefore absolutely refused to part with a place of such importance tamely. The city therefore was invested, but in a little time the garison mutinied, and *Andronicus* was forced to give it up to *Ptolemy*, who therewith recovered all that *Antigonus* had taken from him. *Seleucus* took this opportunity of requesting his friend to comply with the promise he had made him, of furnishing him with a body of troops for the recovery of the province of *Babylon*. *Ptolemy* very readily agreed to it, and assigned him a thousand foot and three hundred horse, with which inconsiderable assistance, *Seleucus* not only possessed himself of *Babylon*, but also of *Media* and *Susiana*, after having defeated *Nicanor*, who was governor of the former province for *Antigonus*. While *Seleucus* went on thus triumphantly, *Ptolemy* had a very unlucky accident ; he had sent *Cilles* his general with a considerable army to drive *Demetrius* out of *Upper-Syria*, where he with the remains of his army still continued. This *Cilles*, being a bold improvident man, highly contemned in himself an enemy so often beaten ; for *Demetrius* had been driven from post to post after the battle of *Gaza*, without being able to make any considerable stand, which was the reason that *Cilles* doubted not but he would now retire as fast as he should press upon him ; *Demetrius* having intelligence of this, resolved to repair the false step he had made at

†

Gaza,

Gaza, by a quick proceeding here; he therefore sent a small party of horse to view the camp of *Cilles*, and being informed that all things there were in a very careless condition, he instantly determined with himself to fall upon them; which resolution he executed with such celerity, that he totally defeated the enemy, and took *Cilles* himself with seven thousand men prisoners. This action, as it contributed much to the glory of *Demetrius*, and to the interest of his father *Antigonus*, so it gave the former an opportunity of returning that civility which *Ptolemy* had done him after the battle of *Gaza*, in restoring the principal prisoners then taken. *Demetrius* therefore immediately sent back *Cilles* and all his friends to the camp of *Ptolemy*, with the same compliment which had formerly been made to himself; that he fought not so much for interest as for glory. As soon as *Antigonus*, who was at that time in *Phrygia*, received advice of this victory, he instantly passed mount *Taurus*, and marched with all imaginable speed to join his son, which having once performed, they marched with all their forces against *Ptolemy*, who clearly perceiving that he should not be able to resist so numerous an army, flushed with victory, demolished most of the cities which were fortified in the provinces he had conquered, and then retired into *Egypt* with an immense load of spoil, and a vast number of people, not carried prisoners against their will, but who voluntarily followed his fortunes. Thus the provinces of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, returned again to their old master^s.

Antigonus, elated with this high run of fortune, conceived in his mind a desire of subduing the *Nabathæans* or *Arabs*, inhabiting the deserts bordering on *Judea*. Against these he dispatched his general *Athenæus*, who at first proceeded very warily in his expedition; for having with him but four thousand foot and six hundred horse, he knew that in attacking so numerous a people, conduct would be of greater use than courage. He had intelligence that most of the *Arabs* were gone to a mart or fair, where the *Syrians* and they bartered their commodities, and that on this account their chief city *Petra*, where they left their wives and children, and their wealth, was but slenderly guarded. Upon this he marched with his forces three days and three nights at an incredible rate; for, if the numbers are right in *Diodorus*, they must have gone sixty miles in twenty four hours. This expedition effectually answered their end, for they invested the place be-

on the
Arabs.
Year of
the
Flood,
2688.
Before
Christ,
311.

^s DIONOR. SICUL. ubi supra PLUT. in Demetrio.

fore the *Arabs* had the least intelligence ; and having cut the guards to pieces, plundered the city, carried away a prodigious booty, besides five hundred talents in ready money ; they then marched back again about twenty miles, when, through excessive fatigue, they were constrained to halt ; and lying in a careless manner, the *Arabs*, who had by this time intelligence of what had happened, followed them with such expedition, that surrounding their camp, they put all therein to the sword, sixty horse excepted, who made their escape at the beginning of the attack. The *Arabs* were not satisfied with this ; they sent immediately deputies to *Antigonus* to complain of the injury offered them by *Athenæus*, and to shew the necessity they were under of treating him and his troops as they did. *Antigonus*, knowing that it was not in his power to revenge what had happened at present, sent them for answer, That *Athenæus* had made this expedition of his own head, and that he was very well pleased at what had befallen him. The *Arabs*, who knew how to dissemble as well as he, feigned to be perfectly well satisfied of the truth of what he said ; but, in the mean time, they posted advanced guards, at all the avenues into their country, and placed men in all their watch-towers to prevent their being surprized again in the same manner. Their suspicions and precautions were perfectly just ; for *Antigonus*, as soon as he had recruited his army, sent his son *Demetrius*, with four thousand light-armed foot and as many horse, to revenge the death of *Athenæus*. The young prince at the head of his forces passed in three days time through the desert ; but when he arrived at the city of *Petra*, he found it well garisoned, and that the country being thoroughly alarmed, all the cattle, and whatever else was worth taking away, had been long since secured. However, he caused it to be invested, and afterwards formally besieged the place ; the garison, however, made a glorious defence, and refused to hear of any terms, declaring that if they could have borne slavery, they needed not have retired, as it were, out of the world, and placed all hopes of safety in the strength of a fortress and their own valour. *Demetrius* therefore finding that this would be a work of time, and knowing that his retreat would be attended with great hazard, gave the besieged to understand, that provided they sent deputies to appease his father *Antigonus*, made himself certain presents, and sent refreshments to his army, he would be content to leave them. With these propositions they immediately complied, and *Demetrius* thereupon marched back to the lake of *Asphaltes*, of which he caused an exact description

description to be made, as also some computation to be framed of the profit of the bitumen taken thence, and of the quantity of balm gathered from the famous plantation not far from that place, so much admired, and prized under the name of *balm of Gilead*. These things performed, he returned to his father, and gave him an account of his proceedings. *Antigonus* was very little pleased with the peace he had concluded with the *Nabathæans*; but he highly applauded his son's discoveries, especially on account of the profit he hoped to make of the bitumen and balm. He appointed therefore *Hieronymus* the *Cardian* one of the friends of *Eumenes*, and now his own, to superintend those he sent to the lake to collect all the bitumen they could find, and to carry it to a place assigned, in order to be sold for the use of *Antigonus*. *Hieronymus*, who was now a man in years, executed this commission with all the prudence and fidelity imaginable, neither did he meet with any interruption from the *Arabs*, till such time as they had collected the bitumen and were carrying it away. Then with six thousand men they came down, and surrounded those who were employed in the work, and having cut most of them to pieces, carried the bitumen clear off. *Hieronymus* himself escaped, and thus ended all attempts upon the *Arabians* ^h.

As soon as *Antigonus* had received advice of the mighty progress made by *Seleucus* in the east, he determined to send away his son *Demetrius* with an army to oppose him, which accordingly he did; this army consisted of five thousand *Macedonian* foot, ten thousand mercenaries, and four thousand horse, with whom the prince immediately marched towards *Babylon*. *Seleucus* was at this time in *Media*, intent on settling his affairs in the upper provinces, and *Patrocles*, whom he had left president of *Babylon*, perceiving that his forces would not be able to resist the army of *Demetrius*, he first of all compelled the citizens of *Babylon* to abandon the place, and to retire, some into the deserts, some into *Susiana*, and some to fly much farther; he then withdrew himself and his troops into such fastnesses as he thought would effectually enable them to defend themselves. When therefore *Demetrius* entered *Babylon*, he to his great amazement found it deserted, except the castles in which there were good garisons, both of which he besieged; one he quickly reduced, and gave the spoil thereof to his soldiers; but the other holding out till the time was expired, which his father had allotted him for this

^h DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio.

expedition, *Demetrius* left five thousand foot, and a thousand horse under the command of *Archelaus* to carry on the siege, and with the rest of his forces marched away, suffering his soldiers to live, as he retired, at discretion; whereby the hearts of the people were so estranged from himself and his father, that the *Babylonians* were ever after as firmly attached to *Seleucus*, as if he had been their natural prince (D).

(D) In this part of our work we make use of two authors, viz. *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, who differ from each other very often; it is therefore but reasonable that we should acquaint our readers where, and upon what reasons we prefer one to the other, and this we shall do in few words. *Diodorus* had in view the writing a complete body of history, and therefore he is very exact in his chronology, and very nice in his descriptions; with respect to both, using the best authorities that were to be had in his days. *Plutarch* intended his lives chiefly as a moral performance, and therefore he is more careful in marking out of characters, than in accurately digesting facts. On this account, in the order of time, and in the description of sieges and battles, we mostly follow *Diodorus*; but as to personal circumstances, and what was either said or done by the kings themselves, we take *Plutarch* for our guide. On this occasion it may not be amiss to mention a particular fact, wherein these historians do not agree, and wherein we ourselves have taken the liberty to differ from a very judicious writer of our own nation. *Diodorus* informs us, that when *Demetrius* quitted *Babylon*, he left behind him *Archelaus*, with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, to besiege one of the castles, the other of which he told us *Demetrius* had taken and spoiled (10). *Plutarch* in his account of this transaction affirms, that *Demetrius* put a garison of seven thousand men into the castle which he had reduced, but he says nothing of his leaving an army behind him (11). Dean *Prideaux* joins these facts together, and makes *Demetrius* leave a garison of seven thousand men, and an army of six (12). It is expressly said by *Diodorus*, that his whole army consisted but of nineteen thousand men; it seems to us therefore improbable, that he should leave thirteen thousand behind him, and especially when we consider, that *Plutarch* says in so many words, he led back the gross of his army. If we might have leave to offer a conjecture, we think it not impossible, that *Archelaus*, when he found he could not take the other castle, repaired and garisoned that which had been taken, with his corps of between six and seven thousand men. This reconciles both the stories, offers violence to neither, and is perfectly consistent with the rules of good sense, and of war.

(10) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix.*
in Apophthegm. Reg.

(11) *Plutarch in Demetrio, &*
Connection of the Old with the New
Testament, P. 1. Book viii.

Demetrius, marching with his army into the *Lesser Asia*, found the city of *Halicarnassus* besieged by *Ptolemy*; whereupon he took such measures as obliged that prince to raise his siege, whereby he acquired great reputation, and did his father eminent service; for immediately upon this, the confederate princes entered into a treaty with *Antigonus*, whereby it was agreed, that *Cassander* should hold *Macedonia*, *Lyfismachus* *Thrace*, *Ptolemy* *Egypt* and its dependencies, and *Antigonus* all *Asia*; with a proviso, that the *Grecian* cities should every-where be free. In this treaty it was also mentioned, that these provinces were held in trust only for *Alexander Ægus*, the son of *Alexander the Great* by *Roxana*, who had now held the regal title seven years alone, that is, from the time his colleague *Aridæus* or *Philip* was murdered by *Olympias*. But very soon after this peace was made, *Cassander*, who had before put to death the mother of *Alexander*, caused his wife and son, now about fourteen years of age, to be privately slain also by the keeper of the castle, wherein they were confined. From this time therefore those who had been before governors of provinces were now sovereigns, and we might here very well commence the reign of *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius* in *Asia*; but inasmuch as they did not assume the title of kings till some time afterwards, we are inclinable to follow the example of *Ptolemy*, who notwithstanding the death of *Alexander Ægus*, reckons still by the years of his reign, till *Ptolemy Soter* assumed the regal title as well as authority. But to proceed; this peace was broke almost as soon as it was made, under pretence that *Antigonus* had put garisons into some of the *Greek* cities. *Ptolemy* then invaded *Cilicia*, and took several cities, while the rest of his confederates attacked *Antigonus* elsewhere, all with very indifferent success. *Demetrius* was sent by his father into *Cilicia* to recover the cities there lost, which he effectually performed; but in the mean time, *Ptolemy* reduced the greatest part of the island of *Cyprus*, which was of great advantage to him. Soon after he made a descent into the *Lesser Asia*, where he made various conquests, as also in the *Archipelago*; he likewise entered into a treaty with *Cleopatra*, sister to *Alexander the Great*, who resided at *Sardis*, and who in her turn had been solicited by *Cassander*, *Antigonus*, and *Lyfismachus*, to marriage, but in vain. Yet now either out of regard to *Ptolemy*, who was every-where applauded for an excellent prince, or out of pique to *Antigonus*, on account of her being very strictly looked after, she began to listen to the propositions made her, and actually attempted to make her escape to *Ptolemy's* camp. The gover-

nor

nor of *Sardis*, having intelligence of this, caused her and the ladies who were with her to be arrested, as also the women attending on her person; and to those, in pursuance of the orders of *Antigonus*, he gave directions that they should put her to death, which accordingly they did. When *Antigonus* received advice of this, he absolutely disclaimed all knowledge of the fact; and to make his innocence appear the clearer, he ordered the heads of the women concerned to be struck off, and buried *Cleopatra* with great solemnity. Happy for him, if with her he could have buried the odium, which, in spite of all his artful contrivances, her death brought upon him!!

Demetrius
defeats
Ptolemy
in a sea-
fight.
Year of
the Flood,
2693.
Before
Christ,
306.

AN eager thirst of glory put *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* on an expedition into *Greece*: his pretence was the setting the *Grecian* cities free; his real intent to aggrandize his father and himself by lessening the power of *Cassander*, who had garisoned many of those cities. We shall not here meddle with that war, because we have elsewhere given a very full account of it*; we shall content ourselves with saying, that he performed very well all he promised, and as he dispossessed *Cassander* of the cities, so he put no garisons into them himself, but left them intirely at liberty, and, according to his father's commands, prepared to carry on the war against *Ptolemy*. In the first place he landed in *Caria*; then he sailed into *Cilicia*, and having there recruited his army to fifteen thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and got together a fleet of upwards of one hundred and fifty sail of long ships, besides transports, he made a descent on *Cyprus*. As soon as he had landed his troops, he, like a wise commander, drew his vessels ashore, and took such precautions for their safety as were necessary, and then besieged the cities of *Urania* and *Carpasia*, and took them. After this success he advanced towards *Salamis*, the capital city, wherein *Menelaus* the brother of *Ptolemy* commanded. This man was not only a bold and vigilant, but also a very enterprising officer. He resolved to fight before he was shut up, that he might have some trial of the invader's forces, and also diminish them a little before they undertook a siege. With this view having collected twelve thousand foot and eight hundred horse, he presented himself to *Demetrius*, as he was marching to *Salamis* in order of battle. This young captain, no less fond of fighting than he, immediately engaged and routed his

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio. JUSTIN. lib. xiv. * See Vol. VI. p. 265.

forces, killing a thousand on the spot, and taking three thousand prisoners, whereupon *Menelaus* fled with the rest into *Salamis*, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. *Demetrius* instantly invested the city, and, as he piqued himself particularly on being a great engineer, carried on his attacks with much skill and wonderful vigour, insomuch, that *Salamis* was on the point of falling into his hands, when *Ptolemy* being informed of its condition, came in person to save it. He arrived with his fleet at *Citium* about twenty miles from *Salamis*, and immediately sent to desire his brother to send sixty ships which lay in the harbour to join his fleet; but that was found impracticable, for *Demetrius* on the first intelligence had equipped his fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the haven therewith. *Ptolemy*, notwithstanding this disappointment, weighed anchor and stood for *Salamis*, having with him one hundred and forty ships of war, and ten thousand men on board two hundred transports. *Demetrius* had but a hundred and eight ships of war, besides ten which were left to guard the mouth of the haven; however, he resolved not to shun an engagement. By way of precaution, he drew his cavalry down to the strand, that they might cover any vessels compelled to run ashore, and receive such as might be driven to swim for safety. The battle was very obstinate and bloody: *Ptolemy* broke that wing against which he fought in person; but *Demetrius*, chiefly through his own courage and skill in naval affairs, broke through the centre, and entirely defeated his enemies fleet. Just as the fight was over, and *Demetrius* returning in triumph, the sixty sail of ships broke out of the haven of *Salamis*, but were constrained to sail back again for fear of *Demetrius*. This was reputed the most glorious action of his life; for here he took forty ships of war, and sunk fourscore; he also took a hundred transports, with eight thousand soldiers on board, which proved of the last consequence to him, for he incorporated most of them into his army. The largest ship in the fleet he caused to be fitted up after the best manner possible, in order to send in it certain lords to carry the news of his victory to *Antigonus*, which, however, he delayed, till *Salamis* surrendered, whereby his prisoners were increased to seventeen thousand; among whom were *Menelaus* the brother, and *Leontiscus* the son of *Ptolemy*, both of whom he immediately discharged, and sent home to *Egypt*, with all their friends and dependants, desiring them to acquaint *Ptolemy* that he had not forgot the kindness done him in *Cilicia*. While *Demetrius* was settling his affairs in *Cyprus*, the messengers on board the galleon sailed to the coasts of *Syria*; and *Aristodemus*, who was the
chief

chief of them, went on shore, and with great parade informed *Antigonus* of the complete victory gained by his son. It was upon this occasion that the old man conceiving it of no longer use, laid aside his modesty, and took the title of king, putting a crown upon his head, and sending another to his son with a letter of congratulation, thus addressed, *To the excellent majesty of king Demetrius*. As soon as this was known in *Egypt*, the people, to shew their love for *Ptolemy*, compelled him to accept the same title; upon which *Lyfimachus* also assumed it, as did likewise *Seleucus*; and *Cassander* suffered it to be given him, though he did not make use of it in any of his writings ^k.

State of
Antigo-
nus's
court.

IT may seem strange that so politic, as well as so ambitious a prince as *Antigonus* was, should thus associate his son in the empire, and permit him not only to wear the title of king, but to share also in the administration; but if we consider attentively this transaction, we shall agree, that in this he was more happy, than either in his titles, or in his kingdoms. For *Demetrius* was not only dutiful and loyal to his father, but had so warm an affection for his person, that he was, in the strictest sense of the word, *Antigonus's* best friend. As all degrees of bliss are either heightened or lessened by comparison, so the happiness of *Antigonus* in this respect appeared with the brighter lustre on account of the family dissensions in the courts of his several rivals; of which he was so sensible, that having given audience one day to the ambassadors of *Cassander*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyfimachus*, and they being withdrawn, he ordered them to be called back, because his son *Demetrius* coming in warm from hunting, went into his father's apartment, kissed him, and then sat down with his javelins in his hand. When the ambassadors demanded what his pleasure was, *Tell your masters*, said *Antigonus*, *besides what I before mentioned to you, upon what terms my son and I live*. The sense the father had of the son's inviolable attachment to him, made him so readily compliment him with the regal dignity; we shall see this old politician mistaken in many instances, but never in this, in which so many fathers have erred. But these events we reserve for the following section ^l.

^k DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi supra.
JUSTIN. ubi supra.

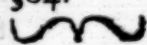
^l DIODOR. PLUT.

S E C T VII.

The History of the reign of Antigonus, and his son
Demetrius, in Asia.

AS we are for the future to speak of *Antigonus* and *De-*
metrius as kings, it is fit that we should open this section with some account of their family: *Antigonus* was the son of *Philip* a nobleman; he espoused *Stratonice* the daughter of *Correus*, a lady of remarkable beauty; by her he had two sons, *Demetrius* and *Philip*, the former named after his uncle, the latter after his grand-father. We have seen after what manner he rose from being an officer in *Alexander's* army, to be lord of many of the fairest provinces of which his empire was composed; but hitherto we have spoke but slightly of the manner in which he ruled them. Ambition was his capital vice, and indeed it led him into a multitude of very bad actions; he had, however, several great qualities, and some good ones. In the midst of his prosperity, he was wiser than his master. For when *Hermadatus* a Greek poet, not contented with making him a god, stiled him also the offspring of the sun, *I can't tell how that is, said Antigonus; but he that empties my close-stool, never said any thing of my celestial origin.* At another time when he was complimented upon his recovery from sickness, *This disease, said he, was sent to put me in mind, that being a mortal, I should not grasp at any thing above a mortal.* In his disposition he was rough and boisterous, and as he was a great soldier, so he trusted too much to arms; for though by them he acquired large territories, yet he could not keep them so easily as *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* did their dominions, who made use of beneficence and clemency as the main pillars of their government. Of this *Antigonus*, when he grew old, became sensible; and therefore when he was told that men wondered his government grew milder, as he grew in years, *It is, said he, because I would keep through good-will what I got by force.* When his necessities required it, he would sometimes fleece his subjects severely, and when he was put in mind that *Alexander* did not so, *True, said he, for Alexander reaped Asia, and I do but glean.* In private matters he was strictly just: *Marsyas* his brother would have had him heard a cause, in which he was party, in his chamber. *No, my dear brother, answered Antigonus, I will hear it in the open court of justice, because I must do justice.* After all, his chief felicity was the

The character of
Antigonus
Year of
the Flood,
2695.
Before
Christ,
304.



manner in which he lived in his family; where, as he loved his wife and children, his wife and children really loved him: as for his second son, he died young, but not till he had performed things worthy of his descent; and there is a saying of his father's with respect to him mentioned by *Plutarch*, which shews at once the good sense and good humour of *Antigonus*. It happened on a march, that *Philip* was lodged at the house of a widow, who had three fair daughters; his father being informed of it, called for the quartermaster; *Hark ye, friend* said he, *pray deliver my son out of these streights*. Thus much, as to the character of *Antigonus*; with regard to that of *Demetrius*, we have already spoken copiously in the foregoing section, and in the *Athenian* history. The father was now in the zenith of his glory, and the son in the very prime of his age; we need not wonder therefore at their so readily accepting the alluring honours of the kingly state^a.

The Egyptian expedition.

To adorn the crowns they had put on, an expedition into *Egypt* was immediately resolved on, not with a design of carrying war into the enemy's country, or of streightening *Ptolemy* so much as to oblige him to accept of peace, but with a view to drive him intirely out of his dominions, that they might be annexed to those possessed by *Antigonus* already. The mighty land-army raised for this purpose was commanded by *Antigonus* himself; the fleet which was to accompany it had *Demetrius* for its admiral; both fleet and army were suitable to the design itself, and those by whom they were conducted; the former consisted of a hundred and fifty stout gallies, and a hundred smaller vessels; the latter of eighteen thousand foot, eight thousand horse, and fourscore and three elephants. The general rendezvous of the land-forces was at *Antigonia*, a new city built by *Antigonus* in *Syria*; the fleet anchored on the coast; the kings expressed an earnest desire to be gone, but the ablest seamen in the fleet were very desirous of remaining where they were till the setting of the *Pleiades*, dreading the ill weather, which till then is frequent on the coast of *Egypt*; but *Antigonus* would not be detained; he therefore caused provisions of all sorts for ten days to be provided for his army, and having got together camels and other beasts of burthen sufficient, as he thought, to transport these necessaries and their baggage, he began his march through the deserts, which lie between *Gaza* and *Egypt*; in his passage his army was miserably fatigued, and the spirits of the people excessively broke. At last, having coasted

^a Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. Plut. Apophthegm. Reg. mount.

mount *Cassius*, he perceived his fleet lying at anchor; but in a very indifferent state, many ships lost, more driven back to *Gaza*, and all the rest sorely shattered by the storm they had sustained. *Demetrius* intended to have sailed up one of the mouths of the *Nile*; but *Ptolemy* had so effectually secured these, and had disposed his troops on the coasts so judiciously, that no impression could be made; and if *Antigonus* had not supplied those on board with water and provisions, they must have perished in sight of the shore. This was a melancholy beginning; however, *Antigonus* marched on, hoping to rectify all things by his success in a battle; but *Ptolemy* was in no such haste; he had fortified all the fords of the *Nile*, and had considerable bodies of troops in these posts. He had besides an army of observation, with which he held *Antigonus* at bay, while in the interim he offered by proclamation every common soldier two *minæ*, (about six pounds five shillings *English*) and to every officer a talent, or one hundred and eighty-eight pounds, if they would come over to him. He had practised the same thing when *Perdiccas* invaded *Egypt*, and he had the same success now as then; for numbers deserted to him; and if *Antigonus* had not posted some choice troops on the road, the greatest part of his army would have gone over; the rather, because they were terrified with the dreadful punishments inflicted on those who were seized as they were going off. At last tumults arising, *Antigonus* saw plainly that it would not be for his interest to remain any longer there; wherefore, to avoid farther mischiefs, he retired with the army, as *Demetrius* sailed back with the fleet towards *Syria*. To repair the credit of their arms, the kings immediately resolved on a new expedition, which was the reduction of the island of *Rhodes*: For this some pretence was wanting; it was therefore demanded of the *Rhodians*, that they should enter into a close alliance with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* against all their enemies; this, as it was foreseen, they refused, because, carrying on a great trade with *Egypt*, it was impossible for them to break with *Ptolemy*; however, fear engaged them to offer all that was in their power, which, however, *Demetrius* refused; and, making a descent, besieged the capital of the island, which cost him a great deal of trouble to no purpose, except that he gained here the reputation of the greatest engineer of his time, in consequence of his contriving such machines as had never been seen before, and that he likewise gave a new instance of his generosity and clemency. For, whereas the *Rhodians* having taken a vessel, on board of

which were some rich hangings for his tent, as also certain letters from his wife *Phylla*, sent all to *Ptolemy*; yet, when they afterwards intreated *Demetrius* to spare the celebrated picture of their patron *Jalyfus*, which had cost *Protogenes* seven years, and was esteemed his master-piece; that prince answered, I would sooner destroy the statues of my father, than offer the least injury to so exquisite a piece. As for *Protogenes* himself he worked as usual in his house in the suburbs, and when *Demetrius* sent for him, and asked him, How he came to be so fearless? *I know, Sir*, said the painter, *that you make war against the Rhodians, but not against the sciences*: Whereupon the king smiling, assigned him a guard. The siege of *Rhodes* had lasted long, and the spirits of *Demetrius's* soldiers were almost exhausted, when, happily for him, ambassadors from *Athens* arrived to implore his assistance against *Cassander*; this gave him a pretence to make peace with the *Rhodians* on these terms, that they should serve *Antigonus* against all his enemies except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Then *Demetrius*, sailing with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great army on board, steered for *Attica*, where he landed, having constrained *Cassander* to retire towards *Macedon*; but when he came near *Thermopylae*, *Demetrius* fell upon his rear, and gave him so rude a shock, that his troops seemed rather to fly, than to march, through *Thessaly* afterwards. Upon this a corps of six thousand *Macedonians* left in *Greece* revolted to the victor, and *Demetrius* returned in triumph to the sea-coast of *Peloponnesus*. This extraordinary flow of success bore down before it almost all the virtues of *Demetrius*; for he began now to exceed *Alexander* in vanity, styling himself king of kings, drinking the healths of *Seleucus*, *Cassander*, *Lyfimachus*, and *Ptolemy*, as great officers of his state and household. In debauchery he sunk far below the dignity of human nature; indulging himself not only in sensual pleasures, but in a vice which ought to want a name; he likewise deviated into gross impiety, that never-failing road to ruin; and, forgetting his father's former moderation, would needs be stiled a god, and the younger brother of *Minerva*. It may indeed be said in his excuse, that he had kept his senses, if the wits of *Athens* had not seduced him; however it was, from this time forwards his affairs declined, and though sometimes the prospect cleared, yet the storm which now began to rise did not blow over, till it had wrought his as well as his father's ruin.

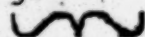
* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio.

Cassander,



Cassander, fearing that *Demetrius* would pursue the blow *Anew con-* he had already given him, and, after compelling him to leave *federacy a-* *Greece*, follow him into *Macedonia*, sent deputies to *Antigo-* *gainst An-* *onus* in *Syria*, in order to treat of a peace; but *Antigonus* *tigonus.* would hear of no other terms than his submitting himself and his dominions to his pleasure, so that these negotiations came to nothing, and *Cassander* was forced to send to his old confederates, in order to engage them in a new alliance against this formidable conqueror; they readily listened to his proposal, for they perfectly well discerned, that when once *Macedonia* was subdued, *Antigonus* would fall upon them next. To prevent this, they entered into a treaty with *Cassander*; and *Lyfimachus*, having obtained from him a part of his army, resolved to pass over into *Asia*, and fall upon *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and other provinces; which accordingly he did, and proceeded with such success, that *Antigonus* was not a little alarmed when acquainted therewith, as he was celebrating shews and gymnastic sports at his new city of *Antigonia*. He did not, however, lose his courage when he was made acquainted with this formidable confederacy; on the contrary, he behaved himself with more alacrity and spirit than could have been expected from a man of his years, and in his condition; for he was now upwards of eighty, and excessively corpulent. His ambition, however, was still so strong, that he could not help saying publicly, *That he would scatter the confederates, as easily as boys do birds among the corn, by throwing a stone amongst them.* In order to make good his words, he began to draw together his forces immediately; and, as soon as he had assembled a sufficient army, he crossed mount *Taurus*, and came down into *Cilicia*, where, having taken a considerable sum out of the treasury of *Quinda*, he made use of it to recruit his troops, which were soon in a condition not only to recover the places that had been lost, but even to offer *Lyfimachus* battle. That crafty old captain did not, however, press on an engagement, but, on the contrary, kept on the defensive, knowing well, that if he lost a battle, he lost all; but that *Antigonus* in such a case had many provinces to retire to. *Lyfimachus* therefore proposed an accommodation, but *Antigonus* would hearken to nothing; so the winter was spun out in preparations on both sides, and early in the spring *Selaucus*, with his own and *Ptolemy's* forces, began his march, in order to join *Lyfimachus*; of which, when *Antigonus* had notice, he instantly sent to recal *Demetrius* out of *Greece*, beginning now to foresee, that he should have enough to do to defend himself against so many and so potent adversaries. *Demetrius*, as soon as he had received his father's commands, entered

Year of
the Flood,
2697.
Before
Christ,
302.



entered into a provisional treaty with *Cassander* for preserving the peace and freedom of *Greece*. We call this treaty provisional, because it was not to remain in force, if *Antigonus* refused to ratify it; the design of both parties being to gain time, and an opportunity of attending their other affairs by acceding to this treaty, which gave liberty to *Greece*. On the conclusion of it, *Demetrius* found not only himself at liberty to return, but his forces also, there being now no necessity of leaving an army, as he had first designed, in *Peloponnesus* &c.

*The fatal
battle of
Ipsus.
Year of
the Flood,
2608.
Before
Christ,
301.*

WHEN the season of the year permitted, *Demetrius* transported his forces into *Asia*; and, having recovered *Ephesus* from *Lyfimachus*, marched strait to join his father. By this time *Seleucus* was at hand, and the news of his approach did not come sooner than that of *Ptolemy's* irruption into *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cælo-Syria*, where he carried all before him, and, in a short time, reduced all those provinces, excepting only the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which, being strongly garrisoned, held out for *Antigonus*; but after these rapid conquests, *Ptolemy*, who had set down before the last-mentioned city on a flying report, that *Antigonus* had beaten *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus*, raised his siege, and retired hastily into *Egypt*. By this time the two grand armies in *Phrygia* were ready to engage; that of *Antigonus* consisted of seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy five elephants. The forces of *Seleucus* and *Lyfimachus* consisted of sixty four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred elephants, and one hundred and twenty chariots of war. Now it was, that *Antigonus* varied a little from his usual manner of behaviour; for instead of appearing, as he was wont to do, with a frank and open countenance, he shewed himself very thoughtful and melancholy, was frequently silent; and whereas he formerly never consulted with any body, but gave out his orders with extraordinary vivacity, he was now very slow in his resolutions, consulted much with *Demetrius*; and once, as he was reviewing his troops, recommended him to the officers as his successor. These things were thought to shew, that his usual confidence had forsaken him: The morning of the battle, as he was coming out of his tent, he fell down and bruised himself; upon which rising up as well as he could, *Immortal gods*, said he, *grant me victory, if it be your will; but if not, let me fall in battle, and not survive my fading glory*. When the armies were disposed in order of battle, *Demetrius*, having the command of the best part of his fa-

• DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio. JUSTIN. lib. xv. c. 4.

ther's horse, charged so fiercely on the cavalry of *Seleucus* commanded by his son *Antiochus*, that he quickly broke and put them to flight; but pursuing them too far, he thereby lost all; for *Seleucus* immediately interposed his elephants in such a manner, that *Demetrius* could never rejoin his infantry; and, having done this, *Seleucus* marched with his foot to attack *Antigonus*, where he fought in person. The brave old man, on this occasion, behaved with great wisdom; but *Seleucus*, making a shew of charging him in flank, *Antigonus* was forced to alter his disposition; which gave opportunity to many traitors in his army to go over to the enemy; which they did, thereby creating such a confusion, that his forces were quickly broke, and himself, at the head of a very few, left to sustain the shock. When the enemy were about to charge him, one, who was near him, cried out, *Sir, consider what you do; they are coming down upon you. Let them come,* said *Antigonus*; *Demetrius will come to our assistance.* But, while he cast his eyes about in vain for his son, a shower of arrows deprived him of life, and he fell from his horse upon the ground, having only one servant that staid by his body. This was the fatal battle of *Ipsus*, so called from a town and river of *Phrygia*, near which it was fought. And thus fell the empire of *Antigonus* with himself, when he had borne the regal title about four years, and was as many above fourscore ^d.

Demetrius, with the poor remains of his army, which were *Demetrius* no more than five thousand foot and four thousand horse, re-Poliorcetered to *Ephesus*; and even doubting whether he should be *tes suc-* safe there, he shortly quitted that place, and retired towards *ceeds.* the sea. Many were of opinion, when he first entered that city, that he would have plundered the famous temple of *Diana*, in order to raise money to restore his affairs; but he did nothing of this sort, placing his chief hope in the loyalty of the *Athenians*, and therefore made all the haste he could thither, where he had left the best part of his plate, with his queen *Deidamia* and her retinue. But here his hopes miserably failed him, for the *Athenians* sent away his queen, and forbad him to enter their city. He, dissembling his resentment, very gladly received from them his ships, and, after visiting *Peloponnesus*, sailed away for the *Chersonese*, where landing, he committed great devastations in the territories of *Lyfmachus*; at which the confederate princes were not at all displeased, for they liked this ally of theirs no better than *Demetrius*, and feared him much more. In the midst

^d *DIONOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra ARRIAN. in Syriacis.*

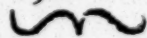
of his distresses a strange accident happened in the favour of *Demetrius*. *Seleucus* having heard wonderful things of the beauty of *Stratonice* the daughter of *Demetrius* and *Philla*, the widow of *Craterus* and sister of *Cassander*, he sent to *Demetrius* to demand her in marriage. This extraordinary turn of fortune did not a little amaze *Demetrius* himself, who joyfully transported his daughter in his royal fleet to meet *Seleucus*. As he sailed along he was frequently constrained to put on shore for refreshment, which, amongst other places, he did in *Cilicia*, a province assigned by the princes to *Plistarchus* the brother of *Cassander*, who conceiving this in no other light than that of an invasion, immediately posted away to *Cassander*, to complain of the injury done him; of which when *Demetrius* was informed, he thought *Plistarchus* could do no more, if he carried matters a little farther; wherefore he ventured to seize the treasury at *Quinda*, and took from thence two hundred talents, which had been left by his father. Arriving on the coast of *Syria*, he was first met by his wife *Philla*, and then coming to the city of *Rossus*, he there found *Seleucus*, who immediately espoused *Stratonice*; and, in honour of the nuptials, nobly entertained *Demetrius* on shore; accepting also in his turn an invitation from his father-in-law, he was nobly feasted on board the royal galley, after which they parted. *Demetrius* sailing back again, made a new descent on *Cilicia*, and got intire possession of it; whereupon he sent his wife *Philla* to excuse him to her brother *Cassander*; and his other wife *Deidamia* dying of a cold she had caught at sea, he, by the interposition of *Seleucus*, espoused *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, which gave his affairs a new aspect. This fair weather, however, did not last long; for *Seleucus*, unsatisfied with the many provinces he possessed, would needs have *Cilicia*, for which he offered *Demetrius* a sum of money. This he refused; upon which *Seleucus* demanded *Tyre* and *Sidon*, threatening, if they were not given up, he would take them by force. To which *Demetrius* answered, that if he had lost ever so many battles, every one of them as fatal as that of *Ipsus*, he would never part with cities in so tame a manner; and immediately gave orders for augmenting the garisons, and filling the magazines in the cities demanded. In the meantime he resolved himself to pass over into *Attica*, to be revenged for the affront which the *Athenians* had offered him immediately after the battle of *Ipsus*. In this expedition he was so roughly handled by a storm, that when he landed his troops in *Europe*, they were able to undertake nothing. He, how-

ever,

ever, soon after besieged the city of *Messene*, where he received an arrow in his jaw, which not only disfigured his face, but by the accidents attending the cure, threatened his life; yet he continued his siege, and afterwards his army increasing, he formed the blockade of *Athens*, which he reduced, and strongly garisoned. After this he made war against *Sparta*; whereupon *Archidamus* marched at the head of all the forces of *Lacedæmon*, as far as the city of *Man-tinæa*, that, as long as was possible, the war might be kept out of his own country; but his success was not answerable to his prudence and courage; for he was here defeated by *Demetrius*, and afterwards beaten by him again within sight of *Sparta*; yet such was the inconstancy of this prince's fortune, that he either was beaten, or reaped no benefit from his victories; for, immediately after this battle, came news, that *Lyfimachus* had conquered all he possessed in *Asia*; and that *Ptolemy*, after reducing the greatest part of the isle of *Cyprus*, had besieged the city of *Salamis*, in which were the mother and children of *Demetrius*; so that he had now no leisure to prosecute the war against *Sparta*. Before the sense of these mischiefs had long tormented the king's breast, a new and stranger scene opened, which turned all his thoughts another way.

Cassander king of *Macedon* left behind him two sons, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, both pretending title to the kingdom; but the former, having married the daughter of *Lyfimachus*, absolutely refused to grant any thing to the latter, who thereupon called in *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius* to his assistance. *Pyrrhus* came first, and made such an impression, that *Antipater* gladly compounded the matter with his brother, and allotted him half the kingdom, from which *Pyrrhus*, however, lopped a piece for his share; which proceeding giving *Alexander* to believe, that, when *Demetrius* arrived, he would take another portion of his kingdom, he made all the haste he could to meet him, and at the interview thanked him for the assistance he brought, but assured him that he had no need of it; whereupon *Demetrius* prepared to return, which, however, *Alexander* meant not that he should do, having formed a scheme to murder him at supper. This *Demetrius* prevented by going away suddenly; yet, when they came to *Larissa* in *Theffaly*, *Alexander* began to practise again; for *Demetrius* having invited him to an entertainment, he

Demetrius
becomes
king of
Macedo-
nia.
Year of
the Flood,
2705.
Before
Christ,
294.



* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demet. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 1.

went thither without guards, that *Demetrius* might have no pretence for bringing any with him; but his design being guessed at, *Demetrius* ordered him, and those who were with him, to be killed after supper; which command when his guards began to execute, one of *Alexander's* friends cried out, *You have been too quick for us by a day.* The *Macedonian* army, when they received the news of the death of their king, were not a little surprised, supposing that *Demetrius* would take this opportunity of attacking and cutting them to pieces; which, however, he was so far from doing, that he sent to desire leave to justify himself as to the death of *Alexander*, which he did in a formal harangue. This had such an effect on the *Macedonians*, that they immediately saluted *Demetrius* king; and thus, when his affairs were most desperate, he acquired that kingdom, for which so many princes had struggled, not only by the free consent of the people, but also with some colour of right; for tho' *Antipater* the son of *Cassander* was living, yet the *Macedonians* might well hold him unworthy of a crown, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own mother, the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* and sister of *Alexander*. Setting him aside, *Demetrius*, in right of his wife, was the next heir; and the sight of his son *Antigonus*, who was the grandson of old *Antipater*, influenced the *Macedonians* not a little, for they remembered how happily they had lived under his administration, and in what continual broils they had been ever since. The rest of the princes did not seem much displeased with an event which had fixed a crown on the head of the son of *Antigonus* at none of their expence. As for *Lyfsmachus*, while *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* were agreed, he thought it his interest to be well with both. *Ptolemy* having recovered *Cyprus*, dismissed the family of *Demetrius*, not only without injury, but with much respect, and with many magnificent presents. In the court of *Seleucus*, a surprising change had happened, which yet was beneficial to *Demetrius*; for *Stratonice* was married to *Antiochus* her son-in-law. Thus all things at present contributed to leave *Demetrius* at his ease; excepting his own temper only, which, now he had no enemy left, inclined him to pick quarrels with his friends. But of these things in another place. In this chapter we are to consider him as a king in *Asia*, and therefore we shall proceed to the last attempt made by him for the recovery of his father's kingdom f.

f DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. xvi. c. 2.

WHEN he had reigned about six years in *Macedon*, partly to gratify his own ambition, and partly to employ the restless *Macedonians*, he began to make preparations for the conquest of *Asia*. In order to this, he set an army on foot of ninety eight thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. He likewise put a fleet of five hundred gallies upon the stocks, at *Pella*, *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, and *Athens*. Several of these gallies had fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen benches of oars; and they were all built by the particular contrivance of *Demetrius* himself, whose skill in this respect was not only admired by such as knew nothing more of ships than what their bulk and beauty dictated to their sight, but by the ablest artificers, who, without his directions were incapable of constructing such vessels, as, with all the pomp of royal ships, had also all the strength, and all the conveniencies of ordinary ships of war. The noise of these preparations awakened *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy*; they therefore entered into a strict league against him, and, according to their old maxim in the days of *Antigonus*, determined to begin the war first. With this view they invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to enter into the confederacy, which he readily did, tho' he had learned the trade of war under *Demetrius*, who had taught him ingratitude too, for *Demetrius* had practised upon him first. This point once settled, *Ptolemy* sailed with a puissant fleet to invade *Greece*, at the same time that *Lyfimachus* with a mighty army invaded *Macedon*. *Demetrius*, surprized with these quick proceedings, which came a little too soon for the state his affairs were in, levied, in as short a time as he was able, a considerable army, and marched therewith to oppose *Lyfimachus*, dispatching at the same time his son *Antigonus* with another army to provide for the safety of *Greece*. When *Demetrius* was arrived within a short march of the enemy, he received advice, that *Pyrrhus* had entered *Macedon* on the other side, and had penetrated as far as *Beræa*; upon which the *Macedonians* began to mutiny, and *Demetrius* saw plainly, that they had an inclination to desert to *Lyfimachus*. This made him apprehend that he had slipped in his politics, when he ventured to lead a *Macedonian* army against their old commander. To amend this therefore he made a short turn, and marched away directly to fight *Pyrrhus*, against whom, as a foreigner, he doubted not his troops would behave well; but in this he made a greater mistake than before; for no sooner he came near the enemy than his army began to desert in small parties. By degrees the *Macedonians* grew bolder, and went so far as to

say openly in the camp, that the crown ought to belong to him, who most resembled *Alexander*; that in *Demetrius* indeed they saw his vanity, luxury, and pride, but that in *Pyrrhus*, against whom they were to fight, all the virtues of *Alexander* were conspicuous. When these notions had circulated among them a little while, the whole camp was in a tumult, and things at last issued in this, that some of the modestest and best meaning of the soldiers advised *Demetrius* to withdraw in time, and secure his person. Upon this he retired to his tent, laid aside his royal robes, and, in the habit of a private soldier, fled away without attendance to *Cassandria* ^g.

He is expelled from Macedon.

IN this city he found his wife *Philla*, who, when she was informed of what had happened, overcome with grief, and ashamed to behold a daughter of *Antipater* at the lowest ebb of distress in *Macedon*, took poison, and so ended her days. *Demetrius*, in his worst fortunes, had always hopes; wherefore quitting *Macedon*, he withdrew into *Greece*, where having drawn together some of his friends, he began to form an army, which increasing by degrees, he marched to *Thebes*, and there assumed again the regal habit, and, as the first essay of his authority, restored the democratic authority in the city where he lived. As for the *Athenians*, as soon as they heard of his distress, without any other motive than mere ingratitude, they contrived to insult him, which provoked him so far, as to engage him to lead his new-raised army immediately to besiege their city. In this siege he had such success, that the *Athenians* were constrained to deprecate his vengeance by a solemn deputation, at the head of which was an eminent philosopher. *Demetrius*, who had always a tenderness for *Athens*, suffered himself to be persuaded to pardon even this new outrage; so that this expedition being at an end, he, of a sudden took it into his head to hazard another, which was for the recovery of *Caria* and *Lydia* from *Lyfimachus*. All his forces amounted to but eleven thousand men, and nothing could be more romantic than to hope, with so inconsiderable an army, to conquer a great part of *Asia*; however, he had necessity on his side, and a considerable body of desperate men to enforce whatever measures he thought fit to take. When he arrived at *Miletus*, he was met by *Eurydice* the sister of his wife *Philla*. She brought with her a new wife for him. *Ptolemaida*, to whom he had been long ago contracted. The marriage was consummated at *Sardis*, which he presently took. Part of the forces of *Lyfimachus*

^g PLUT. in Demet. JUSTIN. l. xvi. c. 2.

revolting

revolting to him, and bringing with them a great sum of money, enabled him to recruit his army effectually. All this, however, signified nothing; for *Agathocles* the son of *Lysimachus*, coming against him with a very great army, and managing his command with great prudence, brought *Demetrius* into deep distress; for though the troops of the latter had the advantage in all the skirmishes which happened between them and the forces of *Agathocles*, yet by avoiding an engagement, and making a proper use of his advantage in numbers, this young prince compelled *Demetrius* to retire into *Phrygia*, whither he followed him, and reduced his army to a starving condition. *Demetrius*, shifting quarters often, at length passed the river *Lyénus*, which being very rapid, many of his soldiers were drowned. This, with the other misfortunes they had endured, exasperated the army to such a degree, that they openly complained; and one day when *Demetrius* came out of his tent, he found these lines, which are a *Parody* on the beginning of the *Oedipus* of *Sophocles*, fixed over his door,

*Thou son of blind Antigonus,
Where are we?—*

To add to these distresses, the plague broke out in his army, by which, in a very short time, he lost eight thousand men. With the poor remainder he retired to *Tarsus*, a city belonging to *Seleucus*, where he ordered his soldiers to observe exact discipline, till at last want forced them to dispense with all orders. Then it was that he wrote to *Seleucus* in terms the most moving. He represented the grandeur from which he was fallen, the misery to which he was reduced, and the small hopes he had left. *Seleucus*, taking this matter into consideration, sent orders to the governors of provinces, to furnish *Demetrius* with whatever was requisite for him, not as a private man, but as a king; as also with provisions for his army. This was done through the inclinations, and with a beneficence worthy of the king himself. But *Patrocles*, the prime minister of *Seleucus*, was of quite another sentiment; he continually whispered in his master's ear, that, of all the princes of his time, *Demetrius* was the most enterprising; that the more he was distressed, the more ready he must be to make any new attempt hope or despair might suggest to him; and that to afford support to such a person, was to nurse a wild beast in his bosom. By degrees the minister's art overcame his master's clemency; so that, when *Demetrius* least expected it, *Seleucus* advanced with a powerful army towards *Cilicia*, whereupon that unhappy prince

prince was forced to take shelter in mount *Taurus*, from whence he sent deputies to *Seleucus*, requesting him, that he would permit him the liberty to attempt, by force of arms, to repair his broken fortunes against the barbarous nations, there to establish a kingdom, where he might pass the remainder of his life in quiet and repose, and not in that rigorous season of the year, for it was now the middle of the winter, expose him to the fury of his implacable enemies in this distress, but to allow him a competent time and maintenance for his small army, till the weather should permit him to depart. But *Seleucus*, who, by this time, was become excessively jealous of him, sent him word, that he would allow him to remain where he was but two months; and that, even in consideration of this favour, he expected that he should deliver as hostages his principal commanders. *Demetrius*, perceiving himself taken like a beast in a toil, flew with vindictive rage on his cruel persecutors, and had the good luck to get the better of them in many encounters; particularly when he was beset with armed chariots, by his personal valour, he engaged his soldiers to break through them, and thereby opened a passage into *Syria*; so that things taking a new turn, *Lyfimachus* thought it would be favourably received, if he made *Seleucus* an offer of his assistance; but that cautious prince liked no such assistance; he therefore thanked *Lyfimachus*, and declined his favour; however, he spun out the war with *Demetrius*, not caring to trust the fortune of that prince, which often, from a very miserable state, had suddenly raised him to great prosperity. Even at this time *Demetrius* was in a better condition than could have been expected; and his forces, as they had been always victorious under his conduct, so they were very tractable and obedient in hopes that his good fortune would put it in his power to reward them. But while his mind was big with a thousand projects, *Demetrius* was seized with a malignant fever, which, in a short time, took from him his senses, so that for forty days he was able to give no orders. At the end of this space he recovered his senses, and in some measure his strength; but, to his great affliction, he found his army miserably mouldered away, and those he had left very desirous of getting into fresh quarters; a thing they had small reason to hope, and which yet he promised them, and, by dint of his great skill in military affairs, performed; for making a sudden and swift march towards *Cilicia*, he turned short in the night, and passing mount *Amanus*, left *Seleucus* and his army far behind him. Thus his wearied army had once more some time given them for refreshment.

refreshment. *Seleucus*, fearing he might recruit where he was, marched towards him, and encamped at no great distance. Of this when *Demetrius* was informed, he resolved to attack him that very night; and, if his measures had not been betrayed, would have taken him in his bed; as it was, he had but just time to mount, yet *Demetrius* perceiving that his design was discovered, would not hazard his forces, but retired. *Seleucus* resolving to make use of this opportunity, pressed him close, and at last compelled him to fight in a very disadvantageous situation. However, *Demetrius* having divided his forces into two bodies, he, at the head of one, charged the troops of *Seleucus* so briskly, that they were in great confusion, till *Seleucus* himself dismounting, led up his infantry, which obliging *Demetrius* to form his forces afresh, *Seleucus*, as soon as they made a line, advanced to their front, and putting up the vizor of his helmet that he might be known, he exhorted them to lay down their arms, telling them, that it was for their sakes he avoided coming to extremities so long; whereupon those perfidious men shouted aloud, *Long live king Seleucus*, deserting in a moment their old master, and the victory he had almost obtained. *Demetrius*, in this distress retired, with a few who were about him, into a thick wood. At first he had thoughts of retiring to the sea, and going on board his fleet; but when he considered how few people he had about him, he laid aside this design as impracticable. The next day his bosom-friend, *Sofigenes*, arriving, and having with him four hundred pieces of gold, *Demetrius* resumed his former design, and, as soon as it grew dark, sallied from the wood, in order to push forward; but it appearing by the fires lighted on every side, that the avenues were all secured by the enemy, the king was forced to retire back to his wood. In this retreat some of the inconsiderable band of horse who were with him deserted; whereby the rest were so intimidated, that they began to talk of delivering up *Demetrius* to *Seleucus*, in order to preserve themselves; which when that unhappy prince overheard, he drew out his sword, and would have run himself through the body, had not some who were near him interposed and prevented him. Then those who had most interest with him took an opportunity of shewing the impossibility of his getting out of the province; and that therefore it would be prudence in him for once to submit to fortune, and surrender to *Seleucus*. *Demetrius* having weighed this proposition duly, conceived it would be better to make that an act of choice, which was most likely would at length be brought about by necessity, and thereupon

thereupon dispatched away deputies, to inform *Seleucus*, that he was ready to yield himself into his hands. Until these deputies returned, he remained still in his dark retreat in the wood ^a.

Demetrius
yields him-
self to Se-
leucus.

WHEN *Seleucus* was informed of the resolution which *Demetrius* had taken, he was exceedingly pleased, and having given the necessary directions for the reception of a person, who besides the high dignity he had held, stood in so near a relation to himself, could not help, even in the presence of his whole court, breaking out into these words: *It is not the fortune of Demetrius which hath thus provided for his safety, but mine, which hath been watchful for my glory. I thank her more for this, than for all the favours she has done me, because I esteem an act of clemency more honourable than any victory.* The many noble and generous things said by *Seleucus* in this high flow of fortune, inclined many of his courtiers to believe, that *Demetrius*, from being himself a king, would become the chief favourite of a king. In order therefore to secure their own interests, they immediately determined to go and pay their court to him, as soon as he should come into the quarters of *Seleucus*. *Apollonides*, who had been formerly a courtier in the palace of *Antigonus*, was sent to receive *Demetrius*, and when he had brought him to the village assigned, almost the whole court of *Seleucus* went to pay their compliments to his father-in-law. When the ministers about *Seleucus*, who hated *Demetrius*, perceived this, they instantly put him in mind of the dangerous consequences which might attend his nobles and commanders entering into familiarity with a person of such a dexterous address, and such surprising intrepidity. These insinuations had the effect desired by those who made them, insomuch, that while *Demetrius* was entertaining his old acquaintance and new friends, *Pausanias*, with a guard of a thousand horse, came to conduct him, not as he hoped, to the presence of *Seleucus*, but a castle in a demy-island, where he remained a prisoner. *Seleucus*, when he had provided for his own security, did all that could be thought of to make confinement easy to *Demetrius*. He ordered him royal entertainment within doors, a fine stable of horses, and the use of a noble park without. To give him a relish of these pleasures, hopes were cherished, and promises of liberty intermixed, which were all made to depend on the coming of *Antiochus* and *Stratonice*, to whom the conditions, on which this freedom was to be obtained, were re-

^a PLUT. in Demet.

ferred.

ferred. All other arts were practised to amuse *Demetrius*, and to divert his cares. At first he suffered himself to be deluded, and hoped, that after a time *Seleucus* would see him ; but when he found this protracted, and that excuse succeeded excuse, he penetrated the design of his politic son-in-law, and without giving in to vain expectations, fought by all methods to make his time as little tedious to him as might be. Hunting was for a while his chief diversion ; but, by degrees, he quitted it to give himself up to feasting and carousing, that, in wine and pleasant conversation, the memory of past greatness and present sorrows might be drowned ; so hard a thing it is for those who pretend to fight for repose to enjoy it, when they acquire it either in consequence of their victories, or thro' the mere bounty of providence ; and so much wiser is it to moderate our desires, than to place all hopes in their gratification.

It is the sentiment of some historians, that *Demetrius* acted meanly, first in yielding himself up prisoner ; and secondly, in surviving so long the loss of his glory ; but if we examine this matter to the bottom, we shall find, that these censures are very rash, and that there is no part of *Demetrius's* life less liable to reproach than the first part of his imprisonment. He had shewn in his former actions, that he was not afraid of death, and, in the first transport of his despair, he fought to have fallen by his own sword. That he supported life afterwards, was the effect of reason, and a very laudable resignation to the conduct of providence, as appears from the last public act he did, which, without comparison, was the noblest of his whole life. As soon as he was imprisoned, he wrote a letter to his son *Antigonus*, commending to him the care of his concerns in *Greece*, exhorting him to govern his subjects justly, to act always with moderation, and to look upon himself as dead ; conjuring him never to part with any of the cities, or to give up any thing to *Seleucus* to procure his liberty, and never to give credit to any letter written with his hand, or sealed with his seal, after this. We must surely look upon this as a most authentic proof of true courage ; and, after this, we may safely alledge his bearing with life as another proof of it ; for having acquitted himself to his family and his people, he might certainly indulge hope to himself. As to his giving way to luxury at the last, and spending his time in banquets and drinking-matches, we ought to pity him, and profit by his example. He found by fatal experience, that mirth and wine were no cures for grief ; for while by them he sought to stifle his concern, the struggle between resentment and a desire of concealing it, added to his high living, induced a dis-

The firmness of Demetrius in his misfortunes.

temper, which, when he had been a prisoner three years, carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Thus died this active prince, who had so often been at the top, and so frequently at the bottom of fortune's wheel. His death delivered *Seleucus* from all apprehensions, and not only him, but others; for his great accomplishments, his singular address, his taking presence, and above all, his extraordinary military skill, made him always formidable, though his forces were ever so weak, and the places in his possession ever so few¹.

His pomp-
ous funeral
Year of
the Flood,
2716.
Before
Christ,
283.

WHILE *Demetrius* lay in prison, many princes and states, moved with the distress of so great a prince, sued to *Seleucus* for his liberty. *Lyfimachus* only was base enough to offer him a vast sum of money to put him to death; which, with the highest indignation, *Seleucus* refused, affirming, that neither envy nor any antient antipathy inclined him to confine *Demetrius*, but only a regard to his own safety, and a just attention to reasons of state. As *Demetrius* had rendered himself very remarkable for his filial piety towards his father, so his son *Antigonus* manifested as laudable an affection towards him; for notwithstanding the letter his father had wrote him might, in the opinion of the world, have freed him from all censure, yet did he offer *Seleucus*, not only all that he held in *Greece*, but his own person in hostage, for his father's liberty; but this was refused. However, *Antigonus* continued earnestly to solicit it by the most earnest and passionate letters as long as *Demetrius* lived, going in deep mourning during that space, and never once partaking of any feasts or diversions while his father was in prison. As soon as he understood that his father's ashes were coming from *Syria*, he sailed with a noble fleet to the *Archipelago* to meet them. He then deposited them in an urn of gold, which, when he entered the harbour of *Corinth*, he placed in the poop of the royal galley, set his crown upon it, and covered it with a canopy of purple, himself standing by clad in deep mourning, and his eyes red with tears. Most of the cities of *Greece* sent chaplets to crown the urn, and deputations of their prime citizens to assist at the funeral. All the trophies of honour were left at *Corinth*, where the ceremony was performed; but the urn itself was transported to *Demetria*, a city to which the late king had given his name, which had been built under his direction, and peopled, by his command, out of the villages in the neighbourhood of *Iolchos*. Thus in his death, he was

¹ PLUT. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. xvi.

more happy than in his life ; for all concurred in honouring the memory of those virtues which were no longer dreadful to them, and which had heretofore filled them with apprehensions, on account of the restless ambition, which, while he was living, accompanied them in the breast of the possessor, and which was held unextinguishable but by death ^k.

By the demise of *Demetrius*, the empire which his father erected in *Asia* determined, and therefore we have nothing more to add to this section, excepting a short account of the posterity which *Demetrius* left behind him. He was a prince much addicted to women, and as, like other princes, he indulged this vice by keeping many concubines, so, like the *Macedonian* kings, he scrupled not marrying several wives. The first was *Philla* the daughter of *Antipater*. She was the widow of *Craterus*, and somewhat older than agreed with the age of her husband ; however, *Antigonus* having shewed him what benefits would accrue to his family by the match, *Demetrius* was easily prevailed on to espouse her. By this lady he had *Antigonus* and *Stratonice* ; the former his successor in his *European* dominions, the latter queen of *Asia*, being the wife first of *Seleucus*, and after of his son *Antiochus*. *Demetrius* married for his second wife *Eurydice*, an *Athenian* lady, said to be descended from *Miltiades*. She too was a widow, having been first married to *Ophillas*, tyrant of *Cyrene*. She was extraordinary handsome, and her being an *Athenian* made her the more agreeable to *Demetrius*, who mightily affected that city. By this lady, some writers affirm, he had a son, named *Coriabus* ; but of this there is great doubt. About the time he was chosen captain general of *Greece* at *Corinth*, he married *Deidamia*, the daughter of *Æacidas* king of *Epirus*, and sister of *Pyrrhus*. She too was a lady celebrated for her beauty, and who very affectionately accompanied him in all his expeditions, till, through the fatigue of travelling, which suited ill with the delicacy of her constitution, she died. By this third wife he had a son named *Alexander*, who died in *Egypt*. His fourth wife was *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Her he married from motives of interest, and had by her a son named *Demetrius*, who afterwards reigned in *Cyrene*. All these wives were alive at once ; and it is said, that *Demetrius* carried himself very obligingly to them all ; but he was passionately fond of a strumpet, named *Lamia*, a woman of great art, and who touched the lute to the greatest perfection. She was, however, much older than any of his

*Account of
his marriages
and
posterity.*

^k PLUT. in Demet. CORN. NEP. de regib. c. 3.

wives, even than *Philla*; so that the satyrists of those times pretended she had enchanted the king. It is said, he once designed to have married *Cratesipolis* the widow of *Alexander* the son of *Polyperchon*, a woman more famous for her charms than her virtue; but going to make her a visit while he besieged *Magara*, he very narrowly missed being taken prisoner by one of *Cassander's* parties, being forced to change coats with a soldier in order to make his escape, which effectually took away his regard for that lady. By a *Sclavonian* concubine he had a son, whom he called *Demetrius*: And these are all his descendants of which [we have any account in history. As to his dominions they remained to *Antigonus*, of whose life and actions we shall give an exact account in the succeeding section, having already communicated to the reader all that, with propriety, could be brought within the compass of this¹.

S E C T. VIII.

The history of the kingdom of Macedon, from the death of Alexander the Great, to the conquest thereof by the Romans.

*The state of
Macedon
at the
king's de-
cease.*

THE kingdom of *Macedon*, at the time of the decease of *Alexander*, was governed by *Antipater*, yet *Craterus* was appointed him for a successor; and the general opinion is, that *Antipater*, who was directed to come with a fresh *Macedonian* army to *Babylon*, would have been disgraced, if not put to death, on account of the many complaints made against him. If this were so, the death of *Alexander* prevented that of *Antipater*, and left him possessed of his government². In writing therefore the history of *Macedon* from the demise of *Alexander*, we must begin with *Antipater* and his administration. He was a person noble by birth, of great natural abilities, heightened by an excellent education. He was the friend as well as disciple of *Aristotle*, learned, and a lover of learning; magnificent in his actions, but plain in his dress and behaviour, never varying his habit in all the time of his government, but appearing like a private person when he gave laws to kings. In few words, he had either the greatest virtues of any man of his age, or was the greatest

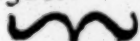
¹ PLUT. in vit. Demet. & Pyrrh. DIODOR. l. xix. xx. JUSTIN. l. xvii. ² ARRIAN. l. vii. CURT. l. x. JUSTIN. l. xiii. c. 5. hypocrite

hypocrite in it. The former, however, seems to us to be his true character, the lustre of his good qualities being too strong to be eclipsed by the vapours of *Athenian* envy, which affected the heads of many historians, some of whose writings have lasted to our times ^b. *Philip* of *Macedon*, whose great talent was judging well of men and things, made choice of *Antipater* as his minister, and relied on him as his friend. *I have slept soundly*, said he, *for Antipater was waking*. This sentence affords us a stronger description of his abilities and fidelity, than an orator could convey in twenty pages. *Alexander* intrusted him, not only with the care of his hereditary kingdom, and the command of a great army therein, but also with the custody of *Greece*. If in this charge he had been either negligent or careless, *Alexander's* victories would have signified nothing; for the *Macedonians* would have been for returning home, as soon as ever they had heard any ill news from thence. He had, it is true, many quarrels with *Olympias*, who was a high-spirited woman, and very desirous of meddling in state affairs. *Alexander* himself approved his conduct so far, as to say on account of his mother's letters, *That he had paid dearly for the months he lay in her womb* ^c. It is certain, that she was no less angry with *Hephestion*, the most faithful friend, as well as the chief favourite, of his master. What he thought of her character, appears from a fragment of one of his letters to her, wherein he wrote thus; *Forbear your unjust reproaches; but, if you will not forbear, I care not, since Alexander must judge of all* ^d. When the news of *Parmenio's* death arrived in *Macedonia*, *Antipater* is recorded to have said, *If Parmenio conspired against Alexander, who can we trust? If he did not conspire, what shall we do?* ^e If it were not for the only chasm in *Arrian's* history, we should be able to speak more fully as to the credit *Antipater* stood in with his master at the time of his decease. As it is, we know, that it was *Arrian's* opinion, that the best historians had recorded nothing which testified the king's having any dislike to his old minister ^f. What remains of the letters of *Alexander* shews, that he kept a regular correspondence with *Antipater*, and that he gave him public marks of his esteem. There is one fragment of a letter from *Antipater* to his master, which is the noblest testimony of his extraordinary firmness and strict regard to truth. *Aristotle* had fallen under *Alexander's* displeasure, and he had written in severe terms of

^b DIODOR. L. xviii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. ^c ARRIAN. L. vii. ^d PLUT. in vit. Alex. ^e Id. in Apophthegm. regum. ^f ARRIAN. L. vii.

him to *Antipater* himself ; yet when *Antipater* acquainted him with the death of *Aristotle*, he gave a noble character of that philosopher, which he closed with these words: *Besides the marvellous talents wherewith the mind of that truly great man was adorned, this was peculiar to him, that he acquired the good-will of every man who knew him*^g. Having now sufficiently shewn who and what *Antipater* was, let us proceed to the history of his administration after the death of *Alexander*.

The
Greeks be-
gin the La-
mian war.
Year of
the Flood,
2678.
Before
Christ,
321.



THE *Grecians*, even in the life-time of *Alexander*, endured very unwillingly that superiority which he exercised over them ; and tho' nothing could be more gentle than the government of *Antipater* with respect to *Greece*, yet he was exceedingly hated, because he obliged them to be quiet. One of the last actions of *Alexander's* life blew the embers of sedition into a flame. He had, by an edict, directed all the cities of *Greece* to recal their exiles ; which edict, when it was published at the *olympic* games, occasioned great confusion. Many of the cities were afraid, that when the exiles returned, they would change the government ; most of them doubted their own safety in case the edict took effect, and all of them held this peremptory decree to be a total abolition of their liberty. Immediately therefore they began to levy soldiers, and to prepare for war. In these transactions the *Athenians* were extremely busy, yet they did not publicly declare themselves, till they were assured that *Alexander* was dead. Then they kept no measures ; they laid out the money, which *Harpalus* had stolen from *Alexander*, and left in their city, to hire forces^h. They exclaimed against the *Macedonians*, as a barbarous and tyrannical nation, and appointed *Leosthenes* general of their forces raised for delivering *Greece*. This man was the disciple of *Demosthenes*, and seems to have meant his country better than he was able to serve it. He was full of an enthusiastic passion for democracy, and this prompted him to talk in a very high strain in the assembly. *Phocion*, who judged better of the state of *Athens*, could not help saying to him on this occasion, *Young man, your speeches are like the cypress tree, lofty and well spread, but they bear no fruit*ⁱ. This gentleman, however, drew together a noble army, with which he advanced towards *Theffaly*, which was the most judicious step taken in the war.

Antipater
marches a-
gainst
them.

Antipater, as soon as he was thoroughly informed of the march of the *Athenian* forces, sent over into *Asia*, to desire the assistance of the governors there. In the interim he

^g PLUT. in paral. Coriolan. cum Alcibiad.
SICUL. l. xviii.

ⁱ PLUT. in vit. Phocion.

^h DIONOR

marched

marched with thirteen thousand foot and six thousand horse, in order to secure *Thessaly*. He appointed *Gillas* to preside in *Macedon* during his absence, and directed him to raise forces with all imaginable diligence; for the large draughts which *Alexander* had made rendered this a work not easily performed. A fleet of a hundred and ten galleys was likewise fitted out, under the command of *Clytus*, who, as a seaman, had served with great reputation under the late king. When *Antipater* came down into *Thessaly*, he found the inhabitants of that country still in the *Macedonian* interest, and received from them a very considerable reinforcement of horse; yet, according to the practice of their ancestors, they acted deceitfully, and, when he wanted them most, went over to the enemy. *Leosthenes* was in possession of the *Pylæ*, or straits leading into *Greece*, where he waited for *Antipater*, who, with the small army he had, did not fail to give him battle, wherein numbers, and the skill of the mercenaries serving under *Leosthenes*, gained him the victory. *Antipater*, with the remains of his army, retired to *Lamia*, a city of some strength, and not far distant from the field of battle. This he seized, and fortified in such a manner, that tho' the victorious army attempted to storm it, yet they were unsuccessful; so that *Leosthenes* was constrained to undertake a regular siege, whereby, when he had reduced *Antipater* to great straits, himself, advancing too near the wall, was slain by a stone; whereupon *Antipater* was created general in his stead. While things were in this condition, *Leonatus* arrived from *Asia* with a great army, and advanced to succour *Antipater*. *Antipater*, as soon as he was apprized of this, raised the siege, burnt his tents, and marched to fight the new-comers, tho' they were no less than twenty-two thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, most of them veterans. The battle was hard fought, and continued long; but, through the valour of the *Thessalian* horse and the death of *Leonatus*, the *Greeks* carried the victory, and the *Macedonian* phalanx was compelled to retire into the rocky hills, where the horse could not follow them. These victories exceedingly raised the spirits of the confederates, and made them despise their enemies so much, that many of them returned home, which afterwards proved fatal to the common cause^k.

Antipater, while he was shut up in *Lamia*, sent deputies *The con-* to *Athens*, to negotiate peace; but the *Athenians* refused him *clusion of* any other terms than surrendering at discretion, and leaving *this way*;

^k DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Phocion. & Demosthen. JUSTIN. l. xiii. c. 5.

all things to their disposal. The siege being now raised, *Antipater*, with incredible diligence, marched to the place where the remains of *Leonatus's* army was encamped, and having joined them, held the enemy in play, tho' he was not able to offer them battle. When he found the confederates pressed hard upon him, and that their chief strength consisted in their superiority of horse, he chose such a rout, as, for the most part, hindered the horse from acting; and when they might have acted with effect, he devised this method for avoiding an engagement; he directed the light-armed foot to mount, not only all the carriage-horses, but likewise all the mules and asses belonging to the army, and placing these behind the squadrons of horse which he had, the *Thessalians* concluded, that he had been reinforced with a great body of cavalry, and therefore contented themselves with observing them at a distance. At length *Craterus* arrived with a great body of forces under his command; however, he yielded the command to *Antipater* on their junction at the river *Peneus*, where there were now assembled forty thousand foot, three thousand archers, and five thousand horse. The *Greeks* had twenty-five thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse, with which they ventured a battle. In this the *Thessalian* cavalry were at first victorious; which *Antipater* observing, he would not sustain his horse, but suffered the *Thessalians* to break them intirely. While these continued the pursuit, he, with the phalanx, bore down upon the *Grecian* foot, and defeated them with great slaughter. The *Macedonian* horse formed behind their victorious battalions, and the *Thessalians* fearing they should be surrounded, retired hastily, in order to join their foot. After this defeat, *Antiphilus* held a council of war, wherein it was put to the vote, whether they should continue in the field, or think of treating. It was carried for the latter, and deputies were instantly sent to *Antipater*; but the *Grecian* generals were exceedingly surprised to hear on their return, that the *Macedonian* would treat separately with the cities, or not at all; which proposition they rejected¹.

Peace
granted to
the Athe-
nians.

Antipater and *Craterus*, perceiving that the confederate army was too weak to give them battle, began to besiege the cities in the neighbourhood, and having reduced many of them, treated the inhabitants with much severity. This so affrighted the states confederated with the *Athenians*, that they immediately made peace on the best terms they could. The *Athenians* and *Ætolians* alone stood out; upon which *Antipater* and

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Demosthen.

Craterus

Craterus advanced towards *Athens*. The citizens of that famous place found themselves now in no condition to resist him, their fleet, which they had fitted out at a vast expence, under the command of *Eetion*, having been twice defeated by *Glytus*. In this distress the *Peloponnesians* might have succoured and preserved them; but, either through jealousy or a panic fear, they remained motionless, and left the *Athenians* to their fate. In this distress they turned their eyes on *Phocion*, and demanded his advice. To what end, said he, *Athenians*, should I advise you? If you had not rejected my counsels, you had not been this day in this distress. They then called upon *Demades*, who had always been in the *Macedonian* interest. He proposed a decree, by which *Demosthenes* was condemned to death; but he was already fled. He then desired, that deputies might be sent to *Antipater*, himself and *Phocion* being of the number. When they arrived, *Antipater* would hear of no other terms than those offered to him at *Lamia*, viz. that they should yield themselves intirely to his mercy and suffer their affairs to be settled at his pleasure. With these hard terms they were constrained to comply. *Phocion* besought *Antipater* that peace might be concluded where he then was, i. e. in *Bæotia*, which *Craterus* said was unreasonable, since their army must subsist all that time in the country of their friends, whereas nothing hindered their living at discretion in *Attica* (A). To this

Antipater

(A) *Xenocrates* was a very eminent philosopher, the disciple and successor of *Plato*, alike remarkable for his wisdom in words, and for the probity of his actions. Many years before this he had been sent ambassador to *Antipater* in *Macedonia*, to intreat him to set at liberty some *Athenian* prisoners. On his arrival, before he had his audience, *Antipater* invited him to an entertainment. *Xenocrates* answered him in these verses of *Homer*, (spoken by *Ulysses* to *Circe*, when she pressed him to eat of the dainties set before him :

*Ill fits it me, whose friends are sunk to beasts,
To quaff thy bowls, or riot in thy feasts.
Me wouldst thou please, for them thy cares employ,
And them to me restore, and me to joy* (1).

Antipater was so well pleased with his presence of mind, and happy application of these verses, that, without more ado, he set the *Athenians* free. On this occasion he did not behave so obligingly,

(1) *Od. ff. l. x.*
S i

Antipater replied, that he was in the right ; yet, said he, let us grant this, because it is asked by *Phocion*. When the *Athenians* had consented to submit themselves to his pleasure, *Antipater* granted them the following terms ; that the ancient way of raising taxes in the city should be restored ; that they should receive a garison into the fort *Munichia*, and maintain it at their own charge ; that they should pay the expence of the war ; and that they should deliver up the orators *Hyperides* and *Demosthenes*. *Phocion* earnestly begged the city might be excused from the garison. *I would willingly grant this also to your friendship*, said *Antipater*, *but I know it is not either convenient for you or for me*. By which he meant, that, without a garison, the *Athenians* would never be kept either in dependence on the *Macedonians*, or at quiet among themselves. In consequence of this treaty, the popular government in *Athens* was abrogated, and such only permitted a share therein as had competent estates ; upon which twenty-two thousand of the inhabitants retired from the city, and had estates assigned them in the territories of *Macedon*, where they settled, and lived very happily. As for the rest of the *Athenians*, they were constrained to return to *Solon's* model of government, and, in short, were compelled by *Antipater*, much against their will, to be rich and quiet. With the same equity and moderation he settled the rest of the *Grecian* states, who, at first, grudged his power, and

for knowing that *Xenocrates* was warmly affected to the democracy, he passed him by, when he kindly saluted all the rest of the deputies ; which when the philosopher observed, he could not help saying, *Antipater* does well thus to distinguish me from the rest, as if before *Xenocrates* only he was ashamed of the injustice he is about to do the *Athenians*. When the government was afterwards settled, *Phocion* would willingly have had *Xenocrates* accept the freedom of the city, which he refused : *I will not*, said he, *submit myself to an administration which I do not like, and the establishment which I oppose* (2). Afterwards growing so poor that he could not pay his tribute, the *Athenians*, with shameless ingratitude, condemned him to be sold for a slave, which was accordingly done. *Demetrius the Phalerean* bought him, restoring him to his liberty, and paying his price into the public treasury. He was a great writer, for we have the titles of above sixty treatises which he composed. He died at fourscore and two, falling in the night with his head into a basin of water, whereby he was suffocated (3).

(2) *ut. in vit. Phocion*
erat.

(3) *Diogen. Laert. in vit. Xenocrat.*

complained heavily of the infringments made on their liberty ; but, by degrees, they became better satisfied, and at last honoured him as the *father* and *protector* of *Greece*. On his return to *Macedon*, he and his son-in-law *Craterus*, who had just married his daughter *Philla*, turned their arms against the *Ætolians*, who alone refused to be comprehended in the peace, and kept a considerable army in the field. These, with much trouble, they reduced in the winter to great straits ; but while they were preparing for the sieges of their principal cities, *Antigonus* arrived from *Asia*, with an account of *Perdiccas's* designs, insisting particularly on his slighting *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, and on his ordering *Cynane* the sister of *Alexander* to be put to death. *Antipater* and *Craterus* instantly made peace with the *Ætolians*, that they might be at leisure to attend to their own concerns, and prevent *Perdiccas* from becoming their sovereign, under colour of being protector of the kings. With this view they entered into a league with *Ptolemy*, and began to assemble an army in order to pass into *Asia*.^m

WHEN all things were ready, and the season of the year permitted, *Antipater* and *Craterus* transported their forces into *Asia*, leaving the care of *Macedon* and *Greece* to *Polyperchon*. On their arrival in *Asia*, *Antipater* resolved to march with part of the forces into *Gilicia*, that he might be able to assist *Ptolemy*, in case *Perdiccas* was too hard for him ; and *Craterus* with the other moiety marched against *Eumenes*. *Antipater*, not long after this division of their forces, received the melancholy news of the defeat and death of his son-in-law, whereby his favourite daughter *Philla* was left a widowⁿ. It is said this lady was endowed by nature with such extraordinary qualities, that her father, who was otherwise a very close man, yet was wont to consult her even while she was a girl. Her conduct in the time of both her husbands was extremely remarkable, for she spent her whole time in acts of beneficence ; she had the wives and daughters of the officers of the army continually about her. As her own behaviour was very exact, she kept a strict eye upon theirs, at the same time she relieved their wants, gave portions to their daughters, and was their patroness in all their affairs. The death of her husband *Craterus* did not greatly affect *Antipater's* interest ; for *Perdiccas* being shortly

Antipater and Craterus pass over into Asia.

^m ARRIAN. apud Phot. cod. xcii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xviii. JUSTIN. l. xiii. PLUT. in Demosthen. & Phocion. " PLUT. in vit. Eumen. DIODOR. ubi supra.

after slain in *Egypt*, he was sent for to the army in *Syria*, where *Aridæus* and *Pithon* abdicating their offices as protectors of the kings, *Antipater* succeeded by common consent. At first *Eurydice* the wife of *Philip* created him a great deal of trouble, and even indangered his life; but, by degrees, he got over this, and not only conciliated the affection of the soldiers, but acquired also the esteem of *Eurydice* herself. In fine, after he had settled all things in *Asia* in the best method possible, and had left his son *Cassander* to be a check upon *Antigonus*, he set out with the kings to return to *Macedonia*, the army being perfectly well satisfied with his conduct, and the friends of the royal family hoping all things from his protection ^o.

The Ætolians
invade
Thessaly.

WHILE he and *Craterus* were in *Asia*, the Ætolians, who had secretly entered into a league with *Perdiccas*, broke into the territories of *Macedon* with a great army, and committed excessive depredations, in revenge for what they had suffered the winter before. *Polycles* commanded in those parts for *Antipater*, and had with him a considerable body of troops. He, in attempting to repel the Ætolians, was drawn by them to an engagement, wherein his army was routed, and himself slain. The Ætolians, while they were consulting how to prosecute this victory, received advice, that the *Acar-nanians* had entered their country, and had begun to commit horrible devastations therein. To expel these invaders the Ætolians marched home; but they left the forces of their confederates in *Thessaly*, under the command of *Menon*, an officer of great skill and courage. *Poly-sperchon*, who, as we observed, commanded in *Macedon* in the absence of *Antipater*, immediately took advantage of this division, and, while the Ætolians were busy in expelling their domestic enemies, he, by forced marches, came down into *Thessaly*, and, before *Menon* could be properly supported, fell upon him and his troops, and cut them to pieces. By this blow the power of the Ætolians was intirely broken, and the peace of *Macedon* restored ^p.

The Athenians seek
to be eased
of their
garison.

Antipater, on his return, brought with him the kings into *Macedon*, and treated them there with all imaginable respect. The Athenians were very earnest with *Phocion*, whose interest with *Antipater* they knew to be great, to obtain of him the dismissal of their garison; but *Phocion*, who saw clearly that this garison was more useful to the public than to

^o ARRIAN. ubi supra. DIODOR. ubi supra.
SICUL. ubi supra. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

^p DIODOR.

Antipater,

Antipater, declined the commission; yet the recalling many of the exiles, and other good things he both asked and obtained of *Antipater*, with whom he had indeed a very great interest. *Menillus*, who commanded in the fort, and was both a generous and a good-natured man, offered *Phocion*, who had but a small estate, a sum of money. *My circumstances*, answered the patriot, *are neither worse than they were, nor are you greater than Alexander the son of Philip, from whom I refused to accept the same favour.* And when he was once requested to do somewhat that was wrong in his opinion, for the service of the *Macedonians*, *Antipater*, said he, *cannot have me for his friend and his flatterer.* This the *Macedonian* chief knew as well as he; for it was a common saying with him, *That he had two friends at Athens, one who would take nothing, and another who never thought he had enough*^q. The former was *Phocion*, the latter *Demades*, an orator of some reputation, and who had been all his life in the interest of *Macedon*. It was this man on whom the *Athenians* cast their eyes, when *Phocion* absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the affair of the garison; and in an ill hour for himself and his family *Demades* undertook it, having, for the greater honour, his son *Demias* joined with him in commission^r.

NOT long after his return to *Macedon*, *Antipater* was *The death* attacked by a dangerous disease, which added to his years, *of Anti-* for he was now fourscore, left him little hopes of life. He *pater.* behaved himself in the last moments of his life with the same firmness, and the same regard to his reputation, which he had shewn in all the actions of his life. His great offices of *protector* and *governor* of *Macedon* he bequeathed to *Polyperchon*, the eldest of *Alexander's* captains at hand, and of whom *Antipater* had a much better opinion than he deserved. His eldest son *Cassander Antipater* appointed to be a *chiliarch* or *colonel* of a thousand men, a command in those times infinitely more considerable than now^s. A little before his death, *Demades* had audience of *Antipater*, and was kindly received; however, as to the garison, nothing was determined; but at the request of *Phocion*, signified by letter, the *Athenians* had a further day given them for the payment of their subsidies. Thus, full of years and glory in a time of full peace and serenity, procured chiefly by his own wisdom and prudence, *Antipater* expired; of whom, had we

^q PLUT. in vit. Phocion.^r DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.^s DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

nothing else to say, what *Tacitus* observed of *Galba* might properly be applied to him, and sufficiently distinguish his character to posterity; *Non in domo successorem quaesivit, sed in republica. In the choice of a successor he regarded not his family, but the commonweal* (B).

Demades
and his son
slain.

BEFORE *Antipater* was well dead, *Cassander* in his name sent for *Demades* the Athenian ambassador, who with his son *Demias* readily came, and began to expostulate on the busi-

^t *TACIT. Hist. lib. i. c. 15.*

(B) We have no where the reasons assigned us, why *Antipater* excluded his son *Cassander* from the administration, but they are not hard to be guessed. First, he was his son, and in all probability the father thought it unworthy of him to aggrandize his own family at the expence of his master's. Secondly, *Polysperchon's* age, experience, and his late exploit against the *Ætolians* might induce *Antipater* to think he would prove a worthy guardian of the kings. There might be a third reason, which was *Cassander's* ambition, and his having a private intrigue with *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip*, who had as good or a better right to the crown than her husband, which might make the good old man less careful of his son's interest than otherwise he would have been. However it was, he shewed his love for his country, not only in his impartiality, but also in the advice he gave to him whom he designed his successor. On no account, said he, suffer a woman to have any concerns in the affairs of state; their abilities are by no means suited to such arduous concerns; for being slaves to their passions, to indulge them they throw all things into confusion (4). This was understood to point at *Olympias*, who during his administration had dwelt in *Epirus*. It is true, he had great reason to dislike her, as well on account of the trouble she had given him, as out of regard to his beloved master *Philip*, whose second wife she had murdered, and whose child by her she broiled between two copper plates; even in *Epirus*, she affected to govern all things, and therefore her son *Alexander* commended her for going thither, because, said he, the *Macedonians* would never bear the government of a woman. Yet it may be, *Antipater's* counsel was general, which was more becoming him, and no less founded on fact; for besides the trouble he had had through *Olympias*, *Cleopatra* the sister of *Alexander* had afforded him no small disquiet, and *Eurydice* had once put him in the utmost danger of his life (5); he might well therefore have no great opinion of women's intermeddling with state affairs. We shall shortly see how deeply the *Macedonians* suffered from the neglect of *Antipater's* maxim.

(4) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii.*
tin, &c.

(5) *Arrian. ap. Phot. Jus-*

ness of the garison. *Cassander*, giving little heed to what he said, ordered his son to be put to death in his presence, and when he had given him a little time to feel the affliction of a father, he first loaded him with bitter reproaches, and then caused him also to be slain. The reason of this extraordinary proceeding was, that, among the papers of *Perdiccas*, there had been found a letter written to him by *Demades*, pressing *Perdiccas* to make haste into Greece; the affairs of which hung at present, he said, on an old rotten thread; so he was pleased to characterize *Antipater*, from whom he had begged, and from whom he had received so much. It is but just we should inform the reader that authors vary about this fact; *Diodorus* says, that *Demades* was put to death by *Antipater*. *Plutarch* and other authors ascribe his punishment to *Cassander*: Some also say, the letter was written to *Antigonus*, and not to *Perdiccas*; but this is improbable, and therefore, having well considered its circumstances, we have stated the fact as it appears to us. Cruel without doubt it was, yet it cannot be denied, that *Demades*, who was a venal orator, and who scrupled not to employ his eloquence against the interest of his country, met with no worse fate than he deserved^u.

Polysperchon was now at the head of affairs, governor general of *Macedon*, and protector of the kings; which high offices he derived from the good opinion which *Antipater* had conceived of him. He was a man of indifferent parts, more capable of following directions, than of giving them, one extremely formal in his manner of transacting business, being conversant in nothing but forms. In a word, he was far from being honest, steady, or wise, and yet a great pretender to probity, fortitude, and policy. He had a son named *Alexander*, more active, and of better abilities, though not a grain more virtuous than himself. The first step he took in his government was to call a general council; as the first step taken in that council was to set aside *Antipater's* dying counsel, by recalling *Olympias*, which they not only did, but put *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* under her care, at least they promised so to do, hoping that the majesty of the mother of *Alexander* would add a lustre to their administration. A measure, which, considered in one light, seems just and honourable; but in another shews, that *Polysperchon* and his council were sensible of some imbecillity in themselves. The queen, however, who knew she was safe in *Epirus*, and knew not what might befall her in *Macedon*, made no great haste, but took time to consider the matter herself, and to consult with

Projects of the new administration in Macedon:

^u DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Phocion.

her friends. However, she communicated her thoughts upon all occasions to *Polyperchon*, and so held immediately a considerable share in the administration. *Cassander* was little thought of in these proceedings; and it appeared plainly, that the new government had very little regard for the friends of the old one, which of consequence created a multitude of malecontents, and afforded colour for certain subsequent transactions, which otherwise would have been of too dark a hue to have borne the light. For as great politicians have a faculty of making all events contribute to their ends, so there are a tribe of wrong-headed statesmen, who obstinately pursue those tracks which lead directly from the ends at which they aim; such were *Polyperchon* and his council ^w.

*The views
of Cassan-
der.*

As soon as *Cassander* considered the state in which he stood, he saw, or at least he thought he saw, reason to be displeased with his father's disposition of affairs. He formed a just idea of *Polyperchon*'s character, and drew from thence very dismal apprehensions of what might befall himself, his family, and their dependants. Besides, his ambition prompted him to attempt the recovery of that command, of which his father's will had deprived him, and at the same time it opened his eyes to methods by which it might be obtained. These things having a while revolved in his own breast, he engaged some of his friends to accompany him into the country under colour of diverting themselves with hunting; but in truth to confer with them on his design. When they were at a distance from court he opened to them his project, having first strongly possessed them with the common danger they were all in from the propensity of *Polyperchon* to *Olympias*, the antient and implacable enemy of *Antipater* and all his friends. He then shewed them, that *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyfimachus* would, from their respective interests, become the enemies of *Polyperchon*, because, as protector of the kings, he would claim a superiority over them; from whence he inferred they would be friends to themselves, if they declared against *Polyperchon*. It is uncertain, whether at first he communicated his intention of absolutely supplanting the protector, or whether he pretended only to aspire to such a degree of power as might enable him to protect himself, his family, and their friends; however it was, his discourses procured him a multitude of creatures, who readily obeyed his dictates, and took such steps as he directed them; and if things began to go well at home, they went still better abroad, for *Antigonus*, and the rest of the princes, promised

^w DIODOR. ubi supra. PLUT. in vita Demet. JUSTIN. l. xiv. him

him their utmost assistance as soon as it was asked, in consequence, as they pretended, of their extraordinary love for his father ; but, in truth, because they hated *Polyperchon*, and were desirous to prevent his looking abroad, by finding him troublesome scenes enow at home *.

WHILE *Cassander* was busied in carrying his schemes into Polyper-
 execution, *Polyperchon* held another grand council, wherein *chon's e-*
 it was resolved to displace all the governors appointed by *An-*
tipater in *Greece*, and to set up the democracy where-ever
 it had been abolished. In order to carry this scheme into
 execution, a very gracious proclamation was drawn, and
 sent to *Athens*, and to the rest of the cities. It remains en-
 tire in *Diodorus*; and will be an everlasting monument of the
 genius of *Polyperchon* and his ministers. The body of the
 edict is full of royal authority, and extraordinary stretches
 of power, yet the preamble and conclusion declare its inten-
 tion to be the restoring liberty to the *Greeks*, and at the same
 time the old regency is loaded with grievous accusations.
 This edict produced, what in all probability it was intended
 to produce, confusions every-where ; for the people, under
 colour of its authority, would no longer obey their magis-
 trates, and the magistrates were no where well inclined to
 trust themselves to the government of the people. But the
 point of dismissing governors, which was the main thing the
 edict was calculated for, it could not produce, for the go-
 vernors were least of all willing to submit to the execution of
 a decree by which they were to be cashiered ; they therefore
 demurred at first, and at last applied to *Cassander*. In this
 nice conjuncture all eyes were upon *Athens*, for as it was the
 most considerable garison, so if *Nicanor*, who commanded
 there, had immediately evacuated the fort, it would have
 gone a great way towards the carrying the edict into execu-
 tion elsewhere. But he at first expressed a sort of diffidence
 as to the authority of *Polyperchon*, and afterwards, when he
 received letters from *Olympias*, he spun out negotiations with
 the *Athenians*, till he had thoroughly recruited his garison ;
 and then, instead of quitting *Munichia*, he unexpectedly seiz-
 ed on *Pyræus*. The *Athenians*, provoked by this usage,
 which they were not able to revenge upon *Nicanor*, turned
 their fury on their own citizens, and instantly proscribed
Phocion, with several other persons of distinction, who had con-
 ferred with *Nicanor*, tho' they were not culpable in the least.
 These unhappy persons retired for shelter to *Alexander* the son of

* DIODOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demet.
 & Phocion.

Polyperchon, who had then entered *Attica* with an army. As he drew near *Athens*, the citizens also sent deputies to press him immediately to besiege *Nicanor*, in order to restore them their forts. But *Alexander* had by this time other notions in his head; he knew the *Athenians* too well to think of trusting them, and therefore he began to enter into a treaty with *Nicanor*, not for his evacuating the forts, but for his coming over to his father *Polyperchon*, in keeping them for him, in which, however, he succeeded not. By this time *Polyperchon* himself was at hand with a great army, having with him king *Aridæus* or *Philip*. To him his son *Alexander* sent *Phocion*, and his friends, with letters of recommendation, *Dinarchus* the *Corinthian*, *Polyperchon*'s old and intimate friend, going with them. At their heels came deputies from *Athens*, charging them with treason against the state. *Polyperchon* was at first extremely perplexed how he should behave himself on this occasion. His son had engaged his faith to the exiles, but himself conceived that his interest would be best promoted by his siding with the *Athenians*; fickle in his sentiments, and sanguine in all his measures, he no sooner conceived this, than he ordered his old acquaintance *Dinarchus* to be first tortured, and then put to death, and, after affording *Phocion* and his friends a pretended hearing, at which the foolish king attempted to strike *Phocion* through with his lance, the exiles were condemned, and then transmitted to *Athens*, where the people were giddy enough to mistake for a mark of liberty their being made the executioners of a sentence pronounced in another court. In short, *Phocion* was murdered, and *Polyperchon* highly cried up; but in the mean time *Nicanor* maintained himself in *Munichia* and in the *Pyræus*, and advice came, that *Cassander*, who was fled to *Antigonus*, had been furnished by him with considerable assistance, and was on the very point of imbar-king for *Athens* [†].

Cassander
prevails in
Greece.
Year of
the Flood,
2681.
Before
Christ,
318.

It was among the number of the great slips in policy made by the new administration in *Macedon*, that after so openly attacking the dependants of *Antipater*, and taking *Olympias* into a share of the administration, they yet suffered *Cassander* to withdraw, which he did as soon as he had settled matters at home, and went immediately to the court of *Antigonus*; there he was received with high honours, and had mighty promises made to him, part of which were fulfilled, not for his sake, but that a war might be kindled in *Greece* while *Antigonus* totally subdued *Asia*. The forces lent *Cassander* were

[†] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. PLUT. in *Phocion*.

not great, but to a man of his spirit any assistance was considerable. As soon therefore as he had received them, he sailed for *Athens*, and entering the *Pyræus* with his small fleet, was received by *Nicanor*. *Polyperchon* instantly resolved to shut up his competitor in that city, and to put a short end to the war by its reduction. For this purpose he assembled a great army, with which he marched to *Athens*; but forgetting that *Attica* was never over-fruitful, he found himself in a short time so distressed for provisions, that he was constrained to abandon his design, and therefore leaving his son *Alexander* with a competent army to observe the motions of *Cassander*, he with the major part of his forces marched into *Peloponnesus*, where he knew *Cassander* had many friends. When he entered *Peloponnesus* he had recourse once more to his edicts, whereby such as had born offices in the cities under the administration of *Antipater* were roundly condemned to banishment or death, merely for having born offices. This decree the people in most places put in execution, so that discord, slaughter, and confusion, was effectually spread all about. The *Megalopolitans* only had wit enough to avoid these dissensions, and the magistrates and people agreeing, they retained their old government, and dwelt in peace. This was high treason in the sight of *Polyperchon*; he said they had contravened his edict, that they were associates with *Cassander*, and that for these reasons they ought to be made a public example of as common enemies to the *Greeks*. When the *Megalopolitans* heard this, they withdrew all their effects out of the country, fortified their city, and having mustered their fighting men, found their number to be fifteen thousand; and confiding in their own strength, determined to abide a siege. *Polyperchon*, to make good his threats, came with the king and all his army before the city, having with him also a great number of elephants. The first thing he did was to cause the wall to be undermined, which his engineers performed so effectually, that when the besieged least expected it, three towers with all the wall between them fell down. *Polyperchon* then led his army to the assault, which proved very obstinate and bloody; but in the end the *Megalopolitans* repulsed the besiegers, and while their men were fighting, the women and children threw up an intrenchment of earth and rubbish within the breach. *Polyperchon* determined to attack the place a second time, and to make use of his elephants, the news of which terrified the citizens exceedingly. It happened there was amongst them one *Damides*, who had served under *Alexander*; this man undertook for the elephants,

which put his countrymen again in heart. The method he used was this ; he took broad pieces of strong plank, into each of which he struck several iron spikes, these he fixed in the ground within the breach, and covered them lightly with rubbish ; then he drew up the citizens, not in front, but in flank on each side of the breach, and so attended the enemy. *Polyperchon's* troops advanced in excellent order, having the elephants before them ; these being forced by their riders upon the breach, stuck their feet upon the spikes, and were unable to proceed further. The citizens galling them and their riders with stones and darts, many of the beasts fell down, and the rest, growing unruly, turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The army seeing this refused to storm the place, so that *Polyperchon*, leaving a corps of horse and foot to block up the city, marched away with much disgrace. In the interim, *Clytus* the admiral had beat *Nicanor*, whom *Cassander* had sent from *Athens* with his fleet ; but after this, lying carelessly at *Byzantium*, *Antigonus* privately sent over light-armed troops in barks, and then having refitted *Nicanor's* fleet, commanded him to attack *Clytus* again, and be assured of victory. This he accordingly did, and, to his great surprize, found him already attacked from the shore, so that he easily and intirely defeated them, *Clytus* himself being killed, not in the fight indeed, but afterwards by the soldiers of *Lyfimachus*. When this news came to *Polyperchon*, he resolved to march back into *Macedon*, for he saw clearly that *Cassander* would be too many for him in *Greece* ².

Nicanor
slain by
Cassander.

Nicanor, after the great victory he had obtained, returned to *Athens* in triumph, and resumed his government : Soon after the *Athenians* were reconciled to *Cassander*, who greatly esteemed *Nicanor* for the service he had done him. But when he was privately informed that he intended to set up for himself, and saw that he made a difficulty of admitting him into the forts, he posted some soldiers in an empty house in the night, and having invited *Nicanor* thither to confer with him, surprized and put him to death. *Cassander* then treated the *Athenians* with much candor and generosity : He appointed *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*, a person of the highest quality, the greatest abilities, and the utmost moderation, their governor ; under whom the city and citizens received greater advantages than under any former government before, or even in the days of their greatest freedom. This important place secured, *Cassander* applied himself to the settling the rest of *Greece* ².

² DIODOR. SICUL. & PLUT. ubi supra.
History, Vol. VI. p. 264 DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

² Universal

ABOUT this time *Olympias* prepared for her return into *Olympias Macedonia*, concerning which, as we have elsewhere observed, she wrote to *Eumenes*. He in his answer advised her in *Macedon*, the first place not to be too hasty in her resolution, and in the next to forget all the injuries she had received, and to behave herself mildly to every body, in case she thought fit to return. Both these cautions she neglected; for, without waiting till the war was ended, she with some *Epirots*, whom her brother sent to escort her, went to join *Polyperchon*, when she knew he was returning into *Macedon*; and as soon as she came there, she discovered such a haughty and overbearing spirit, as struck even those who wished her well with amazement. As for *Eurydice* the wife of *Philip*, she rightly conceived that *Olympias* would never be at peace, as long as her husband lived and enjoyed the regal title. She therefore wrote to *Cassander*, beseeching him with all diligence to come to her assistance, and likewise sent letters to *Polyperchon*, requiring him in the king's name to deliver up the army to *Cassander*. At the same time she neglected not taking more effectual methods for the security of her own and king *Philip*'s person. She had observed, that the *Macedonians* loved him, and that they had a great respect for her. She likewise depended on the interest of *Antipater*'s family, and therefore she had recourse to all the arts of persuasion, in order to raise a force sufficient to defend herself and her friends, till *Cassander* should arrive. This point, as she imagined, she accomplished with great ease. The *Macedonians* readily armed at her request, and in a very small space she drew together more than seemed sufficient to guard her. When therefore *Olympias* advanced with *Polyperchon* and his army, she, like a courageous lady, led out her's. Thus a civil war was kindled in *Macedon* by two heroines, each willing to put her own and the kingdom's fate on the hazard of a battle. But when the armies drew near each other, the soldiers, who should have fought for *Eurydice*, struck with the awful majesty of *Olympias*, the widow of *Philip* and the mother of *Alexander*, went over to her immediately, and thereby put an end to the dispute. *Olympias* had it now in her power to have settled all things, if she had remembered the advice of *Eumenes*. Her passions, which were not of the mildest sort, had always governed her, and governed her now. King *Philip* and his wife *Eurydice* she imprisoned in a room so small, that they could scarce turn themselves in it, and caused them to be fed with very ordinary provisions through a hole. *Nicanor* the son of *Antipater* she put to death, and with him no less than an hundred persons, his relations and friends; she then caused
the

the tomb of his brother *Iollas* to be broke open, and his remains to be thrown into the public street. Perceiving that the people were not over pleased with these proceedings, and that they began to commiserate the condition of king *Philip* and his wife, she resolved to have them both dispatched. In order to this, certain *Thracians* armed with poignards entered the place of their confinement, and with numberless wounds laid the king dead upon the floor. Then a messenger presented *Eurydice* with a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poison, telling her, that *Olympias* left it to her choice by which she would die; *I pray the gods*, said she, *that Olympias may have the like present made her*; she then tore her linen, bound up the bleeding wounds of her husband, and covered his body; after which, without any womanish complaining, she strangled herself with her own garter. Thus, when he had reigned about seven years, *Aridæus* lost his life through her who in his childhood had deprived him of his wits; and *Eurydice*, the hereditary heiress of the *Macedonian* crown, was murdered by her who was mother to the murderer of her father. In the days of *Philip* this sort of policy was not understood: He married his own daughter to *Amyntas* his elder brother's son, and from this match sprung *Eurydice*. *Alexander*, to leave all safe behind him when he went into *Asia*, caused *Amyntas* to be murdered, and *Perdiccas* began his regency with the murder of *Cynane* the wife of *Amyntas*. However, *Roxana* and her young son *Alexander* found a protectress in *Olympias*, who took upon herself the administration as guardian to her grand-child ^b.

Under
the name of
the place-

Cassander, as soon as he received the letters of *Eurydice*, and immediately after them the ill news of what had happened in *Macedon*, prepared instantly for his return into his own country, leaving the *Greeks* for a time to take care of themselves. When he came to the streights of *Thermopylae*, he found the *Thessalians* all in arms to oppose his passage. Revenge being more powerful with him than glory, he contrived not how to fight the enemy, but how to escape them; wherefore collecting all the ships, barks, and boats, which were to be found in the neighbouring cities, he imbarqued his forces on board them, and safely transported them into *Thessaly*. Thence marching into *Macedonia*, he determined to leave half his forces under the command of *Callas*, to hold *Polyssperchon* in play, while himself pursued and shut up *Olympias*. His design succeeded perfectly well, for *Callas* effectually baffled *Polyssperchon*, and *Olympias* with strange imprudence shut up herself. For she, after all her cruelties, relied entirely on the love of

^b DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xiv. c. 5.

the *Macedonians*, and, having once prevailed by the majesty of her appearance, was more solicitous about forming a court than an army, of which, however, she had some appearance, and also the elephants with her. Going in progress to the principal cities, she carried with her her daughter *Roxana*, her grandson *Alexander*, her niece *Deidamia*, *Theſſalonica* the sister of *Alexander*, and many other persons of great quality, with whom, on the news of *Cassander's* approach, she shut herself up in the city of *Pydna*, a sea-port strongly fortified. *Cassander* quickly appeared before the place, and invested it by land, at the same time that he shut up the port by sea. The besieged were very soon in want of provisions, yet, encouraged by the presence of so many great personages, they held out obstinately; *Olympias* assuring them, that her brother *Æacidas* was coming out of *Epirus* with a great army to her assistance, which was true. *Cassander* had advice thereof as early as she, and he provided very effectually against it. He sent troops to block up the passages from *Epirus*, which when the troops of king *Æacidas* found, they began to doubt the success of the war, and, which was more, their own safety. They therefore resolved on a course, which to them appeared short and salutary; they mutinied, deposed their king, and submitted themselves to *Cassander*. *Olympias* had now none to depend on but *Polysperchon*; out of whose power *Callas* had put it to render her much assistance; for, by throwing about manifestoes, reflecting on the cruelty of her administration, he had debauched the greatest part of *Polysperchon's* soldiers; so that, instead of being able to succour his mistress, he had much ado to defend himself. In the city of *Pydna* the court fed on horse-flesh, the soldiers on their dead companions, and the elephants on saw-dust. In this miserable situation numbers deserted to *Cassander*, who treated all with lenity who were not concerned in the late murders. *Olympias* at last wrote to *Polysperchon*, requesting him to send her a bark of fifty oars to convey her away in the night. The bearer of this letter fell into the hands of *Cassander*, who commanded him to proceed in his journey, and not to mention his being taken. At the time appointed *Polysperchon* sent the galley, and gave notice of it to *Olympias*; but *Cassander*, knowing also when it would arrive, seized it. *Olympias* not finding the vessel as she expected, gave up all hopes, and, without waiting any longer, surrendered the place and her person to *Cassander*. This determined the fate of *Macedonia*; for *Pella* the capital presently surrendered; and *Aristonius*, who with a body of troops lay in *Amphipolis*, at the command of *Olympias*, yielded the city to *Cassander*,
and

and was immediately afterwards killed by some whom he had injured while he commanded there. Now it was that the last scene of the old queen's life came on : She was accused before the assembly of the *Macedonians* by the relations of the persons she had slain, and, without being heard in her defence, was condemned to die. *Cassander* upon this sent to advise her to make her escape to *Athens*, offering her a ship and equipage safely to transport her thither ; but she refused to fly ; and said, she was ready to answer before the *Macedonians* for all she had done. *Cassander* did not care to trust to this, so he sent a band of two hundred soldiers to put her to death. These, when they came into her presence, drew back, and were afraid to execute their orders ; but the kindred of those she had murdered being with them, fell upon her, and cut her throat. She died with great resolution ; but it is said, that *Cassander* suffered her body to lie some time above ground, probably to revenge the injury she had offered to the ashes of his brother. It is likewise alledged, that he did not advise her to fly out of pity, but that he might have an opportunity of putting her to death as a person self-condemned, who fled from justice. Immediately after her decease, he sent *Roxana* and her son *Alexander* to *Amphipolis*, where they were made prisoners ; he likewise deprived the boy of his companions who had been bred up with him, and ordered that for the future he should be treated as a private person. Thus the line of *Alexander* was set aside in *Macedon*, and his son and his successor imprisoned in the very city where his army rendezvoused, when he marched to conquer *Asia* ^c.

Cassander
assumes the
govern-
ment in
Macedon.

Cassander having now provided for his safety, turned all his thoughts to the settlement of the kingdom. In the first place, he married *Thessalonica* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, who had fallen into his hands at the surrender of *Pydna*. He next caused the bodies of *Philip* and *Eurydice*, together with that of *Cynane* her mother, to be taken up ; and having conveyed them with mighty pomp to *Ægis*, he caused them there to be interred in the royal sepulchres, instituting funeral games in honour of the dead. He then built a new city in *Pallene*, which he called by his own name, *Cassandria*, and peopled it from the *Chersonese* ; inviting also the remnant of the *Olynthians* to settle therein, adding to this place so large and fair a territory, that it quickly grew to be the greatest city in *Macedonia* ; he also re-edified many cities, and shewed evidently a disposition to restore peace and plenty to his native

^c DIONOR. Sic. ubi supra PLUT. in vit. Demet. JUSTIN ubi supra.

country. *Epirus* he governed by *Lyciscus* his lieutenant, which was the more extraordinary, because from the days of *Pyrrhus* to this time the government had been hereditary, and the *Epirots* had never presumed to treat their kings with contempt. As to *Æacidas*, he fled to *Polyperchon*, and with him, when things were grown desperate in *Macedon*, retired into *Greece*; and at length to the *Ætolians*, the implacable enemies of all *Antipater's* family ^d.

Cassander, when he had tolerably settled the peace of *Macedon*, resolved to return into *Greece*, in order to drive thence *Polyperchon*, his son *Alexander*, and the rest of his enemies. This resolution once taken, he raised a fine army, and there-with marched down into *Theffaly*, where he found the *Pylæ* shut up by the *Ætolians*. However, he forced the pass, and came down with his forces into *Bæotia*, and proceeded to the ruins of *Thebes*. The sight of them put him in mind of the power and splendor of that antient city, and these thoughts easily led him to the project of restoring it. With this view he recalled all the *Thebans* who were scattered throughout *Greece*: He requested also the rest of the *Bæotians* to assist him in so good a work, which not only they, but all the cities of *Greece*, readily did, so that in a short space the walls were finished, and the principal streets rebuilt. The sight of this inspired the *Thebans* with such zeal, that they sent into all countries to recall their friends and relations. Thus, after more than twenty years, *Thebes*, which had been with great cruelty razed by the *Macedonians*, was now rebuilt by them. This design executed, *Cassander* passed on to *Peloponnesus*, out of which *Alexander* vainly thought to have shut him by a wall built cross the isthmus. But *Cassander* transported his army in flat-bottomed boats, and partly by force, partly by treaty, reduced most of the cities, and having left a body of troops under the command of *Molychus* to guard the isthmus, he returned back into *Macedon*.

THE power of *Antigonus* was about this time become formidable to all the successors of *Alexander*, wherefore they, as in their own defence, united, in order to reduce his power; but as all of them in their turns had been under great obligations to him, they sent their ambassadors to compliment him on his subduing of *Eumenes*, and to expostulate with him on their grievances. *Antigonus* heard the rest with some patience; but when the minister of *Cassander* came to make his demands, he thundered out an answer, *As for Lyfimachus and Ptolemy*, said he, *they were always persons eminently distinguished; but*

Returns
into
Greece.

WhereAn-
tigonus
stirs up a
war a-
gainst him.

^d DIODOR. PLUT & JUST. ubi supra.

who is *Cassander*? it cannot surely be that vagabond, who was here t'other day imploring my assistance, on account of the love I bore his father? He then assembled his army, and approaching the *Macedonian phalanx*, entered into a detail of *Cassander's* late proceedings: He has, says he, countrymen, murdered the mother of our late sovereign, and at this time holds in prison his wife and son; let him therefore be decreed a public enemy, unless he restores them to liberty, and leave it to me to prosecute this traitor as he deserves. The army to be sure decreed as *Antigonus* directed, and, in consequence of their decree, he immediately solicited the *Greek cities* to drive out *Cassander's* garisons; to perform which, they did not want so much the will, as the power. However, such troubles were now stirred up in *Peloponnesus* as made *Cassander's* presence absolutely necessary; whereupon, leaving *Macedonia* after another brush with the *Ætolians*, *Cassander* came first into *Bæotia*, and afterwards to the isthmus, then entering *Peloponnesus*, he resettled his affairs as well as he could. *Alexander* the son of *Polyperchon* had for some time taken shelter in the court of *Antigonus*, where he had fair words and a tolerable subsistence given him, and that was all. But now *Antigonus* found out that his case was the hardest, and at the same time the most equitable, in the world; and therefore, out of mere regard to justice, he furnished him with five hundred talents, and sent him with some ships and men into *Peloponnesus*, where he quickly raised forces, and began to make a figure. *Cassander* knowing well the capacity of the man, and verily believing he had enemies enow already, sent *Perpilaus* to tell him, that *Antigonus* had an excellent faculty at setting people together by the ears, without caring what became of them afterwards; that five hundred talents was a considerable sum, which he would do well to keep in his pocket; that as for the command of *Peloponnesus*, he need not seek it by force, for *Cassander* was willing to put it into his hands, provided he would renounce his league with *Antigonus*, who never intended him half so much good. *Alexander*, having considered this proposition, found it too good to be rejected; wherefore he accepted from *Cassander* the office of captain general of *Peloponnesus*; quitted the party of *Antigonus*, and began to settle his province; which, however, he did not live to effect, for while he was endeavouring to suppress *Aristodemus*, whom *Antigonus* had made general in his stead, one *Alexion*, a *Sicyonian*, treacherously murdered him. His wife *Cratesipolis* took upon her the command of his army, and having beaten the *Sicyonians* in a field battle, besieged and took their city, crucified thirty of the most turbulent upon their

their own walls and then assumed the sovereignty, which she managed with great prudence, clemency, and justice, being alike courted and feared by all the contending parties. Thus something like a settlement was established in *Peloponnesus*^e.

Cassander, observing that the *Ætolians* were always inclined to take advantage of his affairs, by attacking him at such time as he had other enemies on his hands, resolved to make use of the leisure he now had, to put it out of the power of these people to treat him in this manner for the future. With this view he marched with an army to the confines of *Ætolia*, yet with no great success, for the *Ætolians* were so well aware of his intention, that they provided effectually for their own security, so as to prevent his making any impression upon them; yet *Cassander*, who was a person of great capacity, resolved not to lose all the pains he had taken; when therefore he discovered that the *Ætolians* could not be reduced by force, he contrived to leave a bridle in their mouths, which should hinder their performing any great exploits for the future. With this view he entered into a negociation with their old enemies the *Acarnanians*, whom he took pains to convince, that the disadvantages they were under arose from their living in so many scattered towns, whereby the *Ætolians* had constant opportunities of despoiling them, and by which argument he persuaded them to enlarge the three cities of *Stratopolis*, *Saurion*, and *Agrinium*, and to quit their villages. Then leaving his general *Lyciscus* in those parts, he marched away to reduce other places^f.

Glaucias was at this time king of the *Illyrians*, in whom were united two very different qualities, ambition and the love of justice. When his neighbour *Æacidas* king of *Epirus* was banished by his subjects, this prince took upon him to preserve his infant son *Pyrrhus*, without any other view than that of performing a generous action. This immediately embroiled him with *Cassander*, and in consequence of these broils, *Glaucias* drew the cities of *Apollonia* and *Epidamnium* into alliance with him. Against these cities at this time *Cassander* moved, and in a short space reduced them, after which he passed the river *Hebrus*, and fought the *Illyrian* army under the command of *Glaucias*, which had been raised for the relief of the before-mentioned cities. After this engagement peace was made between these princes upon these terms, that *Cassander* should not invade any part of *Illyria*, and that *Glaucias* should neither attack him or any of his confederates. But while the *Macedonian* was victorious here, his allies the

After-
wards on
the Illyri-
ans.

^e DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

^f Id. ibid.

Acarnanians suffered deeply for taking his advice, for the *Ætolians*, before it was thoroughly fortified, invested the city of *Agrinium*, and then proceeded to a formal siege. The besieged, finding that they were not able to hold out, capitulated on these terms; that they should be at liberty to retire where-ever they thought fit. But, in breach of this capitulation, the *Ætolians* most perfidiously attacked them upon their march, and put almost every man of them to the sword. A cruel and unjustifiable act, for which they afterwards paid very dear^a.

Cassander
invades
Asia.

ON his return into *Macedonia*, *Cassander* projected a descent in *Asia*, in order to prevent *Antigonus* from making any attempts in *Greece*. These forces marched into *Caria*, where one *Ptolemy* commanded for *Antigonus*. It so happened, that while the troops were in winter quarters, the father of this *Ptolemy* died, at which his son seemed to be under deep concern; and, in order to express it effectually, prepared for his funeral, that it might be celebrated with the utmost magnificence. *Cassander's* generals being informed of this immediately detached *Eupolemus*, one of their number, with eight thousand foot and two thousand horse, to lie in ambuscade, in order to cut off *Ptolemy* when he should return to his quarters; but he receiving early intelligence of this design, not only prevented it, but also turned it upon the contrivers: For returning when they least expected it, he in the middle of the night surprized the forces of *Eupolemus*, defeated them intirely, and made that general himself prisoner^b.

Falls also
on the
Ætolians.

THE next year *Cassander* sent a puissant army under the command of *Philip* to fall upon the *Ætolians*. This general entered *Acarnania*, and, having effectually succoured his allies, began to harass the frontiers of *Ætolia*, when on a sudden he received advice, that *Æacidas* had not only entered *Epirus*, but by the consent of the people had re-ascended the throne. *Philip* upon this immediately entered *Epirus*, and finding *Æacidas* there at the head of an army, he attacked and defeated him, taking prisoners fifty of the principal persons who had been concerned in the restoration of the king, whom he sent away to *Cassander*, and then turned again to prosecute the war against the *Ætolians*, who were by this time ready to meet him in the field; for *Æacidas* himself with the remains of his broken troops had joined their army, and had thereby made it more numerous than that of *Philip*. A battle shortly ensued, wherein the *Macedonians* were victors, *Æacidas* king

^a JUSTIN. lib. xv. c. 1. DIODOR. ubi supra.

^b Id. ibid.

of *Epirus* being slain. Afterwards *Philip* so persecuted the *Ætolians*, that they were forced to forsake their cities, and fly for refuge to the mountains, whither also he pursued them, till he was stopped by the severity of the season. In *Asia* things went not so well, whereupon *Cassander* resolved to put an end to the war on that side, and by a treaty with *Antigonus* undertook to restore the *Greek* cities their liberty, and for the future to be his fast friend; for his sincere performance of which, he gave up his brother *Agathonas* for a hostage; however, he quickly repented of this treaty, and having taken care to get his brother rescued from those who should have kept him, he began the war afresh; which exceedingly provoked *Antigonus*, who sent an army into *Greece* to restore freedom unto the cities. This compelled *Cassander* to march thither also, whereupon *Antigonus* made a quick march into *Propontis*, with a design to have invaded *Macedon*. This effectually recalled *Cassander*, who marched back with all imaginable expedition. This retreat of his out of *Greece* hurt his affairs there, and at the same time did him no good in *Macedon*. For *Antigonus*, finding it impossible for him to persuade the *Byzantines* to concur with him in his designs, he was constrained to abandon all thoughts of entering the territories of *Cassander*. He received, however, little pleasure from this news; for upon the heels of it he received advice, that the country about *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus* had submitted again to *Glaucias*, and that the *Epirots* were inclined to revolt, to which were added advices of a like nature from *Athens*, where, though the people had never been so well governed as by *Demetrius Phalereus*, yet they hated him for the sake of his authority, and were inclined to deliver up the city to *Antigonus*. To these evils *Cassander* applied the best remedies the situation of his affairs would allow¹.

It was not long before *Epirus* was all in confusion. *Alce-* *Cassander*
tas, who had been banished by his father, was recalled by the ^{orders} people, and made king. Against him *Lysiscus*, *Cassander's* ^{Roxana}
 general, marched with his army, and engaged his forces sever- ^{and her}
 al times with different success. At length *Cassander* himself ^{son to be}
 came in to make an end of the war, which finding more dif- ^{slain.}
 ficult than he had imagined, he clapped up a peace with *Alcetas*,
 and left him in quiet possession of his kingdom, which, how-
 ever, he enjoyed not long; for the *Epirots*, conceiving him
 to rule tyrannically, murdered him and his children. All this
 time *Cassander* was engaged in a war with *Glaucias*, in
 which, however, he had very indifferent success; and at last,

¹ Id. *ibid.*

finding that he could not reduce *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus*, he returned into *Macedon*, where he did abundance of popular acts, and took all imaginable pains to conciliate the minds of the people. By this time all the commanders of *Alexander* were grown weary of the wars in which they had engaged with each other, and therefore unanimously desiring peace, it was easily concluded. The terms of it were, that they should hold all the provinces, of which at the time of its conclusion each of them was possessed, in propriety; that the *Greek* cities should be left absolutely free, and that they should be friends and allies of each other. Immediately upon this peace *Cassander* resolved with himself to dispatch out of his way *Alexander* the son of *Roxana* and his mother; for though he enjoyed the kingdom of *Macedon* at that time, as much as he could expect to do after the young man was dead, yet he was in continual fear, lest the *Macedonians*, who were a restless unruly people, should on a sudden grow dissatisfied with his government, and set at liberty the son of his master. While these doubts and fears distracted his mind, the *Macedonians* discovered an inclination to do what he suspected; discouraging openly of *Cassander's* usurpation, and alledging, that it was now high time for *Alexander* to take upon himself the administration of his father's kingdom. This was enough to hurry on the ambitious *Cassander* to the fatal expedient he had projected. He therefore sent for *Glancias*, whom he had made governor of the castle; where he kept *Roxana* and her son, and directed him to put them both to death, commanding also, that they should be interred privately, and their deaths for some time concealed. This he did to try the temper of the *Macedonians*; and that uncertain reports might keep them from taking any settled resolution. His policy met with all the success he could desire, and much more than he could reasonably hope. The *Macedonians* murmured a little, but, not knowing who they should have recourse to for a chief, durst not rebel^k.

Cassander gains Peloponnesus. *Cassander*, that he might find the subjects some other topics than his government to discourse of, engaged in a war against the *Autariates*, in favour of the king of *Pæonia*. Having subdued the first-mentioned people, he transplanted them to the number of twenty thousand from their native country into the neighbourhood of mount *Orbelus*, where he assigned them lands. About this time *Ptolemy*, one of the generals of *Antigonus*, who commanded in *Peloponnesus*, went over with

^k DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xix. JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. in Demetrio.

his whole army to *Cassander*, and received from him the same commission which he had from his former master. This was a most extraordinary piece of treachery, for *Ptolemy*, was not only the officer of *Antigonus*, but his nephew, so that he violated at once the ties of gratitude and nature. However, his treason did not remain long unpunished: *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* coming with a fleet upon the coast, sent for this other *Ptolemy* to come and visit him. On his arrival the king treated him not only with civility, but with kindness and respect. This he repaid with endeavouring to corrupt the soldiers *Ptolemy* had with him; his head being full of mighty projects for his own interest, to accomplish which he resolved to stick at nothing. When the king found this out, he first caused him to be imprisoned, and afterwards ordered him to be dispatched by a dose of hemlock; which, whatever he might pretend, *Cassander* was glad of; for he could never trust a man who had betrayed his uncle, and had endeavoured to seduce the troops of a prince who had received him like a friend. But without question, he was sorry that king *Ptolemy* had incorporated the army, which the other *Ptolemy* had commanded, into his own, because this was a loss, which fell heavy upon himself, and not easily to be repaired. His thoughts, however, were quickly diverted by the appearance of another storm¹.

Polyperchon, who had hitherto lived in *Ætolia*, rather as a banished man, than as one who pretended to the government of *Macedon*, of a sudden appeared more formidable than ever. He had engaged *Barfina* and her son *Hercules* to leave *Asia* and come over to *Greece*; where he received them with great honours, proclaimed *Hercules* king, and by the help of the *Ætolians* raised money, and an army of twenty thousand men. *Cassander* assembled an army as soon as he received the news, and marched away to meet the enemy. When the armies were near each other on the frontiers of *Ætolia*, *Cassander* sent one of his private agents to *Polyperchon* to put him in mind, that if the king was restored, himself would be but a servant, though to him he owed his restoration; whereas, if he put him out of the way, he should be declared generalissimo of *Peloponnesus*, and be acknowledged by *Cassander* for his coadjutor. These promises had the same effect upon *Polyperchon*, as they had formerly on his son; he therefore accepted them, and at an entertainment, to which he invited, and afterwards forced, the king to come, most barbarously murdered him. This being performed,

Hercules
declared
king, and
after-
wards
slain.

¹ DIODOR. ubi supra.

Cassander, according to his promise, delivered him four thousand *Macedonian* foot and five hundred horse; owned him for his coadjutor, and left him to take possession of *Peloponnesus*, which, however, was not so easily effected as he imagined; for the *Bæotians*, joining with the *Peloponnesians*, raised a formidable army, so that he was after all forced to winter in *Phocis*; from this time forward, knowing nothing but trouble and disquiet, the just reward of his flagitious actions^m.

Cassander
after much
ill fortune
recovers
Greece.

Cassander, having now removed out of his way all obstacles, well hoped that he should enjoy the kingdom, he had bought at so dear a price, in peace; but in this he was exceedingly mistaken, for the *Grecians* immediately began to plot against him, and knowing that it was *Antigonus's* interest rather to have them free than the subjects of *Cassander*, they applied to him for assistance. This occasioned the famous expedition of *Demetrius*, which we have so often mentioned, wherein he expelled *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*; in shew restored the *Grecians* to liberty, but in truth reduced them under the subjection of his father. Extravagant were the honours paid by the *Athenians* to the victor, and as extravagant the rage they expressed against *Cassander* and his party; that great captain and politician withdrew from a country where he was so generally hated, and chose rather to trust time, than fortune and his enemies; and when he found disasters still crowding upon him, he contented himself with leaving garisons in the cities he still possessed, and withdrew the gros of his army into *Macedon*. After the check which *Demetrius* received before *Rhodes*, the *Athenians* deserted him, and affected to resume their antient grandeur, pretending for the future to prescribe laws, instead of receiving them. Not long after *Demetrius* came again into *Greece*, and having taken *Sicyon* from *Ptolemy*, and the strong castle of *Corinth* from *Cassander*, the rest of the cities surrendered without resistance, and their garisons were immediately incorporated into the army of *Antigonus*. In this distress *Cassander*, conceiving himself to be in the utmost danger of ruin, resolved, if it were possible, to make peace with *Antigonus*, and to that end dispatched ambassadors to *Demetrius*, as also to his father, but in vain. These princes were so elate on account of the victories they had lately obtained, that they would not listen to any terms of accommodation, but proudly

^m DIODOR. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xv. PLUT. de Verecund.

insisted on *Cassander's* submitting himself and his dominions intirely to their pleasure. He, when he found peace was not to be had, determined to make his last effort in war. To this end he sent ministers to *Ptolemy* and *Lyfimachus*, instructing them to shew those princes, that if once *Macedonia* fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, they might be sure *Thrace* and *Egypt* would quickly follow. For he would be then able to act against them on all sides; and to the force of all *Asia* would add the weight of all *Greece*. This had its desired effect, they came immediately into the war, and resolved to act offensively against *Antigonus*ⁿ.

WHEN the operations of this war came to be considered, *Cassander*, who knew his stake would be the first drawn, laid down such a scheme as ail the rest came readily into. He sent a considerable part of his forces to join *Lyfimachus*, under whose command they were to pass into *Asia*, whither *Cassander* had transported another corps under the command of *Perpelaus*. With the rest of his army *Cassander* marched in person towards *Thessaly*, in order, if possible, to resetttle his affairs in *Greece*. *Demetrius* immediately marched to meet him, and the armies encamped in sight of each other; that of *Demetrius* consisted of fifteen hundred horse, eight thousand *Macedonian* foot, five and twenty thousand auxiliary foot, fifteen thousand mercenaries, and about eight thousand retainers to the camp who were, however, disposed into battalions; in all fifty six thousand men. *Cassander* had but two thousand horse and twenty nine thousand foot: With these he kept the field, protected most of his garisons, and held the war in suspense, till such time as *Antigonus* sent orders to his son to come speedily over into *Asia*; whereupon a provisional treaty was made by *Demetrius* with *Cassander*, which was to subsist or to be made void, according as it was approved or disapproved by *Antigonus*. However, it answered the ends of both; for *Demetrius* had thereby an opportunity given him of withdrawing all his forces out of *Greece*, and after he was gone, *Cassander*, notwithstanding the treaty, by force, by persuasion, and by bribes, got possession of many of the cities. Yet he did not so closely attend his own business, but that he kept his eye also on the concerns of his confederates. To their assistance *Cassander* sent his brother *Plistarchus* with twelve thousand men, in order to ballance in some measure the forces carried over by *Demetrius* to his father. His policy was good, as in most cases it was; but

The war ended.
Year of the Flood, 2698.
Before Christ, 301.

ⁿ DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xx. PLUT. in Demetrio.
Vol. VIII. X x

Plistarchus

Plistarchus had very ill success, for his army being wasted by famine, sickness, hardships, shipwrecks, and desertions, he at last, with a handful of men, joined *Lyfsmachus*, who, with the mighty forces brought by *Seleucus*, was grown strong enough to offer *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* battle; which shortly after ensued, and was the famous battle of *Ipsus*, where *Antigonus* lost his life and empire.

The death
of Cassan-
der.
Year of
the Flood,
2702.
Before
Christ,
297.

ON the death of *Antigonus*, the princes confederated against him divided his dominions amongst them, whereby *Cassander* recovered all that he had lately lost; however, he was not intirely freed from all apprehensions; for on the one hand, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* had still some territories in *Greece*, and was a prince who never conceived his title at all affected by the impressions made by force on his possessions. The hopes of *Demetrius* therefore filled *Cassander* with fears: On the other hand, *Cassander* had a nearer enemy, of whose power he was very justly jealous; this was *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, whom he had hated, and persecuted from his very cradle. This prince, then a little helpless infant, was at the time the *Epirots* revolted from his father, who would have led them into *Macedonia* to the relief of *Olympias*, conveyed with much difficulty into the dominions of *Glaucias* king of *Illyria*; that king was not a little confounded at this accident; pity moved him for the child, but he was afraid of incurring the hate of *Cassander*. Those who had the care of little *Pyrrhus*, perceiving the confusion the king was in, laid the boy at his feet. The child getting hold of the king's robes raised himself up upon his feet, and with his hands grasped the king's knees. Upon which, *Glaucias* taking him in his arms professed, that he would defend him at the hazard of his life and his dominions; and then delivered him to his queen to be educated with his own children. This was the source of *Cassander's* quarrel with *Glaucias*, against whom, as often as his affairs permitted, he employed force; and when he was constrained to turn his arms another way, he practised on him by negotiation, offering him two hundred talents, besides other great advantages, if he would deliver the young *Pyrrhus* into his hands. But *Glaucias* could neither be beaten nor flattered into so base a design; but when he was twelve years old, restored *Pyrrhus* by an army to the possession of the throne of his ancestors. From thence about five years afterwards, he was driven by his rebellious subjects. He then fled to *Demetrius*, who had married his sister *Deidamia*, and was in point of interest the irreconcilable enemy of *Cassander*. After the battle of *Ipsus*, he came over into *Greece*, and performed

formed many great exploits in favour of his brother-in-law ; when his subjects growing weary of a sudden of *Neoptolemus*, a king of their own setting up, recalled and restored him ; when, to prevent further disputes, he associated *Neoptolemus* with him in the kingdom ; but afterwards slew him for having framed a conspiracy to poison him°. This *Pyrrhus*, though ill at ease in his own kingdom, *Cassander* was mightily afraid of ; however, he strengthened the frontiers of his own dominions, re-edified such cities as were run to decay, and built new ones, where the situation of places invited. Thus near *Therma* he raised the noble city of *Theſſalonica*, which he so called in honour of his wife, and which after became the most considerable place in *Macedon*. He likewise endeavoured by all other means to fix the love of his subjects to his family, being with very just reason afraid of the inconstancy of the *Macedonians*. But while he was thus employed, he was seized with a dropsy, which brought him by slow degrees to his end ; and some say, that at last his body, as it corrupted, breeding lice, he became alike offensive to himself, and to all who were obliged to approach him. His death happened after he had held the government of *Macedon* nineteen years ; and had ruled it three years with the title of king, which he received readily from others, but took not himself ; he was a man of consummate prudence in peace and in war, but of detestable ambition. He is said to have hated *Alexander* personally ; to have remembered him with fear and spight, and to have suffered his malice against him to instigate the utter extirpation of his family (C). By *Theſſalonica*, the daughter

° PLUT. in Demet. & in Pyrrho.

(C) We learn from *Plutarch* the following circumstances as to the hatred which *Cassander* bore *Alexander*, and the causes thereof. It happened, when *Cassander* was just arrived from *Greece*, and was full of that freedom in which he had been educated, the first time he saw the *Barbarians* adore the king, he was surprised at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing out aloud at it ; which so incensed *Alexander*, that he took him by the hair with both hands, and violently knocked his head against the wall. Another time *Cassander* would have said something in defence of *Antipater* to those who accused him ; but *Alexander* interrupting him, *What is it you say ? Do you think people, if they have received no injury, would come such a journey only to calumniate your father ?* To which when *Cassander* replied, *That this very thing was a great evidence of their calumny, for the farther they are come the farther they are got from those proofs that could confute them, and clear the innocent.*

X x 2

Alexander

daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, he had three sons, *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*; the eldest of these, viz. *Philip*, succeeded him, but died shortly after of a consumption, whereby a way was opened to a long and fatal controversy about the kingdom ^p.

Antipater
and Alex-
ander
kings of
Macedon.

Antipater, on the demise of his brother *Philip*, caused himself to be declared king; but herein he found himself opposed by his brother *Alexander*, who was supported in his pretensions by some of the *Macedonian* lords, and secretly, as *Antipater* conceived, by the queen his mother. The first step therefore that he took, to secure himself against *Alexander* was, to take away the life of *Thessalonica*, which, if he did not with his own hands, he permitted to be done in his presence, though she besought him, by the breasts that had given him suck, to spare her. A fact beyond all example cruel. After this, by the assistance of *Lyfimachus* his father-in-law, he for some time maintained himself in the possession of the kingdom. But *Alexander*, persisting in the competition, and vehemently desiring to revenge his mother's death, invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, and also *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*, to his assistance. *Pyrrhus* came first with a potent army, and did him such service, that for it he demanded and received all the maritime coast of *Macedonia*, together with *Ambracia*, *Acarmania*, and *Amphilochia*. He then applied himself to conquer the rest of the kingdom, that *Alexander* might have no occasion to repent of his bargain; upon which *Antipater* and his wife *Eurydice* strongly solicited *Lyfimachus* to assist them. His affairs were at that time in such disorder, that he could not in prudence spare any part of his forces; however, knowing that *Ptolemy* had a mighty influence over *Pyrrhus*, and that his requests had the force of laws, he forged a letter from him to *Pyrrhus*, desiring him, on the pay-

^p JUSTIN. lib. xv. PLUT. in Demet.

Alexander smiled at this, and said, *Those are some of Aristotle's sophisms which will serve equally on both sides; but*, added he, *both you and your father shall be severely punished, if it appears that the complainants have received the least injustice at your hands.* This menace made such a deep impression of fear on *Cassander's* mind, that long after, when he was king of *Macedonia* and master of all *Greece*, as he was walking one day at *Delpbi*, and looking on the statues, at the sight of that of *Alexander*, he was suddenly struck with horror, and shook all over, his eyes rolled, his head grew dizzy, and he had much ado to recover himself (6).

(6) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*

ment

ment of three hundred talents, to leave *Antipater* half the kingdom. This deceit *Pyrrhus* easily detected; for whereas *Ptolemy* was wont to address his letters thus: *The father to the son greeting*, this letter ran, king *Ptolemy* to king *Pyrrhus* health; however, it did the business as well as if it had been a true letter, for he, perceiving that money might be had, struck up an agreement between the two brothers, to which, however, he would not swear, because one of the three victims died as it was led to the altar at the time of the performance of this solemnity; whence the soothsayer predicted, that one of the kings would shortly die. Immediately after this agreement, whereby two kings seemed to be established in *Macedon*, *Demetrius* arrived on its frontiers, in order to have assisted *Alexander*. The young prince, knowing how largely he had paid *Pyrrhus*, was afraid of having more protectors upon his hands; wherefore he posted away to meet *Demetrius*, in order to inform him of what had happened, and to decline his aid, which he no longer wanted. In the former chapter we have shewn the issue of this business, how *Alexander* was slain, and how *Demetrius* gained the kingdom. Here, however, it may not be amiss to observe, that it is in a manner impossible to know the truth as to *Alexander's* death; that is, whether *Demetrius* slew him on account of his having conspired against himself, or whether he invented that story to colour the murder of the young king. The authority of *Plutarch* is on all sides of the question in the life of *Demetrius*; he affirms, that *Alexander* intended to have slain him, and that he prevented it by a day; in another place he, in general terms, relates this accident as an act of treachery in *Demetrius*^a; yet elsewhere, he particularly ascribes the death of *Alexander* to his modesty, in not refusing to visit *Demetrius* when he invited him, for fear he should seem to distrust him^r. However it was, *Alexander* was slain, and *Demetrius* with his forces and his own compelled *Antipater* to leave him sole master of the kingdom, who thereupon fled to the court of his father-in-law *Lyfimachus*, hoping by his assistance to be restored. But there were two reasons why *Lyfimachus*, if he had been better inclined to him than he was, could not have yielded him any great help. The first, that he was engaged in foreign wars: The second, that there were great dissensions in his family. To this we may add, that he was afraid of uniting *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus*; whereas he well hoped, that if they were left to themselves, they would quickly fall out, which he intimated to his son-in-law,

^a PLUTARCH. in vita Pyrrh.^r De Verecund.

and exhorted him to be patient. *Antipater* and *Eurydice*, however, could not comprehend the force of this reasoning, and therefore they clamoured loudly against what they called his neglect of his children. *Lyfimachus*, who was a fierce and arbitrary prince, thought fit thereupon to imprison them both, and a-while after directed *Antipater* to be put to death in prison. Thus the whole race of *Cassander* was exterminated almost as soon as he was dead^c.

Demetrius
becomes
king of
Macedo-
nia.
Year of
the Flood,
2705.
Before
Christ,
294.

Demetrius, from being in very low and desperate circumstances was now become more potent than *Cassander* had been; for, with the kingdom of *Macedon*, he held *Thessaly*, the best part of *Peloponnesus*, and the two great cities of *Megara* and *Athens*. He thereupon resolved to make himself master of all *Greece*; in order to which he turned his arms first against the *Bæotians*, who, on his coming, were inclined to submit to him; but *Cleonymus* the *Spartan* engaged them to stand out, which occasioned the siege of *Thebes*, of which *Pifis* a *Thespian* was governor. When *Cleonymus* saw the prodigious engines which *Demetrius* made use of, he was so frightened, that he would have had the *Thebans* immediately to surrender, which *Pifis* refused, and made a very gallant defence, till *Cleonymus* withdrew himself, which so intimidated the people, that he was forced to give up the city. *Demetrius* dealt very gently with the *Thebans*, appointed *Hieronimus*, the good old friend of *Eumenes*, governor of *Bæotia*; and, sending for his prisoner *Pifis*, he highly commended his valour, and then sent him to govern his countrymen the *Thespians*. The king then returned into *Macedon*, where he was guilty of a very mean act; for hearing that *Lyfimachus* was taken prisoner by the king of the *Gætæ*, he immediately advanced with a great army to the frontiers of *Thrace*, hoping to subdue his dominions in his absence. But before he was able to make any impression, *Lyfimachus* was restored to liberty, and *Demetrius* recalled by the defection of the *Bæotians*, whom he had so lately subdued. *Antigonus* his son had, on the first advice of the revolt, led the forces left with him against them, and, having routed them in battle, shut up the remains of their army in *Thebes*, to which he laid siege. Thither *Demetrius* came with the gross of his army out of *Macedon*; but he had not been there long before he received news of an irruption made by *Pyrrhus* into *Thessaly*, upon which he marched to oppose him, and left his son *Antigonus* to carry on the siege. Before *Demetrius* arrived in that country, *Pyrrhus* was withdrawn; he therefore contented himself with the leaving ten thousand foot and a thou-

^c JUSTIN. lib. xvi. cap. 1. PLUT. in Demet. & Pyrrh.

sand horse for the guard of *Thessaly*, and then returned with the rest of his army to *Thebes*. *Antigonus*, who had continued the siege all this while, perceiving that, through the obstinate defence which was made by the besieged, numbers of his men were slain, could not help one day speaking to his father in this manner: *I beseech you, Sir, to consider what reason there is you should expose so many of your valiant soldiers to continual danger, when —* *Ay, sweet Sir*, interrupted *Demetrius*, *what reason have you to afflict yourself? Don't you know, that the more there are killed here, the fewer you will have to provide for?* This he said in his passion; but when he was in a cooler temper, he alledged the ingratitude of the *Thebans* as the true cause of his persisting in the siege, in which he exposed his person as much as the meanest soldier, till in one of the attacks he received a stroke of a javelin quite through his neck, whereby his life was extremely indangered. However, he refused to stir, till at length the *Thebans*, quite tired out, were constrained to surrender at discretion. Then it was, that they expected a desolation as general as that which happened thirty years before, when *Alexander* destroyed their city. But it proved quite otherwise; *Demetrius* ordered thirteen persons, who were principally concerned in the revolt, to be put to death, and received all the rest of the citizens into his favour. He afterwards celebrated the festival of the *Pythian Apollo* at *Athens*, because the *Ætoliens* had shut up the passages to *Delphi*, so that he could not go thither¹.

WHEN *Demetrius* returned into *Macedonia*, he discovered such a restless uneasy temper in his subjects, that he was constrained to think of employing them in some war, to prevent their making an ill use of peace. With this view he marched against the *Ætoliens*, but, before he could come to an engagement, he had advice that *Pyrrhus* was about to invade *Macedon*. To oppose him he marched in person, and left *Pantauchus* to command the forces he thought sufficient to bridle the *Ætoliens*. *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* both missed their intentions: The former, passing by the latter without knowing it, entered *Epirus* without opposition, wasting and plundering the country where-ever he came, till he had satiated the avarice of his soldiers, and, as he conceived, had fully revenged himself for what *Pyrrhus* had done in *Thessaly*. In the mean time *Pyrrhus* engaged *Pantauchus*, the general of *Demetrius*, whom, on a challenge given, he encountered hand to hand, and, after an obstinate combat, wounded and dismount-

The ill conduct of Demetrius loses him the affections of his people.

¹ PLUT. in vita Demet. PAUSAN. in Bœoticis.

ed him. The battle also ended in his favour, wherein, after cutting to pieces a multitude of *Macedonians*, he took five thousand prisoners. This loss was in itself a great mortification to *Demetrius*, but in its consequences was far more detrimental than he either foresaw, or than the thing itself seemed to indicate. Upon the return of *Demetrius*, *Pyrrhus* retired hastily into his own dominions: but from the time that the *Macedonians* had beheld this prince fighting hand to hand with their general, they continually talked of him as a prodigy of valour, and amongst other praises this was perpetually in their mouths; that the other kings resembled *Alexander* in his robes, his quick tone of voice, and the turn of his neck; but that in *Pyrrhus* they saw his vivacity in fight, and his courteous behaviour towards his soldiers. At first perhaps *Demetrius* did not mind this, or, it may be, was never made acquainted with it. Certain it is, that his conduct tended strongly to alienate the minds of his subjects: In his garb he was vain to excess; his robes seemed fitter for a stage than a court; his head was enriched with the novelty of a double diadem; and his very shoes shone not only with gold, but with precious stones. In short the garment of his, which was left unfinished, and wherein he intended to have had the whole universe displayed, remained for ages after a monument of his pride, and of the modesty of his successors, who neither wore it, or so much as suffered it to be finished. His conduct was absurd and extravagant; he spent his time in revelling with women and parasites, wasted away immense sums of money, and set the nobility of *Macedon* a most scandalous example. His behaviour also was remarkably altered; for, instead of that kind and obliging deportment, by which he had formerly attached the minds of all men to his person, he grew humourfome at least, if not morose, affecting to treat every body with disdain, and to put on such airs of insolence as were insupportable. He suffered the *Athenian* ambassadors to wait two years before he gave them audience, and one day when he had graciously condescended to receive all the petitions that were offered him, at his return to his palace he opened his robe, and suffered them all to fall into the river *Axius*. This effectually lost him the hearts of the *Macedonians*, who from that day forward wished for another master. Some small time after he fell sick of a fever at *Pella*, induced by hard drinking, and while he struggled with the violence of the distemper, *Pyrrhus* entered his dominions with an army, and penetrated as far as *Edeffa*. He might have possessed himself of the whole kingdom, if he had known
how

how much the *Macedonians* were displeased with their king, and how far they were prejudiced in favour of himself; but plunder was all he sought, and when his soldiers had loaded themselves, he had thoughts of retiring. *Demetrius*, sick as he was, quitted his bed, and mounted on horseback: some of his friends drew together immediately some troops; and at the head of these he marched against *Pyrrhus*, who avoided a battle by a quick retreat. As soon as the king returned into *Macedon*, he determined to put an end to the difference between himself and his brother-in-law. To this end he sent ambassadors who were kindly received, and the treaty they were sent to negotiate quickly concluded. This point once got over, *Demetrius* raised a powerful army, and led it against *Lyfimachus*; but before he reached his confines, *Pyrrhus*, at the persuasion of *Ptolemy*, invaded *Macedon*, and marched strait to *Beræa*. This brought *Demetrius* and his army back to oppose him, but when they were incamped over-against each other, *Pyrrhus* was advised by deserters that his soldiers were inclined to desert *Demetrius*, and to revolt to himself. To try their temper therefore, he rode out of the city near the camp with his head bare, but finding none came over to him, he expressed his surprize to the deserters, who advised him to put on his helmet, which when he had done, and the *Macedonians* perceived by the plume that it was *Pyrrhus*, they came out to him in throngs and saluted him king. *Demetrius*, finding himself deserted, retired privately to *Cassandria*, having lost a kingdom as unaccountably as he found it.^u

Pyrrhus doubted not his holding the crown he had acquired- *Demetrius* ed, without dispute at least with any but *Demetrius*, but loses Ma- he had scarce time to flatter himself with these expectati- cedon. ons before another competitor appeared; for *Lyfimachus*, having raised an army to oppose *Demetrius*, as soon as he had heard what had befallen him, marched strait into *Macedon*, and advanced towards *Pyrrhus*, from whom he demanded half the kingdom for his share, alledging, that *Demetrius* had been compelled to fly by his approach. *Pyrrhus*, who was very sensible that this claim had not the least foundation, yielded, however, to his request, desiring rather to have him his friend and colleague upon any terms, than to have to deal with him as an enemy, knowing the fickleness of the *Macedonians*, and remembering that *Lyfimachus* was their countryman. Each then took a part of the king-

^u PLUT. in Demetrio.

dom of *Macedon*, not to content himself but his partner, for each privately designed to make himself master of the whole w.

Pyrrhus
becomes
king of
Macedon.
Year of
the Flood,
2712.
Before
Christ,
287.

Pyrrhus, now king of *Macedon*, thought the small remains of empire which his brother *Demetrius* retained in *Greece*, were just appendices to his kingdom, and therefore could not enjoy in peace what with so much pains he had acquired, till he had considered of some method for ouing that unfortunate prince and his son of what their ill fortune had left them. In order to this he commenced a war, in which he gained the quiet possession of *Athens*, whither he went to sacrifice, and being received with all the testimonies of kindness and respect by the citizens, he gave them thanks with great civility; but at the same time told them, that he believed it would be for their safety, if for the future they made it a rule with them not to admit sovereign princes into their city upon any terms. This he said to furnish them with a pretence for excluding *Demetrius*; a mean and scandalous contrivance to deprive him of a retreat, when he had deprived him of a kingdom. But he was quickly punished for his own ambition by the ambition of his neighbour; for when *Lyfimachus* was at leisure from other wars, he immediately came pouring into *Macedon* with a very numerous army. In the first place he carried off some convoys, whereby he distressed the army of *Pyrrhus*: In the next he caused manifestoes to be scattered through the kingdom, complaining of the injury they did to the *Macedonian* name, by accepting a foreigner for their king to the exclusion of him who was a native, and who had been a principal commander in their armies, when under the auspice of *Alexander* they acquired the command of the world. These arguments were plausible enough to furnish with a pretence for rebellion a people who were prone to it. In short *Pyrrhus* saw himself reduced to the same necessity to which he had reduced *Demetrius*, and was constrained to leave *Lyfimachus* by flight a kingdom which himself had stolen. One would have conceived, that, having this leisure, he would have fallen upon *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, who resided at *Corinth*, and had many cities under his jurisdiction in *Peloponnesus* and the rest of *Greece*. But either *Pyrrhus* was afraid of acquiring the sovereignty of so fickle a people, or else he willingly left *Antigonus* behind him, in hopes that he might create *Lyfimachus* some trouble. However it was, he chose

^w PLUT. in Pyrrho. JUSTIN. lib. xvi. c. 3.

to sail into *Italy* to acquire new kingdoms, and laid aside all thoughts of *Grecian* conquests, till a more convenient season, which we shall hereafter see dawn upon him when he least expected it *.

Lyfimachus, who had now *Macedonia* to himself, as well as the provinces he had held since the division of *Alexander's* empire, might, if he had so pleased, have sat down satisfied and contented, having also fifteen children living to be the comforts of his old age. But so it was, that, like the fair city *Lyfimbria*, which he had built and called by his own name, and which was swallowed up by an earthquake; he suddenly saw himself and his fortunes, his foreign and domestic hopes, not only turned upside down, but destroyed for ever. His eldest son *Agathocles*, a prince of great hopes, because of great prudence and greater humanity, he had married to *Lyfandra* the daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice* the daughter of *Antipater*, and some time after himself married *Arfinoe* the daughter also of *Ptolemy* by *Berenice*, a widow lady, who had accompanied his wife *Eurydice* into *Egypt* as her friend. These ladies, *Eurydice*, *Berenice*, *Lyfandra*, and *Arfinoe*, introduced scenes of blood and confusion into both courts. In that of *Ptolemy* first, *Berenice* procured a preference to be given to her children, to the prejudice of those of her mistress; whereupon *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the king's eldest son, fled to the court of *Lyfimachus*, where he was kindly received by his brother-in-law *Agathocles* and his sister *Lyfandra*. But in this court he found *Arfinoe* the daughter of his implacable mother-in-law, as powerful and more cruel than she. This lady infused it into her husband's head, that his son, his eldest son *Agathocles*, who had conquered for him half his empire, and in whom the army and people had their hopes bound up, was secretly his enemy; upon which the hapless young prince was first imprisoned, and then poisoned. A fact which struck not only the family, but all the subjects of *Lyfimachus* with horror, and the fright of which induced *Lyfandra* to fly, with her children and her brother *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to *Seleucus*, where they found not only a civil, but a kind reception. Many of the officers in *Lyfimachus's* army, and some of the principal lords of his court followed them, and all concurred in beseeching him to make war upon this unnatural parent, who, vexed with the reflections made on what he had already done, became every day more and more cruel. *Seleucus*, though he was seventy-seven years old, had still all the vigour and activity of a young man:

* JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

He therefore lent a willing ear to these insinuations, the rather, because he had no rival left, but *Lyfimachus*, and him once subdued, he saw no cause to doubt that his own empire might be extended as far as that of *Alexander* his master. Instantly therefore he fell upon the dominions of *Lyfimachus* in *Asia*, and stript him of them almost as soon as he attacked them; but before he could transport an army into *Europe*, *Lyfimachus* passing the *Hellepont*, met him at *Corupedion* in *Phrygia* with a gallant army, where, in the seventy-fourth year of his age, *Lyfimachus*, having first lost all his children except two, fell in the field, and left the victory with his kingdoms to *Seleucus*, justly surnamed *Nicator*, or the conqueror^y.

*Seleucus
assumes the
title of
king.*

LED by a warm desire of taking possession of *Macedonia*, as soon as the season permitted, *Seleucus* passed the *Hellepont*, and with his army advanced as far as *Lyfimachia* in *Thrace*. In the neighbourhood of this city, he observed as he marched an old altar, concerning which he asked certain questions, whence he learned that it was called *Argos*, at which he was exceedingly surprized; for he had been warned by an oracle to have a care of *Argos*, which hitherto he thought had referred to *Argos* in *Peloponnesus*. But while by farther questions he sought to sift into this matter, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whom he had so generously relieved, for whose sake he had commenced this war; and whom, after settling his own affairs in *Macedonia*, he intended by force to have restored to his father's kingdom, came behind him, and basely thrust him through, so that in seven months space, and by a violent death also, he followed *Lyfimachus*, having so long worn the title of king of *Macedon*^z.

*Ptolemy
becomes
king of
Macedon.
Year of
the Flood,
2719.
Before
Christ,
280.*

Ptolemy Ceraunus having performed this execrable deed, escaped away to *Lyfimachia*, where having got about him a band of his companions, he put on a diadem, and boldly declared himself king of *Macedon*. We do not find it very clearly laid down, by what title he desired to hold his crown; however, he made use of many pretences to gain him friends. To those whom he discerned to be lovers of the house of *Antipater*, he observed, that he was his grandson. To such as were to the last loyal to *Lyfimachus*, *I am*, said he, *his avenger*. To all he made vast promises, and, which must appear most singular, he was believed by all; so that the army

^y APPIAN. in Syriacis. MEMNON. ap Phot. Cod. ccxxiv. c. 9. JUSTIN. lib. xvii c. 1—2. ^z JUSTIN. ubi supra. MEMNON. ubi supra. PAUSAN. in Atticis.

and people accepted him as lawful king ; the city of *Cassandria* only standing out. Three enemies he had to deal with, who all threatened him at the same time ; *Antiochus* the son of *Seleucus*, on account of the murder of his father ; *Antigonus* the son of *Demetrius*, who claimed the kingdom of *Macedon* as his hereditary right ; and *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, though fully bent on his *Italian* expedition, would needs have before he went some satisfaction for the kingdom of *Macedonia*. *Antigonus*, being nearest at hand, came with a fleet and army to dispute with *Ptolemy* the possession of his new-acquired dominions ; the latter superior to him both in naval and land-forces, engaged and routed him. Thus delivered from one rival, he had art enough to rid himself without fighting from the other two. *Antiochus* he pacified by fair words. To *Pyrrhus* he lent five thousand foot, four thousand horse, and fifty elephants for two years, whereupon *Pyrrhus* married his daughter, and appointed him protector of his dominions in his absence. All this so well brought about, the new king of *Macedon* wrote to his brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, telling him, that he acquiesced in his father's disposition of his paternal kingdom, being satisfied with that which he had honourably obtained by the death of his father's enemy. Next he applied himself to his sister *Arfinoe* the widow of *Lyfimachus*, who had obliged him to fly from the court of her husband. She was possessed of the strong castle and rich city of *Cassandria*, where she resided with her two sons. *Ptolemy's* suit to her was, that, forgetting all former quarrels, she would remember her near relation to him, and consent to share the kingdom with him, promising to marry her, and to adopt her children. She, credulous as she was, readily embraced the offer, and in consequence thereof put *Ptolemy* in possession of the city of *Cassandria* ; where on the very day of the nuptials, *Ptolemy* caused her two sons to be slain, and turned herself out attended only with two maid-servants to lead a solitary life in *Samo-Thrace*, from whence she afterwards passed into *Egypt*, where she married her other brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who for her sake divorced and banished *Arfinoe* daughter of *Lyfimachus*. *Ptolemy* now looked upon himself as thoroughly fixed in the *Macedonian* throne ; but he had not sat on it above a year, before a people he had scarce heard of sent to demand of him a tribute. These were the *Gauls*, who with three different armies broke into *Pannonia*, *Thracia*, and *Macedon*. This last corps was commanded by *Belgius*, who sent deputies to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to inquire of him in few words, how much money he would give for peace. *Ptolemy*, proud of his own performances, and not

at all doubting the fidelity of the *Macedonians* against these barbarous invaders, slighted the message, and returned for answer, that unless the principal officers of their army were given up to him for hostages, he would not allow it to them. The *Gauls* in their turn derided the haughtiness of this rash monarch, and marched immediately against him with a mighty army of horse and foot. *Ptolemy* failed not to meet them with the whole force of *Macedon*, and a battle was fought with great obstinacy on both sides. At last *Ptolemy*, being much wounded, was thrown by his elephant, and taken prisoner. The *Barbarians* shewed him as little pity as he had shewn others; for those who took him tore him to pieces, and then exalting his head on the top of a pike, his army were so intimidated, that they immediately began to break, and were soon after surrounded and cut to pieces. This misfortune was wholly owing to the confidence of *Ptolemy*, whose army was overthrown, not so much by the valour as by the multitude of their enemies; for whom they would have been at least a more equal match, if he had not refused twenty thousand men offered him by the king of the *Dardanians*, with this proud boast, that he had an army composed of the children of those with whom *Alexander* had subdued the east. This miserable end had *Ptolemy* himself, after he had been a king no more than eighteen months^a.

Meleager,
Antipater
and Soft-
henes.

THE *Macedonians* in this distress knew not well what to do, either in respect to preservation of their country, or the choice of a king. *Meleager* the brother of *Ptolemy* was at hand, him therefore they saluted king, but finding with the name they were not able to bestow on him the qualities requisite to a monarch, after two months they deprived him, and in his stead exalted *Antipater* the son of *Philip*, the brother of *Cassander*. Upon him they bestowed the surname of *Etesian*, because he governed but forty-five days, during which time the *Etesian* winds blew. Then an interregnum followed; the *Gauls* making havock of every thing, till *Softhenes*, a young nobleman of great merit, collected as well as he could a body of able youths, and having disciplined them, and brought them by degrees to a tolerable knowledge in military discipline, he with them, taking proper seasons and all the advantages resulting from the thorough knowledge of the country, greatly harassed, and at length totally destroyed the *Gauls*, and, as is generally believed, slew *Belgius* their commander. These noble exploits might well have intitled him to the kingdom, if his modesty had not induced him to re-

^a JUSTIN. lib. xxiv. 3—5. MEMNON ap. Phot. ubi supra.
fuse

fuse regal honours. He caused the soldiers to swear to him as their general, and with that title ruled happily in *Macedon* for two years; about the end of that time came a new inundation of *Gauls* under the command of *Brennus*, and broke into this country. His army consisted of one hundred and forty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, besides an innumerable train of retainers. *Sosthenes* bore up against him with great courage, till himself and his army were overwhelmed with numbers; then they ruined and pillaged all the country, till being quite sated with booty, or rather finding there was nothing more to be had, and having received vast recruits from *Gaul* and *Illyria*, they left *Macedonia*, and poured down into *Greece* ^b.

Sosthenes being dead and the kingdom of *Macedon* deserted *Antigonus* by the *Gauls*, *Antigonus Gonatus*, so called from the place of *Gonatus* his birth, revived his claim to the kingdom, as son to *Deme- restored.*
trius Poliorcetes; but he was opposed by *Antiochus Soter* the Year of
son of *Seleucus Nicator*, who also pretended title to the the Flood,
kingdom, in right of his father who had conquered it, tho' 2725.
he never possessed it. *Antigonus* who had already reigned Before
ten years in *Peloponnesus*, came with a great fleet and army Christ,
and took possession of the kingdom, before his rival was in 274.
any condition to contest it with him; yet this did not at all
discourage *Antiochus* from prosecuting his claim; for he immediately raised a great army, and threatened to transport it from *Asia* into *Europe*. It so happened, that during this dispute *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* entered into a treaty with *Antigonus* for their mutual defence; whereupon *Antiochus* carried the war into his kingdom, which he invaded with a powerful army; yet there happened no decisive action, but after the armies had for some time observed each other, a treaty was made, whereby all these differences were adjusted. *Antigonus* married *Phila* the daughter of *Seleucus* by *Stratonice* the sister of *Antigonus* himself, and as this lady was half-sister and daughter-in-law to *Antiochus*, he resigned his right to the kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus* on account of the marriage. Being now peaceable possessor of the kingdom of *Macedon*, he applied himself with all imaginable industry to the restoring the towns and villages which had been ruined by the *Gauls*. But while he was intent upon such matters, the *Gauls* threatened another invasion; but before they entered his country, they sent to him as they had to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to know if he was inclined to purchase

^b JUSTIN. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xlii.
peace,

peace, for they were well informed that he had brought a great treasure out of *Peloponnesus*. *Antigonus* entertained the ambassadors splendidly, and having shewn them his camp, his army, and his treasures, told them, these were not to be given away, but to be employed for the just defence of his subjects. When these deputies returned home, and had reported not only the king's answer, but also what splendid things they had seen in his camp, the *Gauls* were impatient to go and take possession of all the fine things they talked of; for though they were but fifteen thousand foot and three thousand horse, yet they made no question of subduing *Antigonus*, as they had done some of his predecessors. That they might perform this the more easily, they made forced marches in order to surprize him; but *Antigonus*, being aware of their intent, withdrew his forces into a wood, and so avoided an engagement: however, the *Gauls* rifled his camp, and then proceeded to plunder his ships; but the seamen and soldiers on board, perceiving that they observed no order, and that they were quite intoxicated with success, fell upon them and cut off numbers of them. In the mean time *Antigonus* and his soldiers being apprised of what had happened, they also attacked the *Gauls* in the rear, and gained over them so complete a victory, as for the present established *Antigonus* firmly on the throne. But before he had time to perform what he endeavoured, the restoring the kingdom to its antient lustre, he had another enemy upon his hands, more formidable than the *Gauls*, viz. *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, returning with the shattered remains of an army from *Italy*, after he had continued a little time in his own country, invaded the frontiers of *Macedonia*, in hopes of plunder; but finding little resistance, he advanced into the very heart of *Macedon*, where two thousand men, who had been posted in the adjacent towns for their defence by *Antigonus*, deserted to him; whereupon he resolved to venture a battle, notwithstanding the *Macedonian* army was more numerous, and composed of better troops than his own. This once resolved on, he prosecuted his march against *Antigonus* with the utmost diligence, and coming up with him in a defile, he charged his forces briskly. The rear of the army was composed of *Gauls*, whom *Antigonus* had taken into his service; they made a very gallant defence, and continued fighting till most of them were cut to pieces. When these were destroyed, *Pyrrhus* made himself master of the elephants, and, elated with his success, advanced towards the phalanx which *Antigonus* commanded in person, and which alone was capable of defeating his army: yet

yet *Pyrrhus* vanquished it without a stroke. For when he drew near enough to be heard, he called not only some of the principal but also many of the inferior officers by their names, and thereby drew them and the troops under their command over to his party, so that of a sudden *Antigonus* saw himself without troops; whereupon with a few of his friends he retired from the field, and had much ado to reach the coast of *Macedon*, where by means of his fleet some of the maritime cities were held in his obedience.

Pyrrhus was once again owned king of *Macedon*, for the royal city of *Ægis*, and all the places of any importance in the neighbourhood, submitted without farther dispute. Yet, as soon as he got possession of the kingdom, he, by an unaccountable act of folly, or rather of wickedness, lost the hearts of the people; for after plundering the city of *Ægis*, and using its inhabitants with very great severity, he placed a garrison of mercenary *Gauls* therein. They, as soon as he was departed, took it into their heads that there must be vast riches buried in the sepulchres of the antient kings; wherefore they, without more ado, entered the silent repositories of the dead, and having impiously scattered the ashes of the deceased princes, tore away whatever they found of any value in their monuments. *Pyrrhus*, when informed of this, shewed very little concern at it, and never so much as pretended to revenge it: all his care was to keep the kingdom, and make the most of it. When he was obliged to quit it for some time, he left his son *Ptolemy* as his vicegerent. This opportunity *Antigonus* took to return with what troops he could get together from the sea-coasts, in hopes of reconquering the kingdom. But *Ptolemy* advancing against him with the army left him by his father, an engagement ensued, wherein *Antigonus* was routed, and with much ado escaped with no more than seven attendants. Of this, when *Pyrrhus* received advice, he was so intoxicated with his good fortune, that he said by way of raillery, *That Antigonus was a very impudent fellow, still to wear a purple robe*: A most unmannerly and ill-grounded sarcasm, since that prince, distressed as he was, held still very considerable territories in *Greece*, and had both spirit and ability to maintain a longer contest for the kingdom of *Macedon*. When *Pyrrhus* had held the kingdom two years, he rashly, and almost without any ground, involved himself in a war with the *Lacedæmonians*, and, in order thereto, marched down into *Greece* with the flower of his army; there he missed taking *Sparta*

• PLUT. in *Pyrrho*. JUSTIN. lib. xxv. c. 3.

VOL. VIII.

Z z

by

by delay, and while he endeavoured to retrieve his mistake, he had news that *Antigonus*, having recovered a great part of *Macedon*, had followed him to *Greece*, and was in the neighbourhood of *Argos*; whither himself being invited by the opposite faction, he, according to his wonted custom, laid hold of that opportunity to desert an unlucky enterprize, in hopes of entering on one more fortunate. But when he drew near the city, he was met by a deputation from thence, who were sent to inform him, that *Antigonus* was encamped on the neighbouring hills, and that it was the humble request of the city, that neither of them would enter it. *Pyrrhus* promised that he would do as they desired; but in the mean time he sent to defy *Antigonus*, and to challenge him to fight hand to hand before both armies for the kingdom. To which *Antigonus* returned him for answer, *That himself in making war, used not only arms but time; and that if Pyrrhus was weary of life, there were ways enow to death, which lay directly before him.* To the deputies from *Argos* who made him the same proposition they had *Pyrrhus*, he answered, *That he came to do them good, but if his retiring would be more for their interest, he was content to retire, and, as a proof of his sincerity, to give them his son for a hostage.* They thankfully received the young prince, and then sent to demand hostages of *Pyrrhus*, which he refused, but promised to keep his word, though he never intended it. For in the night he entered the city, and *Antigonus*, at the request of the citizens, having sent forces to assist them, a battle ensued in the streets, where, in the morning, *Pyrrhus* was slain. *Alcyoneus* the son of *Antigonus* taking the head by the hair, rid with it full speed to his father, and, finding him talking with some of his favourites, threw it at his feet. *Antigonus* looking upon it, and knowing it, not only thrust his son from him with disdain, but struck him with his battoon; *Barbarous wretch*, said he, *why didst thou think, that he whose grandfather was thus slain, and whose father died a captive, should rejoice at such a sight?* Then taking the robe from his shoulders, he covered the head, and at the same time let fall a shower of tears, giving orders that the body should be carefully looked for, and that they should be burnt together, with all the funeral honours due to a king. While he was speaking, *Alcyoneus* having discovered *Helenus* the son of *Pyrrhus* in a threadbare coat, he spoke to him kindly, and with great respect presented him to his father; *Well, my son*, said *Antigonus*, *this is better than you did before; however, you have done less than your duty still, in that you have suffered a person of his*
quality

quality to approach me in that thread-bare coat, which is not a disgrace to him, but to our victory. Having then comforted *Helenus* for the loss of his father, he entertained him kindly, and afterwards set him at liberty, and sent him home to *Epirus*. The principal officers in *Pyrrhus's* army he sent for, assured them of his favour, and incorporated the troops they commanded into his own ^d.

Antigonus now held not only the kingdom of *Macedon*, but *Antigonus* also very large possessions in *Greece*; yet was he as far as ever restored, from being freed from enemies, new ones arising up as the and again old ones were destroyed. The *Gauls*, breeding him new expelled. disturbances, threatened no less mischief than they had heretofore done himself and his predecessors; but *Antigonus*, having made all the necessary preparations for subduing them, first cut off numbers in skirmishes, whereby they were so provoked, that in a rage they massacred their wives and children, and then put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were defeated, and in a manner exterminated. After this victory *Antigonus* led his army against *Athens*, and, notwithstanding it was powerfully supported, compelled it to receive a garison; but in the midst of his success he was recalled into *Macedon*, by the news that *Alexander* the son of *Pyrrhus*, being become king of *Epirus*, had entered *Macedon*, and committed great depredations. *Antigonus* on his return marched directly with a great army to repel the invader. Then, when he least expected it, the *Macedonians* again deserted him, and went over to *Alexander*, who thus acquired the kingdom without a stroke. *Antigonus* was so much surprized and confounded at the ingratitude and infidelity of a people, whom he had used so well, that he even deserted them and retired into *Greece*. His son *Demetrius*, a very boy, remained in *Macedon*, where having with much difficulty collected a body of troops, he daily did some exploit or other, which so charmed the *Macedonians*, who were always fond of active princes, that they listed willingly under his banners, and thereby enabled him not only to regain the whole kingdom, but also to prosecute his father's quarrel in *Epirus*, the hereditary kingdom of his father's enemy, which he did with such effect, that in his turn he expelled *Alexander*, who fled for shelter to the *Ætolians*, amongst whom he collected a fresh army with an intent to make a brisk inroad into his own kingdom, once more to try the affections of his subjects. In this attempt he had all the success he could wish, for the *Epirots* joined him

^d PLUT. in vit. Pyrrh. JUSTIN. lib. xxv. c. 5.

in such numbers, that *Demetrius* found it convenient to leave that kingdom, in order the more effectually to secure *Macedonia*, which he had recovered for his father ^e.

Antigonus *Antigonus*, returning to this kingdom, governed his subjects for many years in peace, making use of every advantage afforded him by the fluctuating state of things in *Greece*, to strengthen and enlarge his authority there. In his declining years he conceived a strange ungovernable desire of getting the citadel of *Corinth* into his hands, which he pursued with incredible vehemence and assiduity. It had been formerly held, together with *Sicyon*, by *Cratesipolis*, the wife of *Alexander* the son of *Polyperchon*; from her it was taken by *Ptolemy*, and, having often afterwards changed its masters, it was now in the hands of one *Alexander*, who esteemed himself a prince, but was deemed by the *Greeks* a tyrant. The famous *Aratus* had contrived a scheme for surprizing it, but, before he was ready to put it in execution, *Alexander* entered into the *Achaean* league. Then it was, that *Antigonus* conceived an opinion that he should never be able to support his authority over the *Greeks*, unless he had this important place in his hands, which he compassed thus. *Alexander* being taken off by poison, *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus* was sent by his father to court the widow, whose name was *Nicæa*, an old woman full of vanity, but suspicious and very cunning; a strong garison she kept in the citadel, but she could not keep her own understanding from being imposed upon by the pretences of *Demetrius*; in short she was weak enough to believe, that one of the handsomest princes of his time, and in the full vigour of his years, might be passionately in love with a woman of an advanced age. A marriage was therefore speedily concluded, and *Antigonus* himself came to grace the solemnity. *Nicæa*, however, kept the citadel, nay, and was more cautious of it than ordinary, of which *Antigonus* took no notice; but spent all his time in feasts, shews, and theatrical entertainments. One day, when *Amæbeus*, a famous musician, was to perform on the theatre for the amusement of *Nicæa*, *Antigonus* would needs accompany her as she was carried thither in a splendid chair; but when they came to a passage which led up to the citadel, *Antigonus* bid the bearers of the chair go on; then with more speed than could be expected from a man of his years, he ascended to the gate of the citadel, which finding shut, he knocked at it with his staff, and in a quick tone bid the soldiers open it; they, surprized to behold the king in person, did as he commanded; and *Antigonus* being once within

^e JUSTIN. lib. xxvi.

the place, easily transacted things there according to his pleasure. The joy he conceived on the happy success of this project, led him into great acts of indecorum, for he not only drank to excess at the feasts he gave his friends, but when he was full of wine went and danced in the streets, embraced every one he met, and in short acted as if the taking of *Corinth* had taken away his senses. From this time forward he employed all his care and thoughts in the prosecution of his views in *Greece*, where he supported all the petty tyrants against the free states, appointing new ones on the demise of the old, or swallowing them up as occasion offered, thereby enlarging his own dominions; though not much to the reputation either of his arms, or of his honour. But the *Achæans*, and especially *Aratus*, their glorious general, gave him not a little disquiet: they openly professed a desire of restoring *Greece* to freedom, which was the same thing, as if they had declared they would extirpate the *Macedonian* power in *Greece*. Yet *Antigonus* did not make war on them, for he had in his lifetime experienced such variety of fortune, that he was fearful of staking any thing in the open field; and therefore sought by promises to bring over *Aratus*, and by smooth language to amuse the *Achæans*. His policy without doubt was right; yet it did not very well answer his end, for *Aratus* and the *Achæans* acted just as he did, they laid hold of every opportunity to augment their own power, and pretended to surprize cities, and to take under their protection countries dependent on *Antigonus* without breaking the peace. At length *Aratus* ventured upon *Corinth*, and actually surprized it in the night, about eight years after it had been taken by *Antigonus*. *Archelaus*, who commanded the king's garison, he dismissed; but for the treasure in the citadel and the ships in the haven, those he retained. It does not appear, that even this engaged *Antigonus* in an open war against the *Achæans*; on the contrary, we find he prosecuted his old method of countenancing and supporting their enemies, whereby he impeded their power at least, though somewhat at the expence of his own. Other acts of his we find none, except that he thoroughly settled the realm of *Macedon*, and so effectually conciliated the minds of the people to him and his family, that they were ever after very loyal subjects to his descendants. In fine, after a reign of upwards of thirty years, he died, being somewhat above fourscore, with the character of a mild and generous prince, one whose wisdom surpassed his valour, and yet one who, in cases of necessity and when all was at stake, had shewn himself personally brave ^f.

^f JUSTIN. lib. xxviii. PLUT. in vit. Arat.

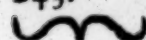
Demetrius
II.

Year of
the Flood

2756.

Before
Christ

243.



Demetrius succeeded his father, and, on account of the great things he had performed while a youth, much was expected from him. Yet after he obtained the crown, he seemed to have altered his conduct, and to have acted with greater caution than vigour. He had married the daughter of *Antiochus Hierax*, and so long as he kept to this wife, his affairs went peaceably enough at home. Abroad he had some trouble with the *Ætolians*, a restless uneasy people, who were impatient of any wrong done to themselves, and yet were continually robbing and spoiling their neighbours. *Demetrius*, to blunt the edge of their courage, stirred up against them *Agrion* king of *Illyria*, who came down against them with a great army, engaged, and routed them; for joy of which he made vast feasts, and at them drank so heartily, that he was seized with a fever, and died in a few days time. He was succeeded by his wife *Tuta*, who was as successful, and made as bad use of her success, as her husband; for having experienced the valour of her subjects, she not only permitted, but encouraged, them to commit all sorts of robberies and piracies on the neighbouring nations, which ended at last in their destruction. *Demetrius* in the mean time found himself engaged in a war against the *Achaans*, who under the command of *Aratus* had invaded *Attica*. *Bythis*, who was general for the king in those parts, instantly took the field, and at *Phylacia* it came to a battle, wherein the *Achaans* were beaten, and it was reported, that *Aratus* was either slain, or made prisoner. At *Athens* the former was so firmly believed, that the citizens, to shew their affection to the *Macedonians*, put on garlands, as if some mighty good luck had befallen them; whereas in truth, *Aratus* intended to restore them to their liberty; their behaviour therefore was at once chargeable with gross flattery and rank ingratitude. What confirmed them in all probability in their notion of the death of *Aratus*, was a message sent by *Diogenes* who was governor of the *Pyraeus* for the king, to *Corinth*, commanding the *Achaans* immediately to quit that city; but this order was very indifferently obeyed, because *Aratus* himself was then in the city, where receiving information of the joy shewn by the *Athenians* for his death, he, with such troops as he could first draw together, invaded their territories, to let them see that he was alive, and penetrated as far as the academy, where being met by certain deputies, to excuse the conduct of their countrymen from the visible force they were under, he suffered himself to be appeased, and withdrew his forces without doing any considerable mischief. In *Macedon* the latter report of his being a prisoner, was so well received, that *Demetrius* sent a ship directly to *Athens* to bring him from thence

thence in chains. The *Ætolians*, having being relieved from their late distress by the *Achæans*, recovered their old disposition with their prosperity, and, in consequence thereof endeavoured to tear away that part of *Acarmania* which was subject to the crown of *Epirus*. This kingdom was at that time governed by *Olympias* the sister and widow of *Alexander*, as guardian to her sons *Pyrrhus* and *Ptolemy*. She therefore, to rid herself of these barbarous enemies, applied to *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and prevailed on him to marry her daughter *Phthia*. This produced the queen and her children very little good, though it proved the cause of no small mischief to *Demetrius*; for his first wife was so much enraged thereat, that she left him, and retired to her brother, whom she earnestly excited to make war upon her husband; which though the unsettled state of his own affairs would not permit, yet the inclination he shewed to revenge his sister's quarrel obliged *Demetrius* to take all the precautions necessary to repel an invader. All that we know farther of this king of *Macedon* is, that he added *Cyrene* and all *Libya* to his dominions; but at what time, or by what means, we are not able to say. During his whole reign the *Achæans* struggled with him in *Greece*, and the barbarous nations on his frontiers gave him no small trouble. In defending himself from their attacks he spent the ten years in which he enjoyed the regal authority, and then died, leaving behind him a young son named *Philip* §.

Macedonia could not be without a king, and as their lawful prince was little more than two years old, there was a necessity of appointing a regent. Some historians say, that *Demetrius* assigned his brother *Antigonus* to be the tutor of young *Philip*, which is probable enough; but he did not long continue to exercise this office, for having by his gentle and obliging conduct gained the good-will of the *Macedonians*, as also of the widow of the deceased king, he took her to wife, and was by them saluted king. Yet, imitating the policy of his predecessor *Philip* the son of *Amyntas*, he did not offer the least violence to his nephew, but, on the contrary, caused him to be brought up with great care, and, as we shall see, made him his successor. He was indeed a prince of great abilities, equally capable of maintaining peace at home, and of carrying on war abroad. He had a great reputation for his justice, was renowned for his clemency towards his enemies, and for his kindness and affability towards his friends. With all these great qualities he had very high ideas of the regal

Antigonus
Dofon.
Year of
the Flood,
2766.
Before
Christ,
233.

§ JUSTIN. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra. POLYB. lib. ii. PORPHYR. in Græcis. EUSEB. SÆCALIC. p. 229.

dignity,

dignity, and of the honour of the *Macedonian* name : he is said to have been slower in performing than promising, and therefore the *Greeks*, who in this age were more remarkable for saying quick things, than for doing wise ones, surnamed him *Dofon*, i. e. *will-give*. He had scarce begun to meddle with the administration, when *Diogenes*, whom the late king had made governor of his several forts in the city of *Athens*, most basely sold them, together with the island of *Salamis*, for a hundred and fifty talents. In the transacting of this treaty, the *Athenians* made use of *Aratus*, whom they had so lately treated as an enemy, and he not only lent them his advice, but furnished twenty talents out of his own pocket. So true a friend was he to the liberty of *Greece*, and so strongly was he at this time persuaded, that nothing cramped it so much as the *Macedonian* power. But in process of time, when the *Ætolians*, by lending assistance to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, had enabled him to give check to the *Achæans*, and even to defeat *Aratus* in battle ; this great man began to change his sentiments, and to have another opinion of the *Macedonians*. Yet, not caring to be himself the author of a motion for calling in *Antigonus* once more into *Peloponnesus*, whom himself had so earnestly laboured to expel, he found means to engage the *Megalopolitans*, who were in immediate danger of being destroyed by *Cleomenes*, to demand succours of *Antigonus*, who very politicly answered, that he would readily send them assistance when the *Achæans* should desire it. When this answer was reported in the assembly of the *Achæans*, and generally applauded, *Aratus* alone opposed it, and advised the *Achæans* to try what they could do with their own forces, before they called in so powerful an ally ; yet this he did only to colour the business, foreseeing what quickly after fell out, that they would be under a necessity of applying to *Antigonus* ; and when this happened, he readily agreed to the motion, and sent his own son to the king, not only to negotiate the affair, but to be a hostage. *Antigonus* received the young man with great civility, and the request made by his father and the *Achæans* with the highest satisfaction ; for he of all things desired to retrieve his interest in *Greece*, and to assert that authority which the kings of *Macedon* from the time of *Philip* had maintained therein. One thing, however, from the beginning he insisted on, which was, that the citadel of *Corinth* should be put into his hands. For, as *Plutarch* observes, he looked on the *Greeks*, as a high-mettled horse, too dangerous to be rid without a bridle. To this condition, to avoid falling under the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Achæans* submitted, and for the performance

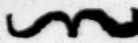
ance of this, the son of *Aratus* became hostage. The king therefore soon after his coming prepared to perform his part of the treaty, and, in order thereto, assembled an army of twenty thousand foot and a thousand horse, with which he intended to have descended into *Thessaly*; but his march that way was hindered by a message sent him by the *Ætolians*, that they would oppose his passage at *Thermopylae* with their utmost force. He then transported his forces into *Eubœa*, but when he was come thither, he was informed that *Cleomenes* lay with a gallant army just within the isthmus, and that he had fortified it with lines which were not to be forced, but at the expence of a great number of men. All this made him very uneasy, especially as it happened in the very beginning of a war, when all cross adventures are most apt to discourage an army. *Aratus* came by sea to *Pegæ* with some of his friends, there *Antigonus* met and complimented them, treating all with great civility; but receiving *Aratus* with particular marks of friendship. This was the effect of policy, for he had been his old enemy, and was but lately become his friend; yet when they had conversed a little together, and *Antigonus*, who was an excellent judge of men, had thereby an opportunity given him of discoursing freely with this great politician, he grew into a sincere friendship with him, treating him ever after with the utmost familiarity and confidence. The first step of the war was the attacking the lines of *Corinth*, which were better defended than any other lines mentioned in the *Greek* history; but the city of *Argos* in *Peloponnesus* revolting, *Cleomenes* was forced to abandon his lines, lest he should have an enemy on both sides. *Antigonus* pursued the war to the satisfaction of the *Achæans* for some time, and then having the citadel of *Corinth* put into his hands, he made a pompous feast there for all the generals in the army. At this entertainment *Aratus* was placed next the king, who feeling himself on a sudden very cold, called for his cloak, and when the servant brought it, turning to *Aratus*, *My friend*, said he, *don't you think the weather very sharp?* *Yes*, replied *Aratus*, *I never felt it sharper.* The king thereupon pulled him closer to him, and bid the servant throw the cloak over them both; upon which *Aratus* fell a laughing; of which when the king demanded the reason, *I will tell you, Sir*, said *Aratus*; *a little before our treaty with you, when I had offered a solemn sacrifice, the soothsayer finding in the liver two gall-bags in one cell, he pronounced it his opinion, that two persons, then thought irreconcilable enemies, should very soon become most intimate friends; I smiled at the prediction then, and laughed at its accomplishment just now, for I believe your*

cloak covers those gall-bladders at present. The history of this war the reader has already had in our sixth volume; we shall therefore only touch on such points as relate immediately to the conduct of *Antigonus*, and are not mentioned there. As the advantages obtained by the *Achaëans* were entirely due to the assistance he had brought them, the king thought it but reasonable that *Orchomenus*, and some other places that were taken, should be garisoned by *Macedonians*. He also caused the statues of those who had surprized the citadel at *Corinth* to be thrown down, excepting only that of *Aratus*. In *Argos* he restored the statues of those whom the *Achaëans* styled tyrants, but who had been protected in the authority they exercised by his ancestors. These things created a great deal of trouble to *Aratus*, who was made accountable by his countrymen for every thing that happened, as if after they had admitted *Antigonus* into their country, had chosen him their captain general, and had vested him with supreme power, he would not conduct things a little according to his own will, and not intirely in consequence of the advice given him by others. Yet it seems, that to gratify the *Achaëans*, he sent the greatest part of his forces to take up their winter quarters in *Macedonia*, which gave *Cleomenes* an opportunity of destroying all the country about *Argos*, under the nose of the king, who with a few mercenary troops lay in the neighbourhood of the city. It was upon this occasion that he performed the greatest action of his life, which was absolutely refusing to fight, when he could not do it without manifest disadvantage, notwithstanding he was insulted by the enemy, and railed at by his confederates. His prudence preserved him from that disgrace, which would have attended a defeat; and when his forces were returned, he made himself ample amends for the injury his reputation had received, by the glorious victory at *Sellasia*, where he totally defeated *Cleomenes*, and, in consequence of his victory, took the virgin city of *Sparta*. If any thing could add to his glory after this, or rather, if any thing could eclipse the lustre of his victory by its superior splendor, it was his behaviour on this occasion; for he not only prevented the plunder of the city, but declared to the magistrates, that he did not carry on the war against the *Spartans*, but against *Cleomenes*; with respect to whom, as he was fled, he had no farther rancour. He left the city in three days, and left it as free as he found it, being obliged to make a precipitate march back into *Macedonia*, on account of his having received information, that the *Illyrians* had invaded that kingdom with a great army. In his return he
came

came to *Tegea*, where he restored that little republic. Thence he proceeded to *Argos*, and arriving there at the time the *Nemean* games were celebrated, had the satisfaction of receiving the highest compliments, and strongest testimonies of respect from the *Greeks* in general, and from every little state in particular. When he arrived in *Macedon*, he found all things in confusion; his own people dejected, the enemy flushed with success. He did not, however, despair, but having recruited his army, advanced to meet the *Illyrians*, who had brought with them a mixt rabble of *Barbarians*, and had hitherto bore down before them all things like a deluge. A battle quickly ensued, which proved decisive, the *Macedonians* obtaining a victory equally glorious and complete; but they gained it at a very great expence, the king dying a few days afterwards of a spitting of blood, induced by straining his voice during the time of the engagement. Thus *Antigonus* died, as he had lived, in the service of his country, having adjured the army to remain faithful to his nephew and pupil *Philip*; who, though a very youth, was now to take the government into his own hands. The people were in general very much grieved on the death of so good a prince; however, he left them in a better condition than they had ever been in since the days of *Antipater*; for they were well united, and began to resume their antient liberty^a.

Philip began his administration very happily, and, which is not a little singular, had both better reputation, and better success, while he was so young as to be governed by others, than after he managed all things according to his own will. His natural abilities were very great, for he was brave in his person, very eloquent, skilled in all the learning worthy of a king, and one who knew how to make himself acceptable to all degrees of people. In the beginning of his reign, he was engaged in the social war in *Greece*, which drew after it a train of other military expeditions against the *Illyrians*, *Ætolians*, and other nations, who either made war upon the *Achæans*, or invaded *Macedon*, in order to divert *Philip* from succouring the last-mentioned people. All of these we have considered at large in our sixth volume: here therefore it would be superfluous to repeat them, and for that reason we shall only glance on such points, as are necessary to introduce the history of the remaining part of *Philip's* life, unaccounted for in that part of our work. The course of his affairs discovered to him before he was a very old man,

Philip.
Year of
the
Flood,
2778.
Before
Christ,
221.



^a POLYB. lib. ii. PLUT. in vit. ARAT. JUSTIN. lib. xxviii.
c. 3. 4.

that he had some true friends, and some very false ones; but which were his true friends, and which only pretended to be his friends, he could not discover; at least not certainly; which was the reason that he often treated his false friends with confidence, and his true ones with disdain. In the end, however, he fell to destroying them all. *Apelles* and *Ptolemy*, who had been in his councils from his accession to the throne, he put to death, the latter with, the former without, the ordinary forms of justice; neither without cause. But for *Aratus* the elder and his son *Aratus* the younger, men of the greatest worth and honour, men who had been the support of his family, his guides in his best actions, those who procured to him, and those who preserved to him, the affections of the *Greeks*; these he treated most detestably. The former he poisoned, the wife of the latter he debauched, while he was his guest; and then practised upon himself by giving him drugs, which by degrees disturbed his senses, and induced him to perpetrate such actions, as made his death appear rather seasonable to his friends, than untimely, as it really was. *Philip*, however, from such practices as these grew odious at home and abroad, yet he maintained his authority by dint of his skill in government, and his experience as a general; for though he was seldom fortunate either in conducting his projects, or in the field, yet he had happy talents in negotiation, could put on an appearance of firmness in the worst circumstances, and could improve every opportunity that offered of retrieving his affairs, though, when he had retrieved them, his ambition would never suffer him to be quiet. Wars, losses, treaties, repeated over and over again, employed thirty years and upwards of his reign; till the *Romans* had reduced him to such a miserable state, that he was forced to submit to the orders they sent him; to send his younger son *Demetrius* to *Rome* as a hostage, and to undertake to live in peace with all his neighbours, in consideration of their leaving him the kingdom of *Macedon*, circumscribed within its antient bounds, with other hard conditions, such as delivering up his ships of war, and paying by way of fine a thousand talents at several times¹.

Philip
struggles
with the
Romans.

THE subsequent war between the *Romans* and *Antiochus* seemed to offer *Philip* an opportunity of restoring in some measure his power; but he passed it by, not through negligence or want of discernment, for no prince in the age in which he lived was either quicker in executing, or could pe-

¹ PLUT. in vit. Arat. & Philopœm. POLYB. Hist. lib. iv
JUSTIN. lib. xxx, xxxi, xxxii. See Vol. VI. p. 494.

netrate farther than he: but the cause of his not stirring was this; he saw clearly that the strength of his kingdom was much exhausted, and that his revenues were in no condition to support the charges of a war. When this struggle was over, and the war against the *Ætolians* commenced, he attempted to take part therein for his own advantage, coming down with an army to the siege of *Lamia*, at the same time that the consul *Acilius* lay before *Heraclea*. But when *Philip* had brought the town almost to extremity, the consul sent to command him to raise his siege, not with any design to save the city, but that he might take it himself. However, the king was allowed to turn his arms for the present into *Athamania* and towards *Thrace*; but no sooner had he made some conquests of importance, than complaints were made against him at *Rome*, and the *Romans* immediately appointed commissioners, who were to go over to *Greece*, with full power to hear and determine; in consequence of which, they did accordingly summon all parties before them, pronounce judgment against *Philip*, and order him to content himself with *Macedonia* in its antient state. *Philip*, stung with so severe a sentence, could not help saying, that he had not seen his last sun set, of which many constructions were made, most of them little to his advantage. In the mean time there sprung up divisions in his family, and a spirit of discord began to appear among his subjects. His eldest son *Perseus* he had begotten on a concubine, whence he was not so much respected as his younger brother *Demetrius*. This *Demetrius* was not only happy in the people's affections, but was really a prince of extraordinary merit. He had a sincere affection for his father, a most tender love for his country, and had conceived a high respect for the *Romans*; among whom he had remained some time a hostage, and was afterwards dismissed with great respect. His brother *Perseus*, observing what regard *Philip* paid him, how fond the *Macedonians* were of him, and what an interest he had at *Rome*, began to hate him very heartily, and to do him privately all the mischief he could. The hatred of *Philip* towards the *Romans* began by degrees to appear, not only by words escaping him at unawares, but by his endeavouring to increase his revenues, by augmenting the customs upon merchandize, and causing the mines to be every-where put under a new regulation, at the same time that he granted large privileges to certain cities, and endeavoured all that in him lay to encourage foreigners to come and settle in his kingdom. *Demetrius* saw plainly the drift of this, and therefore advised his father
to

to desist from all projects against the *Romans*, who, as he affirmed, would be ever too powerful for him; wherefore it was better that he should use their friendship for the supporting at least, if not for the augmenting, his dominions, than that, out of a vain hope of recovering part of what he had lost, he should hazard all that remained, and which he might be said to hold from their courtesy. *Philip* was too great a politician not to discern the strength of his son's arguments, yet he could not prevail with himself to follow them. He remembered the great reputation of his ancestors, and was ashamed to see himself, with greater abilities than most of the kings of *Macedon*, cramped up in narrower bounds than their enemies had ever prescribed them. He took this the worse, because, as he conceived, he had deserved well of the *Romans*; he alone had assisted them in the *Ætolian* war; he had given a passage to their army through his country, and had yielded obedience to their decrees when they touched him to the quick. He could not therefore endure, that *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* should be gratified by them in every thing he asked, and himself at the same time as steadily refused things which in his opinion were his right. His discontent was augmented by a decree of the *Romans*, which peremptorily required him to withdraw his garisons from *Ænus* and *Maronea*, maritime towns of *Thrace*. *Philip* pleaded, that if these cities were at liberty, they would become weak and defenceless places, and fall easily into the hands of the *Thracians* and *Dardanians*, wild and barbarous nations, whom, by retaining these cities in his hands, he kept from doing what they had often practised in former times, viz. making inroads into *Macedon*. The *Romans* looked on all these pretences as so many frivolous excuses, which, when *Philip* understood, he determined with himself to comply with their demands, but at the same time to revenge himself on the *Maronites*, whose clamours had obtained the decree. With this view he sent orders for his garisons to leave those cities, yet at the same time sent instructions to *Onomastus*, who was his governor of the maritime coast of *Macedonia*, to strike such a blow, as that the *Maronites* might not be too much transported with their liberty. *Onomastus* transmitted his orders to *Cassander*, one of the king's officers in *Maronea*, advising him privately to let in the *Thracians*, which he did; and they plundered the city with all the circumstances of cruelty and avarice which could possibly be imagined. Without all doubt, a contrivance of this sort was executed with as much secrecy as possible; yet so it fell out, that the *Roman* deputies gained such positive intelligence, that they charged it home upon the king; and the

the *Romans* thereupon directed, that he should justify himself before the senate. This was a new mortification, the rather, because he was commanded to send *Onomastus* and *Cassander* thither; which he conceived to be an high indignity offered to him, who was an independent prince, and expected to have been believed on his word. Yet, to preserve himself from being destroyed, before he was strong enough to make resistance, he yielded, though with some constraint, to the conditions imposed upon him. *Onomastus*, he protested, he could not send, because he was a person whose service he needed, and whose innocence, he affirmed, sufficiently appeared, in that he was not near the city at the time it was taken and sacked. *Cassander* he sent, but took care to have him poisoned by the way, and then well knowing that the *Romans* would not pass by such a scene of extraordinary actions, he ordered his son *Demetrius* to repair to *Rome*, with notes of the answers he had to make to the objections raised against his conduct, and also a schedule of grievances which might serve to justify his conduct, if it should appear as extraordinary as it was represented. *Demetrius*, furnished with these credentials, came to *Rome*; but when he was admitted to defend his father's cause before the senate, he was so much amazed at the weight of the several charges brought against him, that he was not able to return any answer at all. Yet, in regard to his youth, his inexperience, and the great personal regard they had for him, he was permitted to make use of his father's notes, out of which he read what he thought would have greatest weight. The cause over, he had liberty given him to return home, and by him was sent the ratification of the treaty formerly made, and his excuses accepted; but with this express clause, that all was done out of regard to his son, which was also signified to him by the ambassador resident in *Macedon*. A circumstance which did not please *Philip*, and did very little good to *Demetrius*, whom his father began to believe more attached to the *Romans* than himself; though in truth the young man only stood in more fear of them than his father did, because he was better acquainted with their power and arts than he. *Philip* failed not to use the leisure he had acquired by his son's negotiation, in providing effectually for war, when all negotiation should fail. In pursuit of this design, he took such steps as proved him to be a man of deep foresight, and one who was as well able to struggle with fortune as any king that ever lived. In the first place, perceiving his subjects on the sea-coast were not only greatly addicted to peace, but likewise strongly inclined to the *Romans*, he immediately transplanted these into
Æmathia,

Amathia, and brought multitudes of *Thracians* to inhabit the sea-coast, who were in themselves a hardy warlike people, and who, he was sure, would depend upon him as the author of their settlements, and him from whom they were to expect all things. Finding the *Dardanians*, a barbarous nation, who were the implacable enemies of the *Macedonians*, not to be wrought upon by fair means, and that it was no way in his power either to bridle or subdue them by force, he bethought himself of a very extraordinary expedient for the ridding himself and his people of these bad neighbours, and of getting better in their room. He sent certain deputies whom he could trust to the *Bastarnæ*, a very numerous people, inhabiting the banks of the river *Ister*, now the *Danube*, to persuade them to leave their old seats, and to come and possess themselves of *Dardania*, which was a country far preferable to their own, and in the conquest of which he promised to assist them. There was one difficulty, however, to be adjusted, which was their getting to *Dardania*, because in their march thither, they were first of all to lead with them their wives and children; and secondly, they were to cross the dominions of several *Thracian* princes. The first seemed to require a great deal of time, the latter to render the scheme absolutely impracticable. *Philip*, however, devised means for removing both difficulties; he offered to remit them money to furnish them with necessaries for their journey, and, by presents made to the petty princes of *Thrace*, he procured for them a safe passage through their dominions. But while his mind was big with these vast projects, he found things of importance enough to disquiet him near home. His subjects, whom he had transported from the coasts of *Macedonia*, testified their discontents aloud, and complained vehemently of the king's want of affection towards his countrymen, that could consent to transport them hither and thither, merely to make way for strangers and barbarians. If *Philip* had taken little notice of these passionate speeches, it is very probable they would in a short time have passed over; for except that they had lost their old habitations, these people had small cause to repine, being rather gainers than losers by the exchange they had been forced to make. But the king, who was naturally cruel, and grew more and more jealous as he grew in years, construing those sharp speeches into rebellion, began with acts of severity to exasperate the people, and to make such disloyal, who were before but impatient. These steps, instead of supporting, embarrassed all his other projects, and induced by degrees such mischiefs, as, with all his policy, he knew neither how to remedy, nor how to endure.

The

The quarrels in his family grew daily wider and wider; *Perseus* encouraged all who either ridiculed or declaimed seriously against the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* openly vindicated the *Romans* against all such. An accident at last happened, which increased those dissensions which were already but too fierce, and was attended with such consequences as could hardly have been foreseen. *Philip*, at a certain stated season, gave directions for lustrating the army, a ceremony heretofore described, and of which we shall say nothing more here, than that it was concluded by the representation of a fight, the army dividing for that purpose, and one half combating the other. The two young princes were commanders in this mock-engagement, and their companions rashly instigating them to shew their skill and bravery therein, a great deal of mischief ensued. In the end *Demetrius* prevailed. *Perseus* at the first was very much discontented, but when his counsellors shewed him, that this intemperate heat in his brother might furnish him with a very plausible complaint to his father, he grew better satisfied, and consulted on this subject with his confidants. In the evening both princes entertaining their friends, some of *Perseus's* spies were discovered at *Demetrius's* table, and, on account of their insolent behaviour, were first well beaten, and then expelled. But when the company had drank more freely, *Demetrius*, who was naturally good-humoured, would needs go to see his brother, that he might shew he was no way disaffected to him; those young men, who had lately beaten his spies, desired *Demetrius* to excuse them, to which he would by no means consent, believing that he should be able so to compose matters, as to give *Perseus* satisfaction. Those young men, having quite another opinion of his brother's temper, took care privately to arm themselves for fear of the worst, which when others, who were *Perseus's* discreeter spies observed, they instantly went and acquainted him with; he and the counsellors about him immediately determined, that this was the grand opportunity they sought, wherefore they caused the doors to be immediately barricadoed, at which, on his arrival, *Demetrius* expressing great surprize, his brother from within called to him to be gone, told him, he must take some other time, for that at present he was too well guarded to be assassinated. Presently after *Demetrius* was accused by his brother to their father of an attempt to murder him; and it was suggested, that he did this in confidence that the *Romans* would support him; and, to give colour to this suggestion, *Perseus* took notice of a letter from *T. Quintius*, wherein it was recommended to him to send *Demetrius* once again to *Rome* better attended

than formerly, as the best means to procure favour for himself. *Demetrius*, on the other hand, defended himself boldly, and, without shewing any apprehension for the consequences, he recapitulated all the passages of the day; he bitterly inveighed against his brother for turning the exercise of the army into a struggle for the crown, and for representing actions of merriment and play as the effects of some gloomy conspiracy; he avowed his purpose to visit his brother, but disclaimed any sinister view, or any thought in himself, to practise against his brother's life. As for any dependance on the *Romans*, he said, that those only who were unacquainted with that people, could suggest, they would support so base and black a conspiracy; that the affection they had for himself proceeded, if not from his own virtue, at least from their opinion of it, which would have been effectually forfeited by so nefarious an enterprize; he concluded with a solemn asseveration, that, notwithstanding what was passed, he still loved *Perseus* as his brother; that he revered the king as his parent and his sovereign, and that he had ever sought to promote the peace of *Macedon*, as that which was most conducive to its power and grandeur. *Philip*, having calmly heard all that was said on both sides, decided prudently, and with a great shew of justice. He blamed *Demetrius* for acting in such a manner, as to give the least colour to his brother's charge; he reprehended *Perseus* for putting the worst construction on dubious actions; rising at length from his seat, he declared, that he would pass no judgment on the passages of a day, and the discourses at a dinner, but would believe of his sons whatever their future actions should speak them, exhorting them to take what had now happened for warning, and to be extremely circumspect in their conduct for the future. Notwithstanding this grave and disinterested speech, the king leaned for the time to come wholly to his eldest son; with him he consulted on all his affairs; and him only he made privy to the projects he had formed, for regaining a part at least of what the *Romans* had taken from him. As for *Demetrius*, he countenanced him publicly, but kept him a stranger to his councils. In the mean time he formed in his own breast a scheme, which, as he thought, would put him out of doubt, as to the intentions of his young son, either by demonstrating his innocence, or making his guilt apparent. With this view he chose *Philocles* and *Apelles*, *Macedonian* noblemen, who, as far as his intelligence reached, had never sided with either of the brethren, to go ambassadors to *Rome*; their public
instruc-

instructions ran to assure the state of his maintaining the present good correspondence between himself and them ; but they were privately directed to inquire into his sons conduct there, who were his intimates, and what schemes he had been forming. These worthy ambassadors, perceiving on which side the king's affections leaned, addressed themselves immediately to *Perseus*, and with him concerted what report they should make on their return before they set out for *Rome*. The result of their contrivances was, that when *Philocles* and *Apelles* came back, they spoke very tenderly of *Demetrius*, and presented the king a letter from *Titus Quintius*, whose seal, before he opened it, the king, who was well acquainted with it, observed ; wherein the *Roman* interceded earnestly for his younger son, excusing his wrong practices from his youth, and beseeching the king to pass by the measures he had taken to supplant his brother, the rather because all *Demetrius's* hopes from the *Romans* were vain and ill founded, since himself, who loved him so well, would never have countenanced so base an action. *Philip* made no question that he had now discovered the truth, and therefore marched his army towards mount *Hæmus*, on a frivolous pretext of viewing the country, but in truth, that he might have the better opportunity of putting *Demetrius* under an arrest, which he accordingly did, giving one *Didas* the command of the guard placed upon him. This commander too was one of *Perseus's* creatures, and by his directions found a way to compleat the ruin of the young prince. He insinuated to him, that though his father had placed him as a kind of keeper, yet he was so much moved with a sense of his misfortunes, that to deliver him out of them he would be content to run any risque whatever. The hapless *Demetrius*, swallowing the bait, confessed that he desired to fly to *Rome*, there to pass his days in safety out of the reach of his vindictive brother. *Didas* having communicated this to the king, received from him a command to take off his prisoner by poison ; but withal, he was cautioned to do it privately, on account of the love born by the *Macedonians* to the young prince, as well as for fear of the *Romans*. *Didas*, according to his master's orders, poisoned *Demetrius* ; but the drug working slowly, and the young man complaining bitterly, the business began to take air ; upon which *Didas* picked out two stout ruffians, who smothered that hopeful prince in the twenty-fifth year of his age. This was the first fact of its kind, which had fallen out in the house of *Antigonus the Great*, which till now had been remarka-

ble for nothing so much as the piety of children towards parents, and the affection of parents towards children ; a doctrine which *Philip* himself had formerly inculcated to his sons, and which he now dispensed with merely from reason of state ¹.

*Philip
falls into a
deep me-
lancholy.*

THE unfortunate *Demetrius* was hardly in his grave, before his brother and his father altered their conduct. *Perseus*, having obtained all he sought for, began to be less assiduous about his father, and to act more independently than he was wont ; he did not disguise the satisfaction which the death of his competitor gave him, or endeavour to conceal the number of his dependants and the strength of his faction. *Philip* was too quick-sighted not to discern this alteration in his son's conduct ; he began from that moment to doubt whether all that had been told him was true, or whether a base and cruel son had not contrived to deprive him of a worthy and deserving child. These thoughts having once entered his head, he saw daily more and more circumstances tending to heighten the suspicion. At length he communicated his apprehensions to his cousin *Antigonus*, a man of great honour and integrity, whose frank behaviour and honest counsels had long before rendered him obnoxious to *Perseus*. This man readily agreed with the king, that his jealousy of *Perseus* was better grounded than that which he had conceived of his brother ; he farther informed him, that there was one *Xychus* about the court who, he had good grounds to believe, was privy to the whole contrivance ; whereupon, by the king's express command, this traitor was seized, and brought into his presence ; where, for fear of the torture, he confessed that the letter of *T. Quintius Flaminius* was a forgery, and that he had been employed to frame it. *Philip*, distracted with the thoughts of having destroyed his own child, and tortured *Herodorus*, a *Macedonian* nobleman to death, merely for being his favourite, gave himself up to a melancholy, which differed very little from madness. However, by fits and starts he acted as a king ; for laying suddenly hold of *Philocles*, he first extorted from him a confession, and then put him to death ; *Apelles* would have shared his fate, if he had not secured himself by flight, withdrawing into *Italy*, in hopes of receiving there the news of his master's death, whom age and grief had now brought into a very declining condition. As for *Perseus*, though he

¹ LIV. Hist. lib. xxxix. xl. POLYB. excerpt. Hist. lib. vii. & ix. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. JUSTIN. lib. xxxii. did

did not retire out of *Macedon*, yet he kept upon the borders, quite deserting his father's court, expecting with impatience the happy minute which should make it his own. *Philip*, having now a true sense of his misery, plainly perceived that his arts served only to render him suspected; that his cruelty had made him odious; that the *Romans* spared him only out of respect to his ancestors; and that his death, as it was expected, so it was also generally wished for at home and abroad. In this untoward situation he formed a design of altering the succession of the crown, and having exposed the whole contrivance of his son *Perseus* against his brother *Demetrius* to the *Macedonians*, he earnestly recommended it to them to set *Antigonus* on the throne, which a little after he left vacant, dying of grief, when he had reigned forty-two years, and began to draw towards threescore. This end had *Philip*, who with great natural parts had an excellent education, and in process of time all that experience could add to perfect his wisdom. He was the author of his own misfortunes, for his tutor *Antigonus* left him in far happier circumstances than he could ever arrive at, after he presumed by his own judgment to change the face of affairs. In him it is pretended the prophecy of a certain *Sibyl* was fulfilled, who foretold, that as the *Macedonians* owed the extension of their power to a *Philip*, so a *Philip* should bring on its extinction. It is indeed observable, that these *Philips* had a likeness in their characters, though not in the success of their designs; they were both generals, both orators, both politicians; but they differed in this, that the first *Philip* was debonaire, open, and full of clemency, affecting empire, but affecting also so mild a government, as to leave men in doubt whether they should not prefer it to liberty; whereas the other *Philip* was suspicious, implacable, ready to shed blood, and alike covetous of power, and of making himself terrible by his power. The first was prosperous in all things, the latter prospered not in any ^{*}.

IF *Philip* had entered upon this scheme of his ever so little earlier, he had in all probability succeeded; for we do not find that the *Macedonians* were much addicted to *Perseus*, or, that they at all disliked *Antigonus*; but inasmuch as the king thought not of it till his life grew near a close, *Perseus* found means to bribe his physician *Caligines*, who gave him from time to time notice of his father's state of health, and who advised him of his death a considerable time

Perseus.
Year of
the Flood,
2820.
Before
Christ,
179.

* TIT. LIV. lib. xli. JUSTIN. lib. xxxii.

before

before he suffered it to be known to the public. *Perseus*, laying hold of this opportunity, came unexpectedly to the city of *Demetrias*, where his father died, with a body of troops, and seated himself on the throne by force. His first care was to settle himself firmly, which he conceived could not be done, till *Antigonus* was taken off; he began his reign therefore with shedding blood, and little regarding either the virtues of the man, or his near relation to his own family, he caused him to be put to death. Then he began to take gentler measures, and to put on the appearance of clemency and generosity; virtues with which in truth he was wholly unacquainted. We have before mentioned *Philip's* inviting the *Bastarnæ* to change their cold barren seats for the fruitful country of *Dardania*. This project with much difficulty he had brought to bear in the very last year of his life; and these people were then actually on their march through *Thrace* to the country he had offered them. But when the news of *Philip's* death came to be published, this business began to go backwards. The *Bastarnæ* themselves doubted, whether it were best for them to proceed, and the *Thracians* were irresolute as to the permission of their further progress. Hereupon quarrels ensued, under pretence that the *Thracians* exacted on the *Bastarnæ* in their markets, whence a war took rise, in which at first the *Thracians* were grievously handled, losing all the plain country to their new guests, who, not contented therewith, began to follow them to the mountains. In this expedition their fortune failed them, and either the despair of the *Thracians*, or, as some authors have reported, a miraculous tempest of hail, rain, and lightning, compelled the far greatest part of these barbarous invaders to return with their wives and children to their antient dwellings. Only thirty thousand penetrated into *Dardania*, and began there to carve out for themselves new settlements, wherein they were privately assisted by *Perseus*, who well knew both the nature and importance of his father's scheme. His circumstances did not allow him to act according to his inclination; his pride and avarice swelled his bosom with almost all the vices capable of deforming the human will; his fear, however, taught him to counterfeit some of the virtues which give the highest lustre to a crown. Moved by the terror of their greatness, he sent an embassy to the *Romans*, intreating them to renew the league made with his father, and to acknowledge him for king of *Macedon*, promising in return to act as their faithful ally, to leave his neighbours in peace, and to undertake no war without their permission. At home he affected all things that might reconcile him to the minds of the people;

he

he not only curbed his innate thirst of wealth, and made a shew of generosity, but his administration was also wonderfully mild, and, above all, he affected a rigid regard to justice. He sat daily to hear causes, and having a clear head, decided upon them with some applause. Towards the *Greeks* he behaved with the utmost moderation; he gratified them in all things they desired of him; he relinquished all the pretences of his ancestors upon any of their cities; in short he behaved so over graciously, that his very favours rendered him suspected. The *Romans*, when they had heard his ministers, sent over ambassadors of their own into *Macedon*, who were kindly entertained by *Perseus*, till they began to act like tutors. First, they interrogated him about the *Bastarnæ*, and began to intimate, that the *Romans* would not see the *Dardanians* subjected by these barbarians. *Perseus* affirmed, that he did not invite them; but that would not serve his turn, they were for forcing him to drive them back again. Shortly after the *Dolopians*, who were the subjects of *Perseus*, rebelled, and slew *Euphanor* his governor, under pretence that he had behaved tyrannically; *Perseus* marched against them with an army, and by force reduced them again under his dominion, not without chastising them pretty severely for their revolt; this furnished the *Roman* ambassadors with new cause of complaint; they said, he was tied up by his treaty from making war without the consent of their state; they intimated as much to *Perseus*, while he was in the field; but he would not hear of being tied up from punishing rebels, which to him appeared little less than taking from him his kingdom. Henceforward therefore the *Romans* and he were never upon good terms, though they were not immediately engaged in war, which however, the uneasiness only of their respective circumstances hindered, and not any inclination in either to enter into an amicable disquisition of the causes whence the discord between them sprung. After subduing the *Dolopians*, *Perseus* went to make a visit to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, marching, however, at the head of his army; this seemed to be at once a dangerous and unnecessary expedition, on account of his passing through the territories of states little affected to him, and to whom indeed the conduct of his father might have justly rendered him obnoxious; yet *Perseus* so managed it, as not only to avoid giving farther offence, but also to make this very march a means of restoring friendship and confidence between himself and these states. He took such care in quartering his army, that none were oppressed, and paid so exactly for whatever they had, that many thought
his

his passage a benefit to them. The deputies which were sent to compliment him, he received kindly and with respect; and when he had performed his journey to *Delphi*, he returned without leaving any mark either of resentment or ambition behind him. This was a new cause of complaint at *Rome*, where, if the king lived upon ill terms with his neighbours, it was resented as a mark of his thirst of power; and if he was desirous of being upon good terms with them, that too was resented as an indication of his seeking allies, in case he made war with the *Romans*. To say the truth, suspicion reigned at present in *Italy* and in *Greece*, the *Romans* holding none for friends who scrupled obedience in any thing; and the *Greeks* began to distrust the *Roman* friendship, when they found it as fatal to their liberty as the enmity of others¹. Hence two factions sprung up in *Greece*, the one wholly dependent on *Rome*, the other desirous of restoring the antient glory of their country, and therefore favouring the king of *Macedon*, who on all occasions affected to speak warmly on this topic, and to represent the independency of *Greece* as the main point he had in view. As a war was generally expected, and as the king himself meant at last to recur to force, he took great pains to be well provided for it; he cultivated the friendship of the *Rhodians*, who had been his father's open enemies, and this with such success, that in a most sumptuous manner they conveyed to him *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus*, son to *Antiochus the Great*¹. About the same time he married his sister to *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, whom he had engaged in alliance with him. With the *Thracians* he not only struck up a peace, but drew them to consent to furnish him with soldiers, when and in what proportion he pleased. In his own kingdom of *Macedon*, he not only laid up vast sums of money, but provided magazines of provisions for a great army for ten years, keeping up at the same time thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse. These steps appeared so prudent to the *Greeks*, that, forgetting *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, their old favourite, upon whom they had heaped extravagant honours, they began to incline to *Perseus*, who gave himself out for the patron of the *Greek* liberty against the pride of the *Romans*; *Eumenes*, provoked at this, and being also an hereditary enemy to *Perseus* whom he greatly hated, determined to make a special journey to *Rome* on purpose to incite the senate to pull down his competitor, whom he now looked on

¹ LIV. Hist. lib. xli. JUSTIN. lib. xxxiii. c. 4.
Legat. lx.

¹ POLYB.

as the idol of Greece. *Perseus* had also his ambassadors, the chief of whom was one *Harpalus*, at Rome, who, when *Eumenes* had been heard, requested to speak in the king's defence. This was granted them, and *Harpalus*, who was at the head of the commission, either of his own head, or by direction from the king, spoke in very high terms. He said, that *Perseus* had hitherto and would always give every reasonable satisfaction to the Romans, but that he would still remember he was a sovereign prince; and if reasonable satisfaction would not content them, he would not be afraid of betaking himself to arms. The senate acted with its usual caution, concealed the substance of *Eumenes*'s speech, that it might be thought to contain more than it really did, and gave the ambassadors of *Perseus* a cold general answer. *Eumenes*, when he went from Rome, resolved to imitate the conduct of his rival, and, in order to regain the favour of the Greeks, to visit the temple at *Delphi*; *Perseus* having intelligence of this, took special care for his reception, by causing four assassins to hide themselves behind a wall making one side of a narrow passage from the sea to the temple, whence with stones they might destroy *Eumenes* without being discovered themselves. This scheme was carried into execution, and very narrowly missed meeting with success. The bravos took the king at the proposed disadvantage, and so effectually stoned him, that they had not the least suspicion of his escaping death. They then endeavoured to provide for their own safety, and one of them being slower of foot than the rest, they killed him to prevent his making any discovery. However, the king came afterwards a little to himself, and was conveyed to the island of *Ægina*, where he lay concealed, till such time as he was perfectly recovered. In all probability, *Perseus* would have been well contented, notwithstanding the miscarriage of his design, if it had remained a secret; but it was his misfortune to have the whole break out with such evidence as could scarce be denied. One *Praxo*, a lady of quality at *Delphi*, with whom king *Perseus* had lodged, had entertained the assassins, and one of them was known to be *Evander*, a Cretan, who was general of the auxiliary troops in the service of the king of *Macedon*. *Valerius*, a Roman ambassador in Greece, caused *Praxo* to be seized and sent into Italy, where they had scarce made discovery of the plot against *Eumenes*, when the news of another, which more nearly concerned them, came from the diligence of the same person. *Valerius* brought with him one *Rammius*, a citizen of *Brundisium*, who opened the following scene: he said, that having a large house in his native city, he had often entertained the Macedonian ambassadors, when passing to Rome,

and returning thence home. That king *Perseus*, having given him to understand that he took very kindly his civility to his ministers, invited him into *Macedon*, and when he was come thither, caused to be proposed to him the giving of a certain poisonous drug to the principal senators who were esteemed enemies to the *Macedonian* interest, which poison *Rammius* was informed would work imperceptibly. That for fear of his own life he had accepted this commission, but had immediately disclosed it to *Valerius*, and with him came home. The *Romans* upon this dispatched orders to their ambassadors in *Macedon* to acquaint *Perseus* with the crimes laid to his charge, and to demand direct answers; of which the king being informed, he put off their audience several times, and having at length tired out their patience, they resolved to return home. When they were about to put this design in execution, he sent for them, and heard all they had to say. In answer to their harangue, he fell rudely upon their masters: he said the *Romans* were grown so intolerably proud, so excessively insolent, and so unreasonably greedy of authority, that they would not be content to have princes for their allies, unless they were also their slaves. That under colour of sending ambassadors, they sent spies, and sometimes tutors; that as to the league made with his father, he had nothing to do with it. That he had indeed submitted to it on his first coming to the crown, because his affairs were unsettled; but that for the future he would not look upon himself to be bound by it, though he was content to make a new treaty upon equitable terms. The ambassadors having according to their instructions defied him; he commanded them to depart his dominions in three days. It was the misfortune of this king to have at some times too much, and at other times too little, spirit. If he had begun the war with the same vigour that on this occasion he seemed to declare it, in all probability he had succeeded therein; but suffering fear to get the better of him, and entertaining false hopes of peace, he once more fell into a train of negotiation, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to his affairs. Before we proceed farther, it will be necessary to take notice of the conduct of the princes, whose dominions bordered on those of *Macedon* in this nice conjuncture. *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, and the *Rhodians*, inclined to the *Macedonian* side, for which reason the *Romans* dealt haughtily with them for the present, and very severely afterwards. *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* did not only discover his usual complaisance for the *Romans*, but also the most fierce and implacable hatred against *Perseus*. *Prusias* king of *Bithynia* desired to stand neuter. He had obligations to the *Romans*, and he had married the sister of the king of *Macedonia*. *Antiochus* king of *Syria* declared
for

for the *Romans*; so did the regency in *Egypt*, where the king was a child. *Cotys* king of the *Odrysians* declared for the *Macedonians*. As for the *Greek* cities, those in the government were, generally speaking, in the interest of *Rome*, and the people in most of them as generally favourers of *Perseus* ^m.

THE fresh applications of the king for peace produced no *War* other answer than this, *That if he was sincerely inclined to break out treat with the Romans, he might have an opportunity of doing with the it shortly in his own dominions, into which they were about to send their consul with an army.* They were not at all worse than their words. *P. Licinius Crassus* was immediately after dispatched with an army; but, before he could arrive in *Greece*, *Perseus* had attempted another method of treating; for having been informed, that *Martius*, a *Roman* legate, was in *Thessaly*, he came himself down to *Larissa*, and there desired to have an interview with him, with which *Martius* complied. At this conference the artful *Roman*, though he talked in the high strain of his country, yet he mingled so many obliging expressions, and testified such personal respect for the king, as put him upon sending ambassadors once more to *Rome*, when his affairs required leading down a good army into *Greece*, which would have enabled his friends there to have acknowledged their attachment to him, and have prevented the *Bæotians* and others from declaring as they did for the *Romans*, merely out of fear. When *Martius* the *Roman* ambassador returned home, he valued himself very much for having over-reached the king, and drawn him into a truce; for he had agreed to one for a certain time, whereby himself, who was in a condition of acting, was bound up, and the *Romans* had time given them, till they could be in a condition to act. The ambassadors of *Perseus*, who came in consequence of this truce to *Rome*, had audience given them; but, notwithstanding they signified the king's readiness to give full and ample satisfaction on every head, they received a very short answer, and were commanded to quit *Italy* in thirty days. When these ambassadors returned, *Perseus* with much ado perceived that peace was upon no terms to be had, and therefore, as if it had been against his will, though his counsels had hitherto always led that way, he began to prepare for opening the war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his army at *Citium*, whither when he himself came, he offered a hecatomb to *Pallas*, and then proceeded to a general review. He mustered on this occasion thirty nine

^m LIV. lib. xlii. POLYB. Legat. lxi. lxii. lxiii. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi.

thousand foot and four thousand horse: the most numerous and by far the finest army, that, since *Alexander's* expedition into *Asia*, any *Macedonian* king had brought into the field. The king having viewed them, mounted his tribunal, from whence he made a long and laboured harangue, entering into a detail of all that had passed between himself and the *Romans*, from his accession to the crown to that time, which the soldiers heard with some attention and moderate signs of satisfaction; but when at the close he represented the antient glory of the *Macedonians*, and the misery to which the *Romans* sought to reduce them in pathetic terms, the army shouted aloud, and promised him that they would die in the field to a man, rather than not equal their ancestors, and redeem their country from any apprehensions of being subjected by this new and arrogant state. The king after this gave audience to the deputies from the several cities of *Macedon*, each of which offered men, money, and provisions for carrying on the war. *Perseus* testified the pleasure he received from these tokens of their loyalty, but told them in answer, that as the war he made was for their defence, so he would endeavour that it should be carried on without any burthen or expence to them, and therefore, except carriages for his baggage, he would expect nothing at present from them. These were quickly furnished, and the king took his rout into *Theffaly*, whither soon after came the *Roman* consul with two legions, in hopes of finding a confederate army, ready to receive him, strong enough to have faced *Perseus*; but herein he was mistaken, and, as soon as he found his mistake, was compelled to act slowly and cautiously. The *Macedonian* king in the mean time had abundance of cities opened to him, and several of those that did not yield, he took by force. At length he began to waste the country about *Pherea*, notwithstanding the consul lay with his army within a few miles of it; and though he had in his army several kings and princes, who came on purpose to shew their fidelity to the *Romans* and their hatred to *Perseus*. The consul, however, durst not adventure to offer the enemy battle, which when the *Macedonian* perceived, he advanced within twelve miles of him, and with his horse and light-armed troops came and insulted him in his camp. This he repeated several days together, though he was obliged to send every day carriages laden with casks of water to refresh his troops, there being none in the road. At length he took a nearer station by seven miles, from whence he could with greater facility march to and disturb the *Roman* camp. Accordingly, instead of coming as he was wont to do a little before noon, he appeared

next

next morning before the *Roman* camp by break of day. The whole camp was in confusion, and the soldiers began to have but an indifferent opinion of a consul, whose first intelligence of the enemy came from the noise of their arms. *Licinius* drew up the foot within the camp, the horse and light-armed troops he sent to fight the *Macedonians*. When *Perseus* perceived them issuing from their camp, he drew his own forces into a line within five hundred paces of their retrenchments. *Cotys* king of the *Odrysians* took post with his own troops on the left. The *Macedonian* and *Cretan* horse on the right. The king with his household troops in the centre, having before them a forlorn of four hundred slingers and archers. On the other side all the *Roman* and *Italian* horse were in the right, under the command of *Caius Licinius Crassus*. The troops of the allies in the left. *Quintus Mucius* with a choice corps of horse was in the centre, having before him a troop of a hundred *Gauls*, and three hundred of the horse brought by *Eumenes*. Four hundred *Thessalian* horse were placed as a corps of reserve on the left of the left wing, and the rest of the forces of *Eumenes*, under the command of himself and his brother *Attalus*, drew up behind the last line of horse between them and the retrenchments. The action was lively, and quickly over, ending every-where to the advantage of the *Macedonians*. *Cotys* with his *Thracians* beat the flower of the *Roman* cavalry. King *Perseus* in the centre broke the auxiliaries, and greater slaughter had been made, if the *Thessalian* horse with the light-armed troops had not covered the retreat of the rest into the camp. The troops on each side were about four thousand. The *Romans* lost two hundred horse killed on the spot, as many taken prisoners; and of the foot there were no less slain than two thousand. Of the *Macedonians* there fell twenty horse and forty foot only. While *Perseus* remained in the field, his generals, *Hippias* and *Leonatus*, without staying for his command, brought up the phalanx, and pressed him to storm the enemy's retrenchments. If he had followed their advice, in all probability he had put an end to the war; for by this time the very *Greeks*, who were in the service of the *Romans*, began to perceive they were rivetting their own chains, and would gladly have laid hold of any opportunity of declaring against their masters with safety. But the cowardly counsel of *Evander* the *Cretan*, who had managed the assassination of *Eumenes*, prevailed with *Perseus* to let things remain as they were till next day; but the consul prevented his taking such an advantage a second time, by passing the river *Peneus* in the night, and betaking himself to an advantageous

vantageous post. The next day *Perseus* came with his horse and foot to take a view of what they might have done the day before; afterwards he advanced to *Mopselus*, under colour of frightening the *Romans* in their new quarters, but in truth, that he might have an opportunity of treating with the consul. Accordingly he sent deputies to acquaint him, that, notwithstanding his late victory, he was contented to accept of the terms which had been granted to his father *Philip* after he was vanquished. The consul answered, that he would grant him no terms, but those of submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the *Roman* people. The king, not yet to be discouraged, sent again to offer tribute, and when he found this application also vain, he retired to his old camp. This pusillanimous conduct ruined him in the opinion both of his friends and foes; the *Romans* would grant him nothing, and the *Greeks* were afraid to express any inclination towards him, having no reason to expect that he would defend them, who had so little heart to defend himself. When *Perseus* found that he had no choice but war, he began to renew it, and as he had once been very near surprizing the *Roman* camp, he thought to be quicker the next time; but the *Roman* consul was become more careful, and so his forced marches had no other consequences than fatiguing his troops. He then fell upon their foragers with some success, but this drawing on another horse battle, he was routed with considerable loss; whereupon he retired into *Macedon*ⁿ. On his retreat the consul recovered several places in *Theffaly*, and *Lucretius* the *Roman* admiral levied heavy contributions on the *Greek* coast. Afterwards *Appius Claudius* was sent to penetrate *Macedon* on the side of *Illyria*; but he had very ill entertainment, for the inhabitants of a frontier town pretending to betray it, the *Roman* general entered it so carelessly, that they had an opportunity of falling upon his troops, which they used so well, that he was glad to make a very precipitate retreat. However, not long after he took it, while *Perseus* with great trouble made an expedition into *Ætolia*; the principal city in which, it was promised should be yielded up to him. In this the king miscarried; but in his return he took several places, and having strengthened one of his lieutenant generals with some recruits, that general fell upon *Claudius*, routed him, and retook *Uscana*. The next spring the consul *Martius* was sent to command against *Perseus*. As soon as he came to the army he began to make war in earnest;

ⁿ Liv. lib. xliii.

his intent was to penetrate into the very heart of *Macedonia*, which, however, he found a very difficult matter. *Perseus* had distributed his forces in such a manner as to guard all the passes, not knowing where the enemy would break through; encamping himself at *Dium* with a considerable corps of troops, that he might be ready to assist any of his guards that should be attacked. This was wisely enough contrived, if he had executed his scheme with tolerable courage. The *Roman* consul attempted to pass over a very high mountain at a small distance from his camp; the road through which he was to pass was extremely narrow, and very much encumbered, so that if there had been no enemy at hand to oppose him, the passage had been difficult enough. *Hippias*, however, with a body of *Macedonian* foot appeared in his way, and such trouble they gave him, that he neither knew how to proceed, nor how to retire. If *Perseus* had supported his own soldiers, the consul had been undone; but he spent his time in making courses with his cavalry, so that *Hippias* was left to fight it out, and *Martius* with much ado got into the famous vale of *Tempe*, contrary to all expectation, and when he might have been repelled with ease, or, which was worse, might have been starved with all his army. As soon as the timorous *Perseus* received the news of the *Roman* consul's being in full march towards him, he instantly fled *Dium*, a place strong by situation, and well fortified, crying out, that he was vanquished without a battle, and that all was lost; he also dispatched orders to *Andronicus*, governor of *Thessalonica*, to burn the arsenal there with all the naval stores he had with so much pains laid up; and to *Nicias*, governor of *Pella*, he sent positive directions to throw all his treasures into the sea. The former of these orders, *Andronicus*, who received it, had too much wisdom to execute; the latter *Nicias* conceived delivered in terms too precise to be disobeyed, so the treasures were instantly thrown into the sea. When the king recovered his fright a little, and perceived that the consul now he was come into *Macedon* could effect no great matter, he sent to have his treasures recovered by divers, which was also done, and then to reward the wisdom of *Andronicus*, the loyalty of *Nicias*, and the labour of those poor men who had plunged to the bottom of the sea to serve him, he ordered them all to be put to death, hoping by this means to conceal from the world his scandalous meanness of spirit, in throwing up all hopes the very moment he was attacked. With the same view he sent for *Hippias* and *Asclepiodatus*, who had so bravely defended the passages, and
after

after having with great heat reproved them at the head of the army, he with much seeming reluctance left them in their commands: had they attempted to defend their conduct, which in itself was above censure, they had without doubt shared in the fate of *Andronicus*, *Nicias*, and the *divers*. In the mean time the consul *Martius* took possession of *Dium*, and advanced farther into *Macedonia*, having sent orders to the prætor *Lucretius* at *Larissa* to transport with all diligence provisions for his army into *Macedon*. Whether the prætor executed the commands sent him with all the care he was able, or whether the badness of the roads permitted not the waggons to proceed farther than *Phila*, certain it is, that there they stopped. The consul the farther he marched found his distress still increase, so that, terrified with the fear of losing his whole army, he suddenly did what the king had done before, abandoned all that was already in his power, and marched precipitately back to *Phila*. *Perseus* seized this opportunity, and, after having given directions for repairing *Dium*, encamped on the river *Eunipus*, where he fortified himself so well, that the consul durst not attack him, and, which was still worse, could not advance farther into the country, so that except taking the city of *Heraclea*, he did nothing throughout the whole campaign. To shew his good-will, however, he sent orders to the *Roman* admiral to make descents on the sea-coast, and to make himself master of all, or at least of most of, the considerable ports^a. In obedience to these directions, the admiral first attempted *Thessalonica*, but with very indifferent success; the country about it he ravaged, but for the city itself he found his forces were not either able to invest, or to attack it, so he sailed still along the coast, landing and attacking the little cities of *Ænia* and *Antigonia*, without being able to take either. Then proceeding to *Cassandria* he was there joined by king *Eumenes* with twenty ships of war; they both agreed to besiege the citadel of *Cassandria* in form, which accordingly they did, and for some time proceeded successfully by sap; but while they sounded an alarm in their camp, and made other dispositions for a false attack to amuse the garrison, the besieged suddenly sallied and surprized them, cutting off the miners, and the troops who were sent to support them. A little after they received relief by sea, whereupon king *Eumenes* and the *Roman* admiral reembarked their troops, and stood away for *Demetrias*. When they arrived before that city, they again landed; but there they found *Euphra-*

^a TIT. LIV. Hist. lib. xlv.

nor, a *Macedonian* general; who, having a fine corps of troops under his command, not satisfied with preserving the city, encamped before it, and would not so much as suffer the *Romans* to pillage the country without calling them to a severe account; whereupon the admiral once more embarked his forces, being obliged to put an end to the campaign on his side, having done just nothing at all. The prætor *Appius Claudius* lay all this while in *Illyria* with a body of troops; but whether he was never strong enough to invade *Macedon*, or whether king *Perseus* by himself or his lieutenants defeated him in any expedition for that purpose, we know not, having none but *Roman* guides to instruct us; this is certain, that by the end of the campaign he was in a very miserable condition, insomuch, that he earnestly demanded of the *Achæans* a reinforcement of five thousand men, which he had certainly received, if the envy of *Martius* the consul had not induced him to send a contrary order under pretence of sparing the *Roman* allies^o. These successless proceedings, joined with some apprehensions that the *Romans* were not very well affected to any kings, induced *Eumenes* to think of changing sides, and of coming to some agreement with his old enemy *Perseus*. He thought, however, that his friendship, being of great value, ought to be well paid for, and knowing that the *Macedonian* had heaped up large treasures, he set his amity at a very high price, no less than fifteen hundred talents. This also he required to be paid down, promising to give hostages for his observing an exact neutrality; and if a further sum was paid him, to make peace for him with the *Romans*. *Perseus* liked every thing but parting with the money, and to this even the giving of hostages would not persuade him, though nothing could be clearer, than that the single detaching of *Eumenes* from the *Roman* interest was of much greater value than that sum. The policy of *Perseus* ran quite a contrary way, he fancied, that his very negotiations would produce the desired effect without parting with a talent; and herein he was right, for they did produce an inveterate hatred between the *Romans* and their old friend *Eumenes*; but that hatred did not produce him any good, and we shall see that the same conduct had the like event in other places. *Illyria* was the only side of the *Macedonian* kingdom which afforded a plain and open passage. This had hitherto been well secured, partly by force, partly by artfully keeping up dissensions and disputes between *Gentius* king of *Illyria* and the *Romans*. *Perseus* was very desirous of pushing this

^o POLYB. legat. lxxviii.

matter still farther ; he knew well, that if he could kindle a war against *Rome* on this side, it would at least protect his territories, and at the same time divide the forces of the republic. He therefore commissioned his ambassadors to make *Gentius* large offers, in case he would break with the *Romans* and carry on the war with vigour. This young *Illyrian* prince hearkened willingly to the offers made him, for he comprehended easily enough, that the *Romans* would extend their dominions on all sides, and that to be their ally would be only in other terms to become subject to them. He therefore plainly answered *Perseus*, that he was content to take a share in the war, but that he by no means could stir till he had a considerable sum of money. This mention of money stopped *Perseus's* mouth for a time ; however, when the consul broke into *Tempe*, *Perseus* thought he might as well give *Gentius* his wealth, as throw it into the sea ; wherefore he sent him ten talents by way of earnest, and sealed up three hundred more, which was the sum agreed on in the presence of the *Illyrian* ambassadors, and ordered them also to be conveyed to his ally ; yet here again covetousness getting the better of his fear, he directed they should make very slow marches, and stop upon the frontiers, till they had further orders. When *Gentius* had received from *Pantaucous* the *Macedonian* minister ten talents, and letters from his own ambassadors, importing, that three hundred more were actually upon the road, he was persuaded to take what was called the first necessary step on his side, which was to seize the *Roman* ambassadors, in open violation of the law of nations. Of this when *Perseus* had advice, he sent immediately to put a stop to the progress of the treasure waggons ; for he knew that *Gentius* would be forced for his own sake to engage in a war, on account of his having imprisoned the legates of the republic. This low policy issued in the ruin of the *Illyrian*, his kingdom, and family, at the same time that it produced *Perseus* no good in the world. These mistakes one would have thought might have induced the king to have thought better for the future ; but he was everlastingly steady in wrong measures, and would never be brought to act otherwise, than as a most careful treasurer for his enemies. It happened, that *Clondicus*, who, from the best intelligence we have, seems to have been king of the *Bastarnæ*, that is, of such of them as had settled themselves on the frontiers of *Macedon*, had agreed to bring a very considerable reinforcement to the king's army, provided, that they might enter into present pay upon reasonable terms. *Perseus* promised all things, and *Clondicus*, not dreaming that a king would break his word, set out

with

with ten thousand foot and as many horse, all choice troops and well disciplined. As soon as king *Perseus* had intelligence of their approach, he sent one *Antigonus*, a lord of his court, to congratulate *Clondicus*, and to desire him to hasten his march to the camp; when *Antigonus* had delivered his message, *Clondicus* answered him, that the *Gauls* could not march a step farther without money, and that if he had not brought it with him, he must return to his master and demand it instantly. *Antigonus*, having received this short answer, returned with all imaginable speed to his master. *Perseus* hereupon called a council of war, in which he made a long speech, tending only to save his money. He said, that the coming of such a number of *Gauls* might have a very bad tendency; and that it might be as difficult to get them out of the kingdom, as the *Romans*; though it was evident enough, he might have employed them immediately in *Thessaly*, where, whether they had acted according to his instructions or not, they must have made a very powerful diversion, and compelled the *Romans* to have quitted *Macedonia*. When *Perseus* had declaimed upon this head sufficiently, he proceeded to shew, that five thousand horse would be as many as he should have occasion for; and when he had delivered himself so fully on this subject, how could it be expected that any in his council should oppose it? *Antigonus* therefore was sent back to *Clondicus* to inform him, that king *Perseus* would accept no more than five thousand horse; intelligence which might have stirred a man of base principles to act in such a manner as *Perseus* most feared. *Clondicus*, however, made no other answer than this: *That it was very extraordinary, the king should not have considered how many he wanted before they had marched so far*, and at the same time recurred to his old demand, viz. whether he had brought pay for those five thousand men? *Antigonus* being forced to own that he had not, *Clondicus* and his *Gauls* would have no longer patience; but immediately began their march home again, spoiling some part of *Thrace* in their way, which created *Perseus* new enemies, at the same time that he was justly deprived of the assistance that he hoped from his friends. Besides the attempts already mentioned, this prince made some others, as well for the support of himself, as for the withdrawing some of their allies from their attachment to the republic. With this view he sent embassadors to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, with orders to represent to him, that the *Romans* were alike enemies to all kings, and that his turn would be next, if once *Macedonia* was subdued; wherefore he prayed him to interpose so far, as either to oblige the *Romans* to leave himself in

D d d 2

quiet

quiet possession of the kingdom of his ancestors, or, by joining with him, bring about such a reduction of the power of the commonwealth, as to compel her to allow peace to all princes, without pretending to prescribe them laws in their own dominions. *Perseus* also solicited the *Rhodians*, who at this time were very powerful at sea, and, by flattering them, induced a favourable regard to be shewn to his interests. The consul *Martius* had also some points to carry with these people, he therefore insinuated to them, that if they sent deputies to *Rome*, they might be a means of restoring peace to this part of the world, through their mediation: but in this he most egregiously deluded them, as they found to their cost; for when their ministers had audience of the senate, and in their harangue proposed their mediation, they received an answer, not only harsh and severe, but contemptuous also in the highest degree. The ambassadors of the king of *Bithynia*, who likewise laboured the same point, had a cold return made them; but *Onesimus*, a *Macedonian* nobleman, whose attachment to the *Romans* had obliged him to leave his country, was not only favourably heard by the senate, but had a very large pension assigned him, and in all public places was treated with the highest respect. But it is now time to return to the war, which ended the next campaign in the ruin of *Perseus* and the total reduction of his kingdom, though that campaign was over in a fortnight^P.

P. Emilius sent into Macedonia.

THE *Romans* had no reason to be satisfied with those who had hitherto commanded in *Macedon*; for though it did not appear, and perhaps it was never suspected, that they were biassed from their duty, yet they had very clearly shewn, that they wanted courage and conduct to finish the war. These commanders therefore were all removed, and new ones appointed. The consul *Paulus Emilius* had the command assigned him of the army already in *Macedonia*; *Octavius* was appointed admiral, and *Anicius* sent into *Illyria*. These changes were all so much for the better, that it is not easy to say, which of the three executed his charge the best. *Emilius*, when he arrived in the *Roman* camp found about thirty thousand men therein, of whom upwards of twelve thousand were *Roman* foot. The soldiers thought to have treated him as they had done his predecessors, so they began to question all his commands, to reason upon his orders, and to discuss in their own minds the worth of those motives upon which he acted. The consul would bear nothing of this; he

^P POLYB. legat. lxxx. lxxxvi. lxxxvii. &c. LIV. ubi supra. PLUT. in vit. Æmil.

advised them to whet their swords ; as for the duty of a general, he would not lay so heavy a burthen upon any of his soldiers, but was content to take it entirely upon himself. To shew them, however, that he really knew more than either they or those who had hitherto commanded them, he decamped, and drew nearer the enemy, a motion hitherto thought impracticable on account of the want of water. *Emilius* rightly conceived, that though there were not either springs or rivulets visible, yet it could not be, that so great a mountain as *Olympus*, so covered with fine grass and beautiful trees, should want water ; he therefore ordered wells to be sunk, which perfectly answered his purpose, by their becoming presently full of water ; this also raised the courage of his soldiers, and made them perfectly tractable. *Emilius* next directed enquiries to be privately made, whether there were not some roads, however difficult or round about, that led to the top, and so over this mount *Olympus* ; for the consul saw plainly, that to attack *Perseus* in his retrenched camp, where with extreme diligence he had fortified himself, would be to expose his troops to a most bloody and at the same time a most hazardous, encounter. His enquiries were not fruitless ; he was in a short time informed, that there was such a way as he apprehended there was, and that, as it was extremely steep and craggy, so the guard posted there was but slender. This news rejoiced him, and he thereupon detached five thousand light-armed troops, under the command of *Scipio Emilianus* and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own sons, but adopted into other families. When this detachment marched from the camp, it took the road to the sea, the consul giving out, that they were to go on board the fleet, which under the command of *Octavius* lay upon the coast, in order to waste the maritime parts of *Macedonia*. But when *Scipio* and *Q. Fabius* had received the necessary provisions, and night began to fall, they faced about, and marched with all imaginable diligence up the mountain. Three days they employed in passing it, and during those three days *Emilius* drew out his forces, and attacked the *Macedonian* camp, notwithstanding that *Perseus* by the situation and fortifications of his camp, with the engines placed upon them, easily and constantly repulsed the *Romans*. At length the detachment reached and defeated the *Macedonian* guards, whom they surprized asleep, though they afterwards stood to their arms, and made some defence. This obstacle removed, *Scipio* and *Fabius* with their men descended by the channel of a brook, now dry, into the country below, and appeared suddenly on the other side of the *Macedonian* camp. *Perseus* apprised of this, and frightened with the report of his guards, immediately

mediately decamped, and retired precipitately to *Pydna*. There he held a council of war, in which some of his best friends advised him to garison his strongest cities with his best troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having shewn that the *Macedonians* were better able to keep cities, than the *Romans* were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first besieged. Those who with him disliked this sentiment, were for putting all upon a battle. The reasons they assigned in support of their judgment were these: First, that the army of *Perseus*, which consisted of somewhat more than forty thousand men, exceeded the consul's in number: Secondly, that his troops were the flower of the *Macedonian* infantry and horse: Thirdly, that they were to fight now for their cities, wives, and children, and would therefore not only behave valiantly, but like desperate men: Fourthly, that the king and most of the nobility being present would greatly encourage them: Fifthly, they had now leisure to chuse their ground, so as to bring the phalanx, hitherto invincible, to act with the greatest advantage. It must be confessed, these positions were very plausible, and therefore we need not wonder, that they prevailed on *Perseus*, who was a prince of a very desultory genius, sometimes violent in one opinion, and presently recurring with the same violence to a contrary sentiment. When once it was resolved to fight, the ground was next considered, and a line of battle marked out perfectly advantageous to the phalanx, and whereby the wings of the *Macedonian* army were flanked by the city on one side, and by the mountains on the other; these dispositions gave the soldiers such spirits, that, instead of being apprehensive, they rather wished for an engagement, as, on the other hand, *Emilius* marched with all imaginable speed, that he might overtake the *Macedonians*, and decide the war at once, being afraid of nothing so much as being obliged to take city after city, whereby the war would have been exceedingly protracted. When the troops under the command of the consul had joined those commanded by *Scipio* and *Fabius*, they perceived the enemy drawn up in battalia before them. It was growing late, but the ardor of *Scipio* engaged him to press *Emilius* not to lose the present opportunity, but to engage immediately. The fact is certain, but the discordance between what is said by *Livy*^a and by *Plutarch*^b, as to the speeches of these captains on this occasion, shews, that under their names we have the sentiments only of those authors. In this they agree, that

^a Hist. lib. xliv.^b PLUT. in vit. Æmil.

Emilius over-ruled the proposition, and would not hear of attacking, with soldiers wearied by a long march, men just come out of quarters, and who had provisions and refreshments at hand. The consul, however, directed, that the army should form in order of battle; but while the first line remained under arms, the second was employed in disposing and retrenching a camp, into which, after they had amused and harassed the enemy, the whole *Roman* army retired, the *Macedonians* being exceedingly surprized to see them safely and regularly encamped, without their having the least notice of their breaking ground. The same evening there happened an eclipse of the moon, which, as *Livy* tells us, *Sulpitius Gallus*, one of the *Roman* tribunes, foretold, first to the consul, and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror, which eclipses were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so great wisdom and of such general knowledge. In the *Macedonian* camp, however, things went not so well, the army were terribly amazed at the eclipse, and began to affright themselves with the apprehension of its portending the extinction of their glory. Early the next morning *Perseus* made all the necessary dispositions for battle, and did every thing in his power to encourage the soldiers to behave themselves bravely. On the other hand, the consul also made the proper dispositions, and when he had so done, offered a solemn sacrifice to *Hercules*, who it seems was not easily pleased, for twenty victims were offered without any signs of success. Upon the offering of the twenty first, the soothsayer pronounced this judgment, that the victory would be to the *Romans*, if the enemy attacked them. It is not improbable, that *Emilius* himself gave into this delay, for all the morning the sun was full in the eyes of his soldiers. About three a clock in the afternoon, he ordered a horse to be turned loose, as some say, or, as others affirm, sent out a party to forage, that the *Macedonians* might be tempted to attack them, and so bring on a battle. However it was, by design or chance, a horse running into the water, and two or three *Roman* soldiers following to catch him, some *Thracians* adventured to take him from them; whereupon a great fray ensued, and soon after a general engagement. The *Macedonian* army was extremely well drawn up; the *Thracians*, mercenaries, and auxiliaries making a very martial appearance; but the phalanx struck a peculiar terror from the excellency of its order, and the condition of those who composed it; all picked men, all habited in scarlet, their shields bright and shining, and those of the veterans of polished brass, with their

their long spears, disposed with the utmost exactness, as if they were drawn up for a review, and not for a battle. The *Romans* were in their usual line of battle, and shewed the greatest alacrity in doing their duty; to which *Emilius* encouraged them by shewing himself every-where. *Polybius* and *Livy* agree in relating, that *Perseus*, after the field oration, retired into the city of *Pydna*, and there spent his time in sacrificing to *Hercules*^c. But one *Posidonius*, a *Greek* writer, who affirmed he was present in the battle, tells us quite another thing: he says the king had the day before received a kick of a horse on his thigh, which disabled him from fighting; but that, against the advice of his friends, when the engagement was begun, he ordered a palfrey to be brought, and being set on the horse unarmed he rode into the midst of the battle, encouraging his soldiers by his voice and presence, till he was wounded by one of the *Roman* darts, then indeed he withdrew^t. But where-ever king *Perseus* was, the engagement seemed at the beginning to go in his favour. The light-armed *Macedonians* charged with such vigour, that, after the battle was over, the bodies of some of them were found within two furlongs of the *Roman* camp. When the phalanx came to charge, the points of their spears striking into the *Roman* shields, kept their heavy-armed troops from making any motion, while, on the other hand, *Perseus's* light-armed men did terrible execution. On this occasion, it is said, *Emilius* tore his cloaths, and almost gave up all hopes. However, perceiving that as the phalanx gained ground, it lost its order in several places, he caused his own light-armed troops to charge in those spaces, whereby the *Macedonians* were soon put into confusion. If *Perseus* with his horse had on the first appearance of this charged the *Romans* briskly, his infantry would have had time to recover themselves; but instead of this, they basely provided for their own safety by a precipitate flight. The foot finding themselves deserted, at last fled too, but not till twenty thousand of them were slain. *Perseus* with the horse had taken the road to *Pella*; the foot took the same road, and when it was almost night, overtook them in a wood, where they halted; there they fell to upbraiding them with their scandalous behaviour; and at last, grudging such cowards should have horses to carry them out of the reach of their enemies, fell to plucking them off, and mounted themselves. At which *Perseus* was so frightened, that with a few of his friends he struck

^c LIV. ubi supra. POLYB. ap. PLUT.

^t POSIDON. ap.



into a by-road, pulled off his purple cloak, and tied it before him, and carried his diadem in his hand. About midnight he arrived at *Pella*, very slenderly accompanied; his noblemen being more afraid of him than of the *Romans*, knowing that he ever loved to shift his own ill conduct upon others. In his capital he found *Euctus* and *Eudeus*, two of his chamberlains, and some other officers of his household, who came to wait upon him as they were wont; but *Euctus* and *Eudeus* laying hold of this opportunity to demonstrate to the king the folly of his former conduct, and to exhort him to act more steadily for the future, *Perseus* in a rage drew his dagger, and stabbed them both, of which wounds they died in his presence. After this his court consisted but of three persons, viz. *Evander* the *Cretan*, *Archidemus* the *Ætolian*, and *Neo* the *Bæotian*, with about five hundred *Cretan* soldiers, who remained with him, not out of fidelity, but because they could not depart from the treasure which he carried along with him. As *Pella* was the chief city of *Macedon*, so it was also one of the strongest. It was seated on a hill in the midst of impassable marshes, and was commanded by a citadel much stronger, and more inaccessible than itself. *Perseus*, however, who could not think himself any-where safe, fled from thence as precipitately as from the battle, marching with incredible expedition to *Amphipolis*. When he came thither, he found that *Diodorus* the governor had by a stratagem expelled his *Thracian* garison, lest they should plunder the city. This, however, did not hinder the king from stirring up the *Bisaltæ* to take arms and come to his assistance. But when he found all this was in vain, he grew very disconsolate, and began to fear, that, to preserve themselves, the *Amphipolitans* would deliver him up to the *Romans*. He therefore came out with *Philip*, the only child he had with him; and having mounted the tribunal, began to speak; but his tears flowed so fast, that, after several trials, he found it impracticable for him to make an oration. Descending again from the tribunal, he spoke to *Evander*, who then went up to supply his place, and actually began an harangue; but the people hating him, refused to hear him, crying out, *Be gone, be gone; we are resolved not to expose ourselves, our wives and our children, for your sakes. Fly therefore, and leave us to make the best terms we can with the conquerors.* The king now at his wits end, shipped his money, which he ever carried with him, on board some barks, suffering his *Cretans* to plunder him of fifty talents, which he left upon the shore for them, fearing to give it them, lest the *Macedonians* in spight should take all the rest. Attended by these guards, he came first to

Galipfus, and the next day after landed in the island of *Samo-Thrace*, where he brought on shore two thousand talents, intending there to take up his residence. Let us now return to the consul, and observe the steps he took in subduing the kingdom ^t.

Macedo-
nia submits.
Year of
the Flood,
2832.
Before
Christ,
167.

Paulus Emilius, being a man of strict justice, gave, according to the rules of war, the plunder of the camp to the infantry, and of the adjacent territory to the horse. As for the cities, he would not suffer them to be touched; and as for the royal treasures, he carried the last farthing of them to *Rome*, though it procured him the ill-will of the army. *Hippias* with other officers who were in *Berea*, with a considerable body of forces, surrendered, and immediately after *Thessalonica*, *Pella*, and the rest of the principal places in *Macedon*, so that the whole kingdom was given up in two days, excepting only *Pydna*, under the walls of which the battle was fought; the reason of which was, that several thousand soldiers taking shelter there, were ashamed to deliver up so considerable a place without a capitulation. This was readily granted them; and, as soon as the place was evacuated, the consul marched away to *Amphipolis*. There he received letters brought by three very mean persons, who yet were styled the ambassadors of *Perseus*. The consul no sooner saw them, but turning to those who were about him, he said, *Mark the inconstancy of fortune; this man, who, but t'other day thought the ample kingdom of Macedon nothing, if he was hindered from subduing the Dardanians and Illyrians, now confined in a narrow island, and an exile from his native land, sends these poor men to ask favours from me.* Then reaching out his hand to receive the letters, as soon as he had read the superscription, which ran thus; *King Perseus to the consul Paulus health*: he refused to open them, or to give any answer. As soon as *Perseus* had notice of this, he readily perceived that he was now no more than a private person, or at least so considered by the *Romans*; whereupon he wrote letters a second time, and addressed them to the consul, without assuming himself any title at all. In these he bewailed his own misery, implored mercy from the *Romans*, and begged that commissioners might be sent to treat with him. This last, which was all the consul had in his power to grant, he readily complied with. With these commissioners let us transport ourselves to *Samo-Thrace*, in order to observe the last scene of royalty performed by this unfortunate king, and which

^t PLUT. in vit. *Æmil. Tit. Liv. ubi supra. JUSTIN. lib. xxxiii. c. 2.*

if possible, we shall see worse performed than any of the rest ^u.

THE temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* in *Samo-Thracia* was at King *Perseus* this time an inviolable asylum, and, in truth, the whole is-^{lands} *Perseus* ^{flies} land was looked upon as holy, and consecrated to those dei-^{to a sanc-} *Perseus* ^{tuary.} ties. This was the cause which induced king *Perseus* to fly thither, as supposing he should there remain in safety. On the arrival of *Lentulus*, *Albinus*, and *Antonius*, who were the commissioners sent by the consul to treat with him, *Perseus* instantly entered into a negotiation, which, however, he managed slowly and improvidently, insisting that he should still retain the title of king, which the commissioners told him the consul could not grant; but that, if he would submit himself and his affairs to the direction of the *Roman* people, the consul would undertake for his safety. While these things were debating, *Octavius* the *Roman* admiral arrived with a great fleet, which exceedingly awed the *Samo-Thracians*. These people, considering the insecurity of their own condition, called frequent councils to deliberate what was most fit for them to do. In one of these assemblies, *Attilius*, a young *Roman*, appeared, and desired leave to speak; which once given him, he made a long harangue, wherein having premised many things concerning sanctuaries in general, he came at last to put this question, whether *the whole isle of Samo-Thrace was not holy?* Which the assembly having presently determined in the affirmative, he proceeded next to demand *Whether it would not be polluted by a notorious murderer's taking shelter therein?* This being also admitted, he said, he would prove that *Evander* the *Cretan*, who was with king *Perseus* in the temple, had been the principal actor in the assassination of king *Eumenes*. The *Samo-Thracians* upon this sent to inform *Perseus*, that they expected *Evander* should either submit himself to a fair trial, or that he should quit the island. *Perseus* affrighted at this message, and grievously apprehensive of the consequence, if *Evander* should fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and, to obtain favour for himself, should charge that assassination on its original author; sent for him, and told him, that the necessity of affairs required that he should voluntarily put himself to death to stop all further inquiries. *Evander* desired that he might die by poison, rather than by the sword, hoping that if he could get a little time he might escape. But *Perseus*, ever vehement in those sort of enterprizes, suspecting something from this delay, ordered him

^u Liv. ubi supra. PLUT. ubi supra.

to be immediately dispatched ; and then, fearing that the *Samo-Thracians* would look upon this as a pollution of their sanctuary, bribed one *Theondas* with a very large sum of money to aver, that *Evander* was his own executioner. This salved the matter well enough with the *Samo-Thracians* ; but it effectually lost *Perseus* the hearts of all his friends. *Evander* was doubtless a bad man, otherwise he would not have been concerned in the attempt on *Eumenes* ; but as he did this at the command of *Perseus*, as he had constantly followed the fortunes of that prince, and had never betrayed him in any thing, it was held an act of the greatest ingratitude and meanness of spirit in the king, to forget all his services in an instant, and at the first sight of danger to give him up to a violent death, not by the hands of strangers, but his own servants. *Perseus*, having now a prospect of his misery in a true light, beholding himself without forces, without friends, and without hopes, resolved, if possible, to escape into *Crete*, and to that end bargained with one *Oroandes* a *Cretan*, who had a small ship in the haven of *Samo-Thrace*, to carry himself, his wife, his son, his treasure, and three attendants, to the island before-mentioned. The crafty master of the vessel took the money on board first, and then assigned an hour in the night for the king and his company to come on board. But as soon as it began to grow dark, he hoisted sail, and left the hapless *Perseus* to deplore at leisure his credulity, and the loss of his money. At midnight the king, his wife, his son *Philip*, and three attendants, slipped by a back-gate into a garden behind his apartment ; then clambering, with much difficulty, over the wall, they made the best of their way to the port, and, after wandering till it was almost light on the sea-shore, were informed by a stranger, that *Oroandes* sailed for *Crete* the evening before. The king, his consort, and the young prince, with those who attended them, were forced to make all imaginable speed back, that they might regain the temple before they were discovered by the *Romans*. But finding the day broke before they reached the wall of the garden, they were constrained to hide themselves there behind a corner, till by degrees they could get in unperceived. It was not long after this, that the king surrendered himself to the admiral *Octavius*, moved thereto by new misfortunes, especially the two following accidents : First, the desertion of all his pages, which happened on the *Romans* publishing a manifesto or proclamation, whereby they declared, that all such as quitted the service of king *Perseus*, should not only be safe in their persons, but have their estates restored them also in *Macedon*, and remain at full liberty. The other, the
news

news that *Ion of Thessalonica*, one of the king's principal favourites, had given up all the rest of the royal family intrusted to his care to *Octavius*. He it was who had the honour of receiving prisoner also the king of *Macedon*, his eldest son *Philip*, and the few that were yet about him. *Octavius*, as soon as he had him in his power, ordered the king to be put on board the admiral, and having embarked also all his treasure that was left, the *Roman* fleet weighed, and stood over to *Amphipolis*. Thence the admiral dispatched an express to acquaint the consul with what had happened; to assure him, that *Perseus* was in his custody, and that he should be speedily sent to attend his pleasure^w.

As soon as *Paulus Emilius* received the letter of *Octavius*, he sent *Tubero* his son-in-law, with several persons of distinction, to receive the king. He ordered sacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the same rejoicings, as if a new victory had been obtained. When he was informed the king drew near, he assembled a council of war in his own pavilion, where he resolved to wait for him. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, and the crowd was so very great, that the lictors were constrained to make a way for him to go to the consul's tent. *Perseus* walked alone, covered with a mourning cloak; and when he entered the tent, would have thrown himself at the feet of the consul; but *Emilius*, rising hastily, stepped forward a little, gave him his hand, and would not suffer him to kneel. He then placed him in a seat over-against those who assisted at the council. When silence had been observed some time, the consul demanded of the king, what wrong the *Roman* people had done him, which had constrained him to take up arms, and with such obstinacy to persist in hazarding his person, subjects, and kingdom, as he did? The king, looking on the ground, and shedding tears, spake not a word. Whereupon the consul continued his discourse: "If, (said he) you had been very young when you came to the throne, I should have imputed your rashness to your not knowing the world. But inas-
 much as you served in that war which your father waged against us, knew its success, and knew also how faithfully we observed the treaty we made with him; what strange policy was it for you to choose war, rather than peace, with a people, whose force, and whose fidelity, you had already tried; and therefore might well apprehend, what might be feared from the one, or hoped from the other?"
 The king still remaining silent, the consul, after some pause,

The reception of Perseus in the Roman camp.

^w LIV. lib. xlv. PLUT. in vita Æmil.

concluded

concluded thus : “ However these things have come to
 “ pass, whether by human error, by chance, or through ne-
 “ cessity, do not despair ; the clemency of the *Roman* peo-
 “ ple, so well known, and so often experienced, may afford
 “ you not only hope, but assurance of safety.” All this
 the consul spoke in *Greek* ; then, turning to his council, he
 said in *Latin*, “ You see here a notable instance of the in-
 “ certainty of human grandeur, and of the mutability of for-
 “ tune ; let it make a proper impression on you all ; but es-
 “ pecially on such of you as are in the vigour of your age.
 “ Let not present prosperity so far puff up any man, as to
 “ make him behave with arrogance towards another ; nei-
 “ ther let any man confide in his good fortune, for he can-
 “ not tell how soon it may forsake him. His courage only
 “ shall be admired by me, which neither the flow of fortune
 “ swells, or its ebb decreases ; but who preserves a steady
 “ temper of mind in all times, and on all occasions.” Then
 he committed *Perseus* to the custody of *Tubero*, directing that
 he should sup with him that night, and then and ever after
 treated him with all imaginable civility and respect. *Emilius*,
 having thus settled all things in *Macedon*, proceeded to a pro-
 gress through *Greece*, where he ordered all matters as might
 best suit the interest of the *Romans* ; and though he was na-
 turally a merciful man, used severity enough. At length
 hearing that ten legates, all men of consular dignity, were
 coming from *Rome* to assist him in settling a new form of go-
 vernment in *Macedonia*, he speedily returned thither, direct-
 ing his course to *Apollonia*, where he was informed they
 were to land ; there he was met by king *Perseus*, whom *Sul-*
pitius, to whose custody, on the consul’s going into *Greece*,
 he had been committed, suffered to go at large. *Emilius*
 received the king kindly ; but when he came to *Amphipolis*,
 he checked *Sulpitius* very severely for suffering the king to
 go where he pleased. *Posthumius* therefore had the charge
 of him for the future, who kept him and his son *Philip* very
 strictly ; as for his younger son *Alexander* and his daughter,
Emilius sent for them from *Samo-Thrace* to *Amphipolis*,
 where he treated them with much kindness. As to the esta-
 blishing of the new government, *Emilius* issued his precepts,
 directing that ten deputies from each of the *Macedonian* cities
 should appear before him at a day certain, and bring with
 them such papers of state, and all such sums of money and
 plate, as they had any knowledge of belonging to the king.
 At the day assigned they appeared ; then it was that *Emilius*,
 with his ten colleagues, mounted the tribunal, together with
 the prætor *Octavius*, the lictors attending. The *Macedoni-*

ans, though they had been used to see their princes do justice, and were no strangers to courts established by their authority, yet were surprized at this; the austerity of the *Romans*, the using of the *Latin* language in all their proceedings, and their customs so different from those of the *Greeks*, struck terror and amazement into the deputies, and all who were present. However, they were not left long in the dark, as to what the senate and people of *Rome* expected from them. *Emilius* had the decree ready drawn in his hand, which he pronounced with a slow and audible voice, but in the *Latin* tongue. Then the prætor *Octavius* acquainted the assembly, that it was to the following purpose: First, that the senate ordained the *Macedonians* should be free, and that they should enjoy all the cities and territories they were now possessed of, living for the present under their own laws, and electing annually their magistrates as they were wont to do, paying to the people of *Rome* half the tribute which they usually paid to their kings: Secondly, their will was, that *Macedonia* should be divided into four regions; the first to contain all the countries between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*, together with such boroughs, cities, and castles, as *Perseus* held beyond the river *Nessus*; the cities of *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and *Abdera* excepted. On the west of *Strymon* the territory of the *Bisaltæ* and *Heraclea Syntica* were added to this region. The second included the country between *Strymon* and *Axius*, together with *Pæonia*. The third had the river *Axius* for its east, and the river *Peneus* for its west boundary. Towards the north it was bounded by the mountain *Bora*, the cities of *Edeffus* and *Berea* being annexed thereto. The fourth contained the remainder of *Macedonia* beyond the mountain *Bora*, having *Illyria* on the one side, and *Epirus* on the other. The capital of the first region was to be *Amphipolis*; of the second *Thessalonica*; of the third *Pella*; of the fourth *Pelagonia*. To these cities they were once a quarter to be summoned to hold general assemblies to raise money, and to elect magistrates. Thirdly, it was declared unlawful for any person to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or sell any lands to any who was not an inhabitant of his own region. Fourthly, they were prohibited to work any mines of gold or silver; those of iron and brass they were allowed to work, paying half the rent to the *Romans*, which they were wont to pay to their kings. Fifthly, they were prohibited from importing any foreign salt. Sixthly, they were forbid to sell any timber fit for building ships to the barbarous nations. But they were allowed, for their necessary defence, to keep garisons on their frontiers. Seventhly, the *Macedonians* were directed

directed to enrol their names, *Emilius* signifying to them, that he intended to give them laws. When this decree was published, it greatly affected the minds of the people. Glad they were to be restored to their liberty; but at the same time they were sorry, that they could not well comprehend what that liberty was they were restored to. They saw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it spake of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them was the division of the kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were torn and mangled, separated and disjointed from each other. One thing, however, was generally applauded, viz. the prohibition to work the gold and silver mines, which was founded upon this caution. The senate saw, that, to collect a revenue from them, tax-gatherers, surveyors, and receivers, must of necessity be employed; they therefore chose to forego all the advantages these mines could produce, rather than plague their new subjects with officers of revenue, as *Livy* expressly informs us. *Emilius* proceeded next to regulate the rest of the Grecian affairs at *Amphipolis*, where, at the close of the proceedings, *Andronicus* the *Ætolian*, and *Neo* the *Bæotian*, because they had been always friends to *Perseus*, and had not deserted him even now, were condemned, and lost their heads. Then came out a proclamation, whereby the supreme power in *Macedon* was vested in certain senators. All the nobility, as also all their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves over into *Italy*; as were likewise all such as ever had any commission, even of the smallest importance, from the king or his predecessors; and it was declared, that whoever presumed to contravene that edict should be punished with death. Last of all, *Emilius* published the laws he had promised, which, whether they were or were not to the liking of the *Macedonians*, they were ever after bound to obey. These serious matters once out of the way, *Emilius* celebrated games at *Amphipolis* with a magnificence unknown to former times. The brazen shields, belonging to the *Macedonian* phalanx, he sent on board the ships. All the rest of the arms belonging to the *Macedonians*, he caused to be brought to *Amphipolis*, and, as it was intended they should never raise armies, nor be troubled with military expeditions more, these weapons were framed into a prodigious pile, and, after solemn prayers offered to *Mars*, *Minerva*, and other deities, the consul first set fire to them with a torch he had in his hand; and then the principal officers in the army threw in those lighted torches with which they had assisted at the solemnity. All the rich furniture,

furniture, plate, statues, and other valuable things, found in the royal palaces, were first exposed to public view, and then put on board the fleet (D). *Emilius* afterwards marched away

(D) It is a great misfortune to such as are engaged in writing the histories of nations conquered by the *Romans*, that they have no materials, but the writings of *Romans*, or of *Greeks*, who flattered the power of the *Romans* more than the spirit of their own writers would allow them to do. *Livy*, whose history may be justly said to vie with its subject, represents his countrymen as acting upon the noblest and most philosophical principles upon all occasions. He says, that, with respect to the *Macedonians*, the consul *Emilius* treated them in such a manner as tended to convince the world, that the *Romans* did not make war with a view to enslave free men, but, on the contrary, that they might be able to set free such nations as were already enslaved (7). *Plutarch* speaks much the same language, and highly commends his hero, the senate, and people of *Rome*, for so generously treating those whom they had totally subdued (8). To adventure, without authority, to contradict authors so much and so justly in esteem, may seem a high presumption. Yet this presumption we must be guilty of, in order to set this part of our history in its proper light; it will, however, be somewhat alleviated by our grounding all the observations we make on facts recorded by the authors from whose sentiments we beg leave to differ. In the first place, let us remark, that *Perseus*, from the very beginning of the war, was for submitting almost to any thing, provided the *Romans* would grant him peace, which was refused him, except he would put himself in that condition into which the most unsuccessful war could scarce reduce him. This the consul *Licinius Crassus* told him in few words, when as yet the *Romans* had not entered *Macedonia*, but were, on the contrary, in danger of being beat out of *Thessaly*. This conduct may be sanctified with the epithets *firm*, *magnanimous*, *heroic*; but whoever considers who the *Macedonians* were, must allow, that it was at least haughty, if not tyrannical. If subjection was so hateful to the *Romans*, that they thought all things lawful to shake it off; why should it not appear in the same dreadful light to the *Macedonians*; and if so, what magnanimity was there in pressing it upon them, and how was *Perseus*, or his subjects, to blame for endeavouring to avoid so servile a submission? Secondly, what sort of liberty was it these people received from *Emilius* after his victory? To answer this question in few words, we may justly alledge, that they received none at all; for which we assign this reason, that the consul left them not so free as they had been under their kings. It is clear from the foregoing history, that the most eminent cities in *Macedonia* were like the free cities of the *German* empire; a sort

(7) *Tit. Liv. hist. lib. xlv. xlv.*(8) *Plut. in vita P. Æmil.*

way for *Oricum*, having first given instructions that all that part of *Epirus*, which had revolted to *Perseus*, should be plundered; and, that this might be done with more effect, centurions were sent to the several cities, who gave out, that all garisons were to be withdrawn, and the *Epirots* restored to their liberty; yet, on a day assigned, when the people thought themselves all safe, the troops in every city sacked and plundered it, carrying off an immense sum of money; after which joining *Emilius*, the whole army, together with

of little republics associated among themselves, and owing certain homage to their prince. The liberty they enjoyed made them populous and rich, the government they were under provided effectually for their safety, nor did *Perseus* himself, for ought we see, violate the rights of these cities; on the contrary, when their deputies offered him levies and subsidies, he declined both, and desired only that they would furnish his army with waggons. *Paulus Emilius* instantly divided the whole realm into tetrarchies, with a severe prohibition to the inhabitants of each tetrarchy to interfere with the inhabitants of another tetrarchy, in any amicable way whatsoever. He also took upon him the office of a legislator, and gave them not only new laws, but a new constitution. Where then was their liberty? Thirdly, great stress is laid on the great abatement of tribute made by the victor; for instead of two hundred talents yearly exacted by the *Macedonian* kings from their subjects, the *Romans* were contented with one hundred. Yet what intelligent person can deny, that a hundred talents annually paid to a foreign people, is a heavier load than two, nay, than four hundred raised, and afterwards spent at home? But, besides, one may justly wonder how it could be thought equitable to charge these people with any taxes, when such an immense sum of ready money was taken from them, as released the *Romans* from all taxes for one hundred and twenty five years. If we sum up therefore all these regulations, *viz.* the quartering the kingdom, the settling new laws, the carrying away all the wealth, the prohibition to bring in bullion from the mines, the leaving them still burthened with a tax of a hundred talents, and, add to these, the carrying away of all their nobility above the age of fifteen, we shall have a right comprehension of the matter, and be well able to account for two things, *viz.* how the *Romans* came to stand less in fear of the *Macedonians*, when a free people, as they called them, than while they were under the dominion of their kings. And, secondly, how these *Macedonians* came to be so strangely ungrateful, as eagerly to lay hold of every opportunity of taking arms against these *Romans*, and of endeavouring to change their new constitution for their old one (9).

(9) *Vide infra.*

the

the captive kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, who was taken by the prætor *Anicius*, were transported to *Italy* * (E).

Emilius,

* PLUT. in vita *Æmil.* LIV. ubi supra.

(E) The fate of *Gentius* king of *Illyria* hath such a necessary dependance on the *Macedonian* history, that there was a necessity of taking notice of it somewhere, and therefore, to avoid prolixity, we thought proper to digest it into a note. The reader has been already informed, that the prætor *Appius Claudius* had been able to do little or nothing on this side, except giving umbrage to the king of *Illyria*, which made him the more ready to hearken to the propositions made him by *Perseus*. *Anicius*, who was named successor to *Claudius*, at the same time that *Emilius* was sent to command in *Macedon*, made very quick dispatch in the *Illyrian* war. He took care to have his army well recruited, and acting, as he did, in strict conjunction with the consul and the admiral *Octavius*, all things went on well. *Gentius* had assembled an army of fifteen thousand men at *Lissus*, where he waited for the coming of the three hundred talents, intending, on the receipt of them, to have marched away into *Macedonia*, there to have joined the king. *Anicius* saved him this trouble, by meeting him with the *Roman* army; whereupon a smart engagement happened, in which at last *Gentius* was overcome. However, he had the strong city of *Scodra* behind him, and to which with much ado he retreated. If he had been content to have defended that city, he had gained time at least, and in the end perhaps might have made some sort of treaty; but the *Illyrians*, vexed at their late defeat, flattered themselves with better success in another engagement, and therefore on the first appearance of the *Roman* army, would needs march out to fight them. *Anicius* looked upon this to be an event more fortunate than he could have expected; wherefore he immediately gave them battle, and with great slaughter defeated them. However, the king got a second time into *Scodra*, which was a city strong by situation, and extremely well fortified. It had also in it a very numerous garison, the flower of the *Illyrian* nobility, and the king himself; yet it scarce made any defence. *Gentius* was terrified; for, to say the truth, he derived all his courage from the bottle, and, having now time to be sober, grew quite out of heart. He therefore sent to the prætor, desiring leave to treat, and that a truce of three days might be granted him, which, with much ado, he obtained. This delay he procured in expectation of succours; but either his people were not over loyal, or their force was quite exhausted, so that within the space of these three days, the king had certain intelligence that his expectations were vain, which determined him to yield on the prætor's terms, that is, at discretion. In consequence of this, himself, his mother, his wife, children, brother, and friends, were yielded prisoners, and were afterwards led in triumph at *Rome*; and his whole kingdom delivered

The miserable end of Perseus.

Emilius sailed up the *Tiber* in king *Perseus's* royal galley, richly adorned with the arms of his prisoners, and with the king's purple robes. Though nothing could be more glorious than the short and sudden conquest which this great general had made of so large a kingdom, yet on account of some discontent his soldiers had taken, there arose great disputes about his triumph. Until such time as this could be decided, and afterwards, while the necessary preparations were making for the triumph, king *Perseus* was confined in a common gaol. When he knew that a triumph was decreed *Emilius*, he sent to beseech him, that he might not be made a spectacle therein, to which the general made answer, *This is entirely in his own power, he needs not ask this favour of me.* Intimating, that the king might kill himself, and thereby avoid that shame of which he stood in fear; but if he had inclined to this, he might as well have done it in *Macedonia* or *Samo-Thrace*, unless that we suppose he relied upon the general's promise at *Amphipolis*, which was indeed very indifferently kept. On the day of the triumph, immediately after

delivered up. This conquest cost a campaign only of a month, so that *Perpenna*, one of the *Roman* ambassadors, whom *Gentius* had imprisoned, carried the news to *Rome* of the ending of the war, before they had any notion there of its being begun (10). The *Illyrians* were not the only people, as the reader hath seen in the text, whom *Perseus* brought into a most distressed condition: Part of *Epirus* had revolted to him, and paid dearly for that revolt. The occasion of it is so much to our purpose, that we cannot omit it. In the war against *Philip* the father of *Perseus* one *Charopus*, an *Epirot* by birth, had conducted *Titus Flaminius* with the *Roman* army over the mountains; for this eminent service he and his son of the same name were highly carested at *Rome*, and after a time the young one returned into his own country, where he affected to govern all things at his pleasure, sending private informations to the senate against such of the nobility as opposed him, and thereby working such quick destruction to them and their families, as compelled them to have recourse to *Perseus* (11). The *Achaëans* too, being suspected of having wished the king no evil, were for that reason constrained to send a thousand persons of distinction to *Rome*, who were immediately imprisoned as malefactors convict, and, in spite of repeated embassies in their favour, remained seventeen years in that custody, and at length thirty, being all that remained alive, were allowed to return home; among whom was *Polybius* the famous historian. Such were the fatal consequences of this *Macedonian* war (12).

(10) *Tit. Liv. hist. ubi supra.*
lib. xxvi

12) *Liv. ubi supra.*

(11) *Excerpt. Diodor. Sicul.*

the arms, treasures, and gold plate belonging to king *Perseus's* table, followed his sons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his little daughter, with their nurses, preceptors, and attendants ; all brought to them on this occasion, not to render them any service, but to heighten the pomp of the procession. These poor people wept, and wrung their hands, and made the children also extend their arms to move the compassion of the people. Next them came *Perseus* alone, clad in deep mourning. Behind, at some distance, his friends and the chief nobility of *Macedon*. They moved along with their hands folded, and their eyes fixed upon the king, as if their concern for him had swallowed up all concern for their own condition. After the triumph, *Perseus* was sent back to the gaol, and put amongst the meanest criminals, no care being taken that he should have so much as a subsistence. In this miserable state, he remained four days fasting. At last he besought some of the poor people there to give him a part of their provision, which they very readily did, and at the same time procured for him a rope and a sword, supposing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them ; which, however, he did not, but continued to live on. Some time afterwards, at the request of *Emilius*, he was taken out of this prison, and put into a milder custody. Some say, that he was sent with his son *Alexander*, his eldest son being dead, to *Alba*, where, though he had a guard placed upon him, he had a house, a table, and necessary attendants assigned him. Yet, after all, he ended his days most miserably ; for some say, that having disobliged his keeper, he killed him. Others, that the soldiers appointed for his guard, taking a dislike to him, would never suffer him to sleep, and so by continual watching brought him to his end. It is but just we should observe, that some say he died a natural death, which, however, can hardly be credited, if we consider the authority on which the former opinion is built, and which we have therefore set down at large in a note (F). Here the antient and famous

(F) We are indebted to *Diodorus Siculus* for a distinct account of the death of the unfortunate *Perseus*, as we are indebted to the judicious patriarch *Photius* for preserving us this account ; which is to the following effect : *Perseus*, after he had been led in triumph, fell into such extreme misery, and experienced such incredible misfortunes, that hardly any thing related by writers of romances can be compared with what is truly recorded of his ill fate. Yet still he was fond of life. " Before the senate had determined any thing as to his punishment, one of the city prætors threw him
" and

famous kingdom of *Macedon* ended, after having subsisted from the time of *Caranus* upwards of six hundred years, and from the death of *Alexander the Great* not quite a hundred and threescore. It is certain, that nothing contributed so much to the destruction of the *Macedonian* empire, as the unhappy disposition of its last prince. *Perseus* laid the foundation of all his subsequent misfortunes in his father's lifetime, by destroying his brother *Demetrius*, whereby he lost the affections of a great part of his countrymen, and at the same time drew upon himself the implacable hatred of the *Romans*. His capital vices were covetousness and cruelty.

“ and his children into the gaol *Albinus*. This prison is a deep
 “ dungeon of the bigness of a chamber, capable of nine beds at
 “ the most ; dark and full of all sorts of filth and nastiness, by
 “ reason of the multitude of men condemned for capital offences,
 “ that from time to time were thrust down there ; and generally
 “ most of such malefactors were put into this place. So that many
 “ being shut up together in so strait a place, those miserable crea-
 “ tures were even turned into beasts. And in regard the meat,
 “ drink, and other necessities which were brought them, were
 “ jumbled together into one chaos and heap of confusion, there
 “ arose thence such a stench, that none that came near were able
 “ to endure. In a most miserable condition *Perseus* continued
 “ here for the space of seven days, insomuch, that he begged re-
 “ lief, and some share of the food of those strangers in prison who
 “ had only a stinted allowance. They, out of compassion to this
 “ miserable man, with great humanity and tears in their eyes,
 “ gave him part of that small pittance they had, and withal offer-
 “ ed him a sword and a rope to use, which of them he would at
 “ his pleasure, for the putting an end to his life. Yet nothing
 “ seems so sweet as life, even to the miserable ; though they suffer
 “ what is equivalent to death itself in the mean time. To con-
 “ clude, he had certainly ended his days in this extreme misery, if
 “ *Marcus Emilius*, president of the court, out of respect to the dig-
 “ nity of his person, moved by the natural and innate hu-
 “ manity of the *Romans*, had not, with some indignation, moved
 “ the senate in his behalf, putting them in mind, that though
 “ they feared not man, yet they should bear some awe and reve-
 “ rence to *Nemesis*, who will take vengeance on them that use their
 “ power with pride and insolence. Upon this he was committed
 “ to more moderate confinement ; and while he was feeding him-
 “ self with fresh hopes, he ended his days agreeable to the former
 “ misfortune of his life. For after he had lived two years in this
 “ fond love of life, having displeased his barbarous keepers, they
 “ would not suffer him to sleep, and so he died (13).”

(13) *Diodor. Sicul. lib. xxxi. apud Phot. Bibliothec. p. 1157.* He

He discover'd the last, first by murdering *Apelles*, whom his father had sent embassador to *Rome*, and whom himself had suborned to deliver the forged letter, which took away his brother's life. Thenceforward he addicted himself to all sorts of sinister methods for filling his treasures, and taking off his enemies. Poisons, assassinations, murders with his own hand; actions, which might have shaken the fidelity of any people, did not render the *Macedonians* disloyal. Perhaps, both they and the allies of *Perseus* saw clearly, that, bad as he was, he was the only instrument they could make use of to ward off that slavery, which notwithstanding all their fair pretences, the *Romans* were spreading over *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. Natural timidity, and the consciousness of a long scene of crimes, rendered *Perseus* unable to manage so great a controversy against so potent and so firm an enemy as the *Romans*. His own sense of his incapacity, which must have saved him, if he had made use of it in time, most effectually contributed to his ruin, by suggesting to him desires of peace out of all time: all writers agree, that *Perseus* was the very reverse of his father; for as *Philip's* prudence served him best in adversity, and taught him to restore to a flourishing condition a kingdom quite exhausted, so *Perseus*, after shewing great abilities in prosperity, seemed to lose them all with his fortune, and to suffer his spirits to sink as low as his condition. The treatment given him by the *Romans* cannot, however, be excused, either from their greatness, or his misery. The former left them little to fear, and the latter took away that little which they might pretend to fear. We must therefore attribute their conduct towards *Perseus* to that haughtiness which began to grow upon them, and made them forget, as well the meanness of their former state, as the grandeur of others[†].

Perseus, when he was led in triumph, had two sons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and a daughter, whose name we find not. *His posterity*. As to their ages, we can say nothing with certainty, except that they were all very young, and the two last infants. *Philip* is said to have died before his father; but how or where cannot be collected, because the books of *Livy* and of *Diodorus Siculus*, which treat of these times, are lost. As for *Alexander* he was put out to a joiner, carpenter, or turner, and grew an ingenious man in his profession, and addicted himself also to the *Latin* learning; he became afterwards

[†] PLUT. in vit. *Æmil.* OROS. lib. xi. JUSTIN. lib. xxxii. LIV. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxxi. apud Phot.

clerk or secretary to the senate. This was another instance of the *Roman* pride; for at the same time *Nicomedes* the son of *Prusias*, king of *Bithynia*, was educated with all imaginable pomp and splendor, because his father had sent him thither, and put him under the care of the republic. It may be wondered, that the allies and relations of *Perseus* could do nothing either for him or his off-spring; but we need not be at much pains to account for this; they had much ado to bring off themselves. After *Emilius* had visited *Greece*, the *Rhodians* were called to an account for the kindness they had expressed to *Perseus*. King *Eumenes* was treated with great coldness, not to say contempt, for not hating that prince to the last, as heartily as he had done at first. The son of *Cotys* king of *Thrace*, one of the wisest and most generous princes of his time, was made prisoner at the battle of *Pydna*; and though the *Romans* did vouchsafe to send him back to his father, yet they sent ambassadors with him, who read *Cotys* a very round lecture, exaggerating his fault, the mercy shewn him by the *Romans*, and how dangerous it would be for him to offend a second time. As we have conducted the *Macedonian* kingdom to its close, it should seem that we ought here to put an end to this section. But the reader must remember, that the *Macedonians* were still free, and our business is to shew how they lost their freedom, and how that once noble kingdom came to be reduced into the form of a province; and as these events were not brought about, but by new and fierce wars, it is necessary that we enter into a detail of them, and look upon the last strugglings of this noble nation to preserve themselves from being swallowed up by the *Roman* power, after they had once held the empire of the world, and for a long time the supreme authority in *Greece* ².

Andriscus
calls him-
self Philip
the son of
Perseus.
Year of
the Flood,
2847.
Before
Christ,
152.

THE settlement, made by *Paulus Emilius* in *Macedon*, was extremely well adapted to the purpose of the senate and people of *Rome*; for in the first place, every city became a sort of republic. Once in three months the general assembly of the district met, and deputies were annually chosen in each of the regions, in whom the supreme power, so far as was consistent with their duty to *Rome*, was vested. All their antient nobility dwelt in *Italy*. Thither their wealth had been transferred, and consequently whatever boast might be made of setting them free, they were now no better than a poor, divided, headless, and heartless people. Sixteen years they had remained in this state, when it began to be whif-

² P. UT. LIV. JUSTIN. ubi supra.

pered about, that one of the sons of *Perseus* was living. All who speak of this matter being either *Latin* writers, or such as took their materials from them, we must be content to hear the story in the form they were pleased to place it, though very probable it is, that the *Greek* historians of those times might deliver it in another manner. The best accounts we have tell us, that one *Andriscus*, a native of the city of *Adramyttium*, in the country of *Troas* in *Lesser Asia*, by birth and manners of the very dregs of the people, took upon him to be *Philip* the son of *Perseus*. Not that *Philip* who was led with his father in triumph, but another begotten on a nameless concubine of his, and preserved from slaughter, as he pretended, thus : He was born, he said, while *Perseus* was engaged in the war against the *Romans* ; and the king, being already apprehensive of its issue, ordered his birth to be concealed, and committed him to the care of one *Cyrthesa* to be privately brought up, that in case things should fall out amiss, one of the blood royal might be preserved, and one day assert his right to the kingdom. He was bred up at *Adramyttium*, by a man in mean circumstances, till he was twelve years old, without having the least suspicion that he was any other than that man's son. But about that time his foster-father falling sick of a mortal disease, he disclosed to this *Andriscus* the secret of his birth, and that his true name was *Philip*. There was likewise a narrative to this purpose signed with the hand of *Perseus*, in the custody of his foster-mother, whom the dying man charged to deliver it to *Philip*, when he should arrive at the age of fourteen. This was performed very exactly, and in that memorial there was mention made of two chests of treasure privately deposited for the use of this son by king *Perseus*. The woman, when she put this paper into the young man's hand, recommended it to him to make all imaginable haste out of this part of the world, lest *Eumenes*, the inveterate enemy of *Perseus* and all his race, should gain intelligence of his birth, and procure him to be murdered (G). Full of apprehensions, *Andriscus* or *Philip* retired

(G) It may seem a little odd, that since there were many princes who might have pretended some title to the throne of *Macedon*, in right of their descents from its antient kings, none offered at any such thing ; but, on the contrary, left all things quiet, and in the state they were settled by *Paulus Emilius*. This is, however, easily accounted for, if we consider the condition of the kings of *Syria* and *Bithynia*, who were nearly allied to *Perseus*. The former was a prince of mean abilities, and terribly afraid of the *Romans*, whose

retired into *Syria*, and went to the court of *Demetrius Soter*, who had married the sister of king *Perseus*, and from whom on that account he hoped for favour and protection. This *Demetrius* having heard *Andriscus's* story, considered it attentively, till by degrees either himself or his wife traced out such imperfections in it, as gave them grounds to suspect the whole was a fallacy. The *Romans* were at this time so powerful, and *Demetrius* had so little inclination to have any disputes with them, that, to prevent his being made accountable for any thing that this pretended *Philip* might attempt, though without his countenance or assistance, he fairly seized him. Under the name of *Andriscus* an impostor, falsely pretending to be the son of *Perseus*, he was sent by *Demetrius* to *Rome*, who no doubt thought he should by this act win great credit with that state ^a.

*Andriscus
escapes
from
Rome.*

THE senate caused this matter to be inquired into upon the first arrival of *Andriscus*; but whether it was that the consequences of his pretences were not apprehended, or whether, as the *Roman* writers affirm, he looked, spoke, and acted so little like the son of a prince, that there seemed to be nothing dangerous in him, certain it is, that he was committed to a very gentle custody, and no sentence at all pronounced upon him. It is very possible, the senate might apprehend, that while *Alexander* the son of *Perseus*, who had been led in triumph, was a peaceable man, and their scribe, as all the world knew, this *Andriscus* with a lame story, and, as they thought, very mean parts, would gain no credit; but that the contrary might happen, if he was severely dealt with; no just cause appearing, for which he might be put to death. *Andriscus* did not let slip the favourable opportunity offered him by the carelessness of those who had the

^a Epitom. LIV. lib. xlviii. xlix. ZONAR. ex DIONE. FLOR. l. ii.

wrath he sought to avert by sending the pretender to the throne of *Macedon* to them as soon as he came into his dominions. He was sensible enough, that he held his crown almost by their permission, and therefore durst not think of putting in any claim to another, while he was unable to act independently in the kingdom he possessed; as for *Prusias* of *Bitbynia*, he was also a mean spirited prince, and besides was so plagued by foreign enemies and divisions in his own family, which were at last attended with fatal effects, that he had small leisure to look abroad; and this encouraged *Andriscus*, if he was indeed an impostor, to act as he did.

custody

custody of him ; but secretly stealing out of *Italy*, took shelter in *Thrace* ^b.

IN the mean time the *Macedonians* were in a very bad situation ; for as the genius of the people was wholly suited to a mixt government, or, in other words, a well-regulated monarchy, so the new constitution which had been given them, sat very indifferently on their minds, some being too proud of their freedom, and others desiring to see themselves once more an independent nation, and as considerable as in former times. The *Romans*, sending embassadors into *Asia*, ordered them to pass over from thence into *Macedonia*, to appease these troubles, and to engage the people to live peaceably under the new government. What effects the exhortations of these legates had, we know not ; but in all probability, they did not operate very strongly, since in a few years the same disturbances broke out again with still greater vehemence, so that it appeared plainly a popular government was little for the advantage of the inhabitants of this kingdom. The *Macedonians* dwelling at *Rome* had interest enough to prevent any harsh measures from being taken with their country-men ; this interest they were at great pains to cultivate, attending the funeral of their conqueror *Emilius* with all imaginable marks of sorrow and concern, applying themselves afterwards to *Scipio* his son, surnamed *Africanus*. Him they owned for the protector of their nation, and publicly solicited the senate that he might be sent into *Macedonia* to compromise the disturbances there. But the affairs of the republic in *Spain* being fallen into a dangerous condition, insomuch, that many declined serving there, *Scipio* desired to be sent thither, as conceiving it would be more for his country's service, though he was very sensible of the affection borne him by the *Macedonians*, and would most willingly, but for this accident, have gone thither to repair the breaches which had been made in his father's settlement of the affairs of that people. It is very possible, that while the *Romans* apprehended no ill consequence to themselves from the disputes among the *Macedonians*, they were not very much disturbed at their continuance, since it appears clearly from *Polybius*, that the *Romans* were by this time become great politicians, and extended their own power on every side by practising on others, and taking advantage either of their misfortunes, or of their errors in government. Be it as it will, *Macedonia* was in great confusion, and little or no care

Troubles in Macedonia, and their causes

^b Epitom. LIV. lib. xlix. VAL. PATERCUL. lib. i. ZONAR. ex. DION.

was taken to redress the grievances the people complained of ; indeed the redressing of them was the more difficult, because there were no *Roman* officers amongst them ; but from themselves those were taken who were made use of to oppress them * (H).

Andriscus
or Philip
recovers
Macedon.

Andriscus, when he first came into *Thrace*, depended rather on the charity of the inhabitants, and especially of their petty princes, than on any pretensions of being of use to them, which would have come with an ill grace from a per-

* POLYB. Legat. cvii.

(H) 'Twas an essential maxim of the *Roman* policy, to let the subjects of the republic enjoy much greater quiet than their allies and dependents ; and it was built on this supposition, that either by art or force the countries of their allies might be reduced into provinces, either without resistance, or under colour of justice. Hence it was, that while they acknowledged the *Achaëans* to be free, and gloried themselves in the title of protectors of the liberties of *Greece*, they treated the former worse and regarded the latter less, than the *Macedonians* had ever done, when they had the pre-eminence in that country. For whereas the kings of *Macedon* permitted the *Greek* republics to chuse their own magistrates, and to judge all criminals in their own courts, and according to their own laws, the *Romans* mostly sent legates of their own to hear and determine differences among states they pretended to call free, and not seldom drew the causes to *Rome*, whither the parties were constrained to follow them. We have already shewn how *Charopus*, almost against their wills, drove the *Epirots* into rebellion ; and yet this man was again invested, not only with almost regal authority, but his mother also, a most vindictive and covetous woman, plundered and harassed these unhappy people with equal malice and impunity. In *Macedonia*, those who had the government of its several districts in their hands, were either extremely necessitous, and from thence prone to oppression, or were the relations and allies of the nobility who were prisoners at *Rome*, and were therefore much more addicted to the interest of the republic, than to that of their country. The rebellion of *Andriscus* might easily have been prevented ; for he was a long time in *Thrace* before he was in any condition to invade *Macedon* ; or when it was begun, it might have been presently quashed ; but it is propable, the *Romans* desired neither, but rather wished for an opportunity of reducing the whole kingdom into a province, which at length they obtained, and did not fail to use (14).

(14) *Liv lib. xlix. l. Polyb. legat. cvii. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi.*

son

son in his condition. However, by often repeating his story, by shewing them the incroachments which were daily made on their neighbours, and by explaining the methods whereby one king was employed to ruin another, and thereby reduced into circumstances which rendered him unfit to defend himself; he begat in the minds of the *Tracians* such suspicions, and kindled in their bosoms such an ambition of being once more independent, that at first he had some attendants, which soon after grew into a little court, and at length he was permitted to raise an army; which when it had swelled to a reasonable bigness, he boldly led down into *Macedon*, and there began publicly to declare his title to the crown. Some places he reduced by force, others submitted through fear; most were willing to lay hold of any pretext to rid themselves of their new masters, and to regain their antient constitution, the loss of which had rendered it but so much the more desirable. Such as were in possession of power, and consequently were strictly dependent on the *Romans*, endeavoured to make what resistance they could; but it proved even feeble than *Andriscus* or *Philip* could have expected. Such as had been most forward to support these men in their authority for the sake of reaping rewards, which it was only in their power to give, were the first to desert them, in order to rejoin authority again; and thus *Macedonia* was reduced by one who called himself the son of *Perseus*, in almost as short a time as *Perseus* himself had lost it. Nay, so full was he of that courage, which success usually inspires, that, not content with *Macedon*, he began to meditate an invasion on the adjoining provinces, as well to gratify his own ambition, as to keep up the hopes and spirits of his new subjects ^d.

THE *Romans*, on the first news of this extraordinary event, were not a little at a loss; they had no army in these parts; they had all the reason in the world to believe that the *Greeks* would by no means raise an army in favour of those who had of late treated them but very indifferently. However, they sent *Scipio Nasica* with other legates, rather to dispose the minds of the people in *Greece* to remain steady to the *Roman* interest, than to perform any notable service against the new king of *Macedon*, whom the *Romans* qualified with the name of *Pseudo-Philippus*, i. e. the sham *Philip*. *Scipio* and his colleagues found things in quite another state than they expected. For, in the first place, *Andriscus* ^{sent into Greece.}

^d Epitom. Liv. lib. xlix. l. PATERC. lib. i. L. FLOR. lib. ii.

or *Philip* was much more powerful than he had been thought at *Rome*. And, secondly, the *Achæans*, contrary to all expectation, laying aside all former jealousies and suspicions, appeared most ready to side with the *Romans*, and to do whatever they required. *Scipio*, as he was of great parts, so he was also naturally just, temperate, and courteous, in the highest degree; these good qualities supplied the place of an army, and rendered him more formidable to the enemies of the republic, than a person of another disposition would have been attended by legions. The first thing he did was, fully to inform the senate of what had happened in *Greece*: That the disturbance in *Macedon* was not a sudden tumultuary insurrection, but that the people for the most part had not only willingly, but joyfully, received this pretended *Philip*, not so much because he styled himself the son of *Perseus*, as on account of his declaring he would expel the *Romans* and give liberty to all *Greece*. When *Scipio* had dispatched these advices, he applied himself to the discharge of his commission; he visited all the principal cities of *Greece*, harangued the people in their general assemblies, heard all their remonstrances patiently, excused some things, admitted others, promised the redress of all; by which arts he drew every city to furnish a certain quota of troops, and joining these with a considerable body of auxiliaries raised by the *Achæans*, he at last entered *Thessaly*, where he immediately stopped the progress of *Andriscus*, or *Philip*; retook such of the cities as he had garisoned, and in the end compelled him with his army to retire back into *Macedon*; which was all or rather more than could have been expected from a person in his situation, whose commission extended no farther than to provide for the safety of *Greece* *.

The prætor AT *Rome*, as soon as the dispatches from *Scipio* arrived, and
Juventius it was perceived that the affair in *Macedonia* was become very
defeated serious, the prætor *P. Juventius Thalna*, and *Q. Cælius* were
and slain. sent with a great army to reduce the rebels. It quickly appeared, that an able general was capable of doing more without an army, than a rash officer with very numerous forces. *Juventius* was a man of fire and spirit, one who was desirous of performing very great things, but altogether void of that calmness and conduct which are so essential to the character of a hero. Hence it was, that he made all imaginable haste to enter *Macedonia*, and, as if his presence only would have finished the war, advanced as fast as the army was able to

* DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. FLORUS, lib. ii. c. 14. V. PATERCUL. lib. i. c. 11.

march towards *Andriscus*. This *Pseudo-Philippus*, as the *Romans* called him, was owned, attended, and obeyed as king of *Macedon*; he therefore having notice of the manner in which the prætor *Juventius* behaved, and that he regarded himself as a theatrical prince only, who, by putting on royal robes, had qualified himself to be led in triumph, *Andriscus* was encouraged to attack him. When the *Roman* general was come within a day's march of his camp, the *Macedonian* prince began to move at the very break of day; and having refreshed his army the next day, about noon, he in the evening shewed himself in sight of the *Roman* camp, which, as he rightly judged it would, drew the prætor out of his intrenchments, and induced a general engagement, wherein the *Roman* army was totally defeated. The prætor *Juventius* and *Q. Cælius* being slain, if the night had not interposed and afforded the remains of the army time to retreat, there had not been a man left. Those who escaped, made all the haste they could out of *Macedon*; and *Philip*, pursuing the blow he had struck, not only reduced the whole kingdom again to his obedience, but also opened a passage into *Thessaly*, which he again united to his dominions, seeming now to be effectually seated on the throne, as having expelled his mortal enemies, and having about his person a numerous and victorious army, ready to undertake any thing at his command.

THE *Carthaginians* not long after this victory sent embassadors to congratulate *Philip*, and to engage him into an alliance for reducing the exorbitant power of the *Romans*, who were on the point of beginning the third *Punic* war. The *Macedonian* received these ministers very graciously, and made them large promises of assistance, which he might have fulfilled at least in some measure by an invasion on *Greece*, and thereby making a diversion, which would consequently have weakened the *Romans*. But him whom adversity could not, prosperity ruined; his fortune buried his abilities and his virtues, if he really had any, and did not put on the appearance of good qualities to draw in and cajole the people. The *Romans* he thought no more of, and, instead of endeavouring to cherish his subjects, to revive trade, and to make them happy, he began to play the tyrant, and to make them feel the weight of his sceptre, almost as soon as he had handled it himself. If he had been hurried on by the impetuous rage of any one vice, the people might have hoped for quiet, when it was fatiated; but he soon discovered, that he had almost all the ill qualities which are wont to render men odious, and that

Andriscus,
or *Philip*
proves a
tyrant.

† LIV. ubi supra. DION. FLOR. PATERCUL. ubi supra.

he pursued every one of these as eagerly as if it had been his only and darling vice. His pride was intolerable; coming late as he did to royalty, he thought he could never have enough submission paid him. He was suspicious to such a degree, that imprudence was a capital crime, and a circumspect conduct an indication of treason. His cruelty was so great, that he spared none whom he either disliked, or whom he conceived to dislike him and his proceedings. With all this he was so rapaciously covetous, as having been till lately excessively indigent, that he searched all corners of the kingdom for money, and where-ever he found it, declared himself its owner; urging the care of the public safety as a pretext for public robbery; and in short, from the moment he gained the sovereign authority, acted as if he had designed nothing less than to retain it. Yet the *Macedonians* bore all with invincible patience, and shewed themselves infinitely more loyal to this *Philip* than he was true to himself. The reason of this is easily found; they hoped for a successor, whose government might be milder, and were willing to bear any thing, so they might once more become an independent people^g.

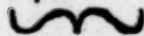
*Is twice
defeated
by Me-
tellus.*

WHEN the news of the defeat and death of *P. Juventius* was known at *Rome*, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* was immediately named to supply his place, and troops were with all imaginable care transported into *Macedon*. Thither also the new prætor speedily repaired, and the king found himself on a sudden under a necessity of fighting once more for his life and crown. He shewed on this occasion the only good quality he had, viz. unconquerable courage, a quality desirable in all princes, and peculiarly revered by the *Macedonians*. He quickly assembled his forces, and to prevent the *Romans* from plundering the adjacent country, he encamped under the walls of *Pydna*, and there expected the prætor. *Metellus*, understanding *Philip's* resolution, marched with the *Roman* army, and encamped over-against him. Thus far both generals seemed to act with prudence, and military skill. The king of *Macedon* however quickly betrayed an extraordinary confidence in his fortune, and his forces. *Metellus* was strongest in horse, *Philip* ventured an engagement with cavalry only; and though the *Macedonians* were inferior in number, and not so well armed, yet after a long and obstinate dispute, they had the victory, and compelled the *Romans* to retire into their camp with some confusion. This new success completed the king's destruction; for understanding immediately after

^g DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. LIV. FLOR. & PATERCUL. ubi supra.

that the allies of the *Romans* were about to attack his conquests in *Thessaly*, he sent a great detachment from his army to cover them. *Metellus*, apprised of this, attacked him now he had weakened his forces, and, after an obstinate and bloody battle, totally routed him, insomuch that not being able to collect out of his broken army troops enough to keep the field, he was forced to fly to his old friends the *Thracians*. These people whom we so often find branded by the *Greek* writers with the name of barbarians, were neither deterred by his present adversity, nor by the ill use he had made of his former prosperity, from receiving him with open arms, and giving him all the assistance in their power, insomuch that in a very short space he was enabled to enter *Macedonia* again with a numerous army, which increased daily, and which, if he had managed prudently, would have enabled him to have protracted the war, a thing the *Romans* could least of all bear. His conduct was the very reverse of what it ought to have been, since, forgetting his late misfortunes, and breathing nothing but a vehement ambition of becoming once again master of *Macedonia*, and all its dependencies, he marched directly to fight *Metellus*, and in a second battle met the same ill fate which had attended him before. In these two engagements he had twenty five thousand men killed upon the spot, so that he found it absolutely impossible to raise a third army in defence of his pretensions. Consulting therefore his own safety, he fled to *Byzas*, a petty prince of *Thrace*, who at first received him very kindly; but when he saw clearly that he should draw upon himself the vengeance of the *Romans*, he delivered up *Andriscus* to *Metellus*, who now hoped that he had put a full end to the troubles in this country; but it presently appeared that the *Macedonians* were not so easily subdued, for immediately there started up a new pretender to the regal dignity, who called himself *Alexander*, and boasted that he too was the son of *Perseus*. He set up his standard in the first region of *Macedonia*, that is, in the country bordering upon *Thrace*, and very quickly reduced under his obedience the whole territory between the rivers *Strymon* and *Nessus*. But *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, who had assisted *Metellus* with a fleet, remaining still upon the coast, and the prætor advancing towards the river *Strymon*, *Alexander* found himself too weak to engage the numerous and victorious army of the *Romans*, and quitting his conquests, and the ensigns of the regal dignity which he had assumed, he withdrew into *Dardania*, where he so effectually concealed himself, that the *Romans* could never get him into their power. Such was the end of this war, which afforded what had been so long

Year of
the Flood,
2851.
Before
Christ,
148.



Two other
pretenders
defeated.

desired, an opportunity of reducing *Macedonia* into a *Roman* province, a thing immediately put into execution, as well as the chastising of the *Thracians*, and other borderers, for having shewn greater affection to the *Macedonians*, than duty towards the republic. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, on his return to *Rome*, triumphed, and led *Pseudo-Philippus*, as the *Romans* stiled him, in the cavalcade; after which the victor took the surname of *Macedonicus*; which shews of what consequence this conquest was, and how arduous the war by which it was obtained ^h.

As the *Macedonians* were reduced to the same state with the rest of the nations conquered by the *Romans*, by *Q. Metellus*, so by him also they were deprived of what small remains of their antient grandeur *Emilius* had left behind him; among the rest, of the brazen statues set up at *Dium*, for such of *Alexander's* guards as had fallen in the battle of *Granicus*. *Metellus* also appointed new magistrates, and changed in every respect the government under which they had lived before. As the rest of *Greece* soon after fell under the like circumstances, it was not doubted but the spirits of these people were effectually quelled, and that they would never think more of throwing off that yoke, which, after repeated victories, they had seen imposed upon the bravest and most potent of their neighbours. Yet it happened otherwise; a new *Pseudo-Philippus* shewed himself on the borders of *Thrace*, and having drawn together a small band of desperate men, began to harass the country, and particularly to destroy such as he either knew or suspected to be attached to the *Romans*. The love of liberty amongst the *Macedonians* encreasing with the loss of it, they resorted in crowds to this new pretender, and advised him to invade the kingdom, with full assurance that he would meet with little opposition. Accordingly he came down with his forces into the heart of *Macedonia*, where he was continually joined by new recruits, making in a short time so quick a progress, as the greatest part of the country submitted to him; and thus with the regal title he gained the power and authority of a king. To reduce him, the *Romans* sent a numerous army under the command of the quæstor *Lucius Tremellius*, who no sooner entered the province, than he began to retake the cities which *Philip* had subdued and fortified; and though he managed with much greater prudence than *Andriscus*, who had assumed the same name, had used, yet in the end he was defeated and slain. He seems to have been the last who pre-

^h LIV. FLOR. PATERCUL. ubi supra. STRAB. lib. xiii. p. 624. JUL. OBSEQ. de prodigiis. EUTROP. lib. iv.

tended to vindicate the liberty of the *Macedonians*, or to attempt the recovery of that kingdom, under colour of a right derived from *Perseus*, or any of its antient princes¹ (I).

THE trouble which the subduing this province had cost, *The Macedonians* and the manifest disaffection which the people had shewn towards the republic, encouraged such as were intrusted with the government to exercise great severities, and no less grievously to oppress, under colour of severity, those whom they *complain of their governor* were sent to rule. *D. Junius Syllanus*, a man of high quality, exceeded all his predecessors, as well in fleecing the *Macedonians*, as in treating them with excessive rigor. In short, though few years had elapsed since their country had

¹ LIV. lib. liii. VARRO. *de re Rustic.* lib. ii. c. 4.

(I) It must be easily discerned, that the history given in the text of the endeavours of the *Macedonians* to preserve or rather to recover their freedom, is very imperfect; the cause of this is, that we collect from fragments; a line or two from *Polybius* furnishes us with one circumstance (15), an extract from *Diodorus* (16) with another; the contents of these books of *Livy* which are lost, and certain epitomes of *Roman* history, with the rest. That it was requisite to put all these circumstances together appears from hence; the epitomizer of *Livy* tells us, that *Metellus* recovered *Macedonia*, which was before lost (17). *Florus* intitles his detail of this business, *Of the third Macedonian war*. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* triumphed, led *Andriscus* in chains, and took the surname of *Macedonicus*. *Florus* adds, after reciting the fate of *Andriscus*, *De eo populus Romanus, quasi de vero rege, triumpharet* (18). As we are now writing the *Macedonian* history, there is no question to be made that the *quasi* does not belong to us, but that we ought to treat expressly of the reign of *Andriscus*, since the *Romans* triumphed over him as over a true king. Whether he was in truth what the *Romans* said, an impostor, and so far from being the son of *Perseus*, that he was in fact sprung from the very dregs of the people, is what cannot be determined, any more than who they were who afterwards called themselves *Alexander* and *Philip*, and put themselves at the head of the *Macedonian* armies against the *Romans* (19). Most certain it is, that the *Macedonian* kings were wont to have several wives, and not seldom many concubines; this being so, admitting none of these men were in reality descended from the royal family, it must remain, however, a thing difficult to prove it; and the *Macedonians* in general being disaffected, the colour of truth was sufficient to lead them into rebellion. This then may suffice for excusing those imperfections necessity hath occasioned in this part of our work.

(15) *In legat.* (16) *ap. Phot.* (17) *Tit. Liv. lib. liii.*
(18) *Flor. lib. ii. c. L4.* (19) *Entrop. lib. iv.*

been reduced into a province, and they had all the reason in the world to believe that their strenuous endeavours to avoid it were well remembered at *Rome*; yet so much of their antient spirit remained, that they could not bear the thoughts of enduring tamely so sharp a subjection. They therefore sent deputies to *Rome* to represent their grievances, and to pray that more justice might be done on their rapacious governor, than ever he had done in his province. When this matter come before the senate, the deputies were heard with great shew of kindness, and *Junius Syllanus* was commanded to appear at a certain day, and answer to the crimes objected against him. Before that time was expired, *Titus Manlius Torquatus* his father, a very eminent person, of the old *Roman* stamp, preferred a petition, that the cause might be referred to him, and he be allowed to hear and determine it at his own house, which was granted. There the *Macedonian* deputies appeared, and boldly opened the particular causes of their complaints, exhibited their proofs, and fully replied to the defence made by *Syllanus*. At length *Titus Manlius* gave sentence that his son was guilty, and ordered him to be taken out of his presence. A little after *Junius Syllanus* hanged himself, and when the good old man was informed of it, he shewed no concern; but on the very day of his funeral kept his house open, and transacted all sorts of business, as if his son's deviating from virtue had divorced him from his family, and made him a stranger to his blood. After this we meet with nothing relating to the *Macedonians*, which deserves to be recorded in their history, to which therefore we shall now put an end * (K).

THE

* TIT. LIV. Hist. lib. liv.

(K) The punishment of *Syllanus*, with the very extraordinary circumstances which attended it, plainly proves that the *Romans* were now very desirous of making the *Macedonians* easy, by preventing those acts of tyranny and oppression, which for the sake of aggrandizing themselves and their families, governors were but too ready to commit. And these proceedings of theirs fully justify an observation which we heretofore made, that they were desirous to give all possible ease to their proper subjects, though they encouraged troubles among their allies, and in such states as were tributary to them. Such a conduct naturally conciliated the minds of the people, who when they found themselves protected and well used, were no longer inclined to take up arms against those who had so often subdued them; whereas necessity and oppression would have wrought their old effects; and the *Macedonians* would have rose in arms time after time, till they had been either relieved
or

THE intelligent reader, by comparing the contents of this *Summary* with those of former sections, will acquire a perfect knowledge *view of* of the steps by which the state of *Macedon* rose, the arts used *this his-* by its princes to render it formidable, the wars and conquests *story.* by which it became arbiter of *Greece*, and sovereign of a great part of the known world; the accidents which contributed to its quick declension, and the causes which, by slower degrees, brought on its total ruin (L). For in a political sense, a government is said to be brought to destruction, when it no longer resides in the hands of natives, and the constitution under which the people live owes its form, not to their choice, but to the will of their conquerors. From such a comparison as we have mentioned, it will appear, that all this series of events did not take up a space of above seven hun-

or extirpated. But indulgence got the better of the love of liberty, and when they were allowed to be quiet, they forgot that quiet was only allowed them, and that they did not owe peace to themselves, but to the will of their masters.

(L) The principal intent of the recapitulation in the text was to demonstrate the usefulness of this work, in which, without any interruptions or digressions, the histories of nations are to be found from their infancy to their decay. In the famous *Sir Walter Raleigh's* history of the world, we have a very imperfect account of the kingdom of *Macedon* before the reign of *Philip* the son of *Amyntas* (20), and no description of the country at all. In *Dr. Howell's* history, there is no amendment of this matter; the kings preceding *Philip* are but just mentioned, and there are some mistakes, and several omissions, in the little which is said (21). *Mr. Rollin* is by much the fairest writer, for he sets out with acquainting us, that the history of *Macedon* before *Philip* is very obscure and confused, and so he leaves it (22). *Sir Walter Raleigh*, in the conduct of his history, treats of the affairs of *Alexander's* successors in a continued narration, which blends the transactions in several nations one with another. *Dr. Howell* avoided this, but his history of *Macedon* from the time of *Alexander* to the captivity of *Perseus* is too concise, neither is the period well fixed, for it ought to have ended with the reduction of *Macedonia* into a province. *Mr. Rollin* takes the same method with *Sir Walter Raleigh*, and one may safely say, that dean *Prideaux* is a guide he seldom or never forsakes. On the whole, the regular series of events traced in the text is not to be met with in any other history or collection of history that has come to our hands. We also take the liberty to add, that what has been before laid down, may be as well applied to the histories of other nations as this; for having pursued the same method in all, all have the same advantages.

(20) *P. i. B. iv. c. 1. sect. 1.*(21) *B. ii. ch. 2. sect. 5.*(22) *Hist. Ancien. Vol. VI.*

dred years. That the first settlement of *Ceraunus* and his *Argives* in the centre of that country, which was afterwards called *Macedonia*, is very obscurely related by antient historians; and yet that we have a better account of the transactions of his reign than of his immediate successors, whose names are all that we have transmitted to us. That the homage yielded by the *Macedonian* princes to the *Persian* emperors was one great cause of their subsequent power, inasmuch as it preserved them from being harassed by the wars made by the *Persians* on the rest of the *Greek* states, brought great sums of money into *Macedonia*, and afforded frequent opportunities of annexing cities and districts to the kingdom by grants from the great king, in trust, as it were, for the better securing their submission to his empire. That the declension of the *Persian* power, while there were but weak princes on the throne of *Macedon*, had well-nigh caused the destruction of their kingdom, endangered alike from the rapacious violence of its barbarous neighbours, the boundless ambition of the *Greek* republics, and those civil dissensions which raged in its own bowels. But when a prince of great abilities assumed the regal dignity, he by dint of genius quieted domestic feuds, by force of arms repressed the barbarous nations, and then made a successful war against those republics which had held his immediate ancestors in a kind of subjection, till from these accessions of power, directed by his own superior wisdom, he acquired the sovereignty of *Greece*, wherein himself and his people at the beginning of his reign were scarce at all regarded, or rather contemned as *Barbarians*. That as his conduct founded, so the courage and military virtues of his successor wonderfully extended the *Macedonian* empire; which for want of his having an heir at age, was broke in pieces, and the kingdom of *Macedon* left in the same condition in which the victorious *Alexander* received it. That the successors of these great monarchs, preserving the ambition without the abilities of those they imitated, instead of restoring, weakened, and lost all the dependencies to the dominion of *Macedon*, and at last, by an ill-timed attempt to recover them, delivered up the kingdom itself into the hands of strangers (M). Against whom its inhabitants, with a spirit
far

(M) We chose to give a list of the princes who ruled in *Macedon* after the death of *Alexander the Great* rather in a note at the end of the history, than at the beginning of this section, because of their different titles and authorities which could not there, but will be here easily understood.

far superior, though as unsuccessful as that of their last princes, struggled for a time, till at last, worn out, and breathless, they yielded to the power of the conqueror, and were content that *Macedonia*, which had been the mistress of so many provinces, should now become a province herself. There remained still however some unsubjected fragments of her ancient empire, viz. the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt*, the history of which, to their reduction by the *Romans*, the next sections will relate.

A TABLE of the *Macedonian* Princes.

Aridæus or *Philip* the son of *Philip*.
Alexander the son of *Roxana*.
Cassander the son of *Antipater*.
Philip the son of *Cassander*.
Antipater and *Alexander* his sons also.
Demetrius Poliorcetes the son of *Antigonus*.
Pyrrhus.
Lyfimachus.
Ptolemy Ceraunus.
Meleager.
Antipater the son of *Philip*.
Sosthenes.
Antigonus Gonatus son of *Demetrius*.
Demetrius the son of *Antigonus*.
Antigonus Doseu, first protector, then king.
Philip the son of *Demetrius*.
Perseus.
Andriscus, or *Pseudo-Philippus*.

They were all as to their power alike sovereigns of *Macedon*, but they differed as to the authority they claimed, and as to the titles by which they claimed. Some were lawful princes, as *Aridæus* and *Alexander*; others downright usurpers, as *Cassander* and his sons. The choice of the people bestowed the crown on *Demetrius* the son of *Antigonus*. Conquest gave the small right they had to the princes interfering between *Demetrius* and his son *Antigonus Gonatus*. After him the kingdom continued hereditary to its extinction.

S E C T. IX.

The history of the Seleucidæ in Syria, to the reduction of their dominions by the Romans.

AFTER the battle of *Ipsus*, wherein *Antigonus* was slain, and *Demetrius* put to flight, the empire of *Alexander* was, as we have related above^a, by a new partition divided into four kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cælo-Syria*, and *Palestine*; *Cassander Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lyfimachus Thrace*, *Bitbynia*, and some other provinces beyond the *Hellefpont* and the *Bosphorus*; and *Seleucus* all the rest. The two kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* continued in the same families through a long series of princes, without any considerable alteration. But *Macedon* often changed its masters, and the provinces, which fell to the share of *Lyfimachus*, were, upon his death, as they lay at a great distance from each other, seized by different princes, and so dismembered, that his kingdom may be truly said to have ended with his life. The history of the kingdom of *Macedon*, from its foundation to *Alexander the Great*, and from that period to its being reduced to a *Roman* province, we have already delivered, and shall therefore now proceed to the two other kingdoms, which the above-mentioned division of provinces produced, viz. those of *Syria* and *Egypt*. The kingdom of *Syria*, to which, as the most powerful and extensive of the two, we shall give the precedency, was not confined to that country alone; but, besides *Syria*, comprehended those vast and fertile provinces of the upper *Asia*, which formed the *Persian* empire; being, in its full extent, bounded by the *Mediterranean* on one side and the river *Indus* on the other. These vast spreading dominions were commonly called the kingdom of *Syria*, because *Seleucus*, the first of the *Syro-Macedonian* kings, having built the city of *Antioch* in that province, chose it, as did likewise his successors, for the usual place of his residence. Here his descendants, from him stiled *Seleucidæ*, reigned, according to *Eusebius*^b, for the space of two hundred and fifty one years, that is, from the one hundred and seventeenth olympiad, when *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, to the the third year of the one hundred and eightieth, when *Antiochus Asiaticus*, the last of the race of *Seleucus*, was driven out by *Pompey*, and

^a See before, p. 302, & seq.

^b EUSEB. in Chron.



35

36

37

38

39 Septentrio 40

Taurus Mons

CILICIA

CAMPESTRIS

COMMAGENE

MARE CASPIUM

MARIS

MEDITERRA

NEI PARS

PHOENICIUM MARE

Cyrrh

Chalcidene

CHENE

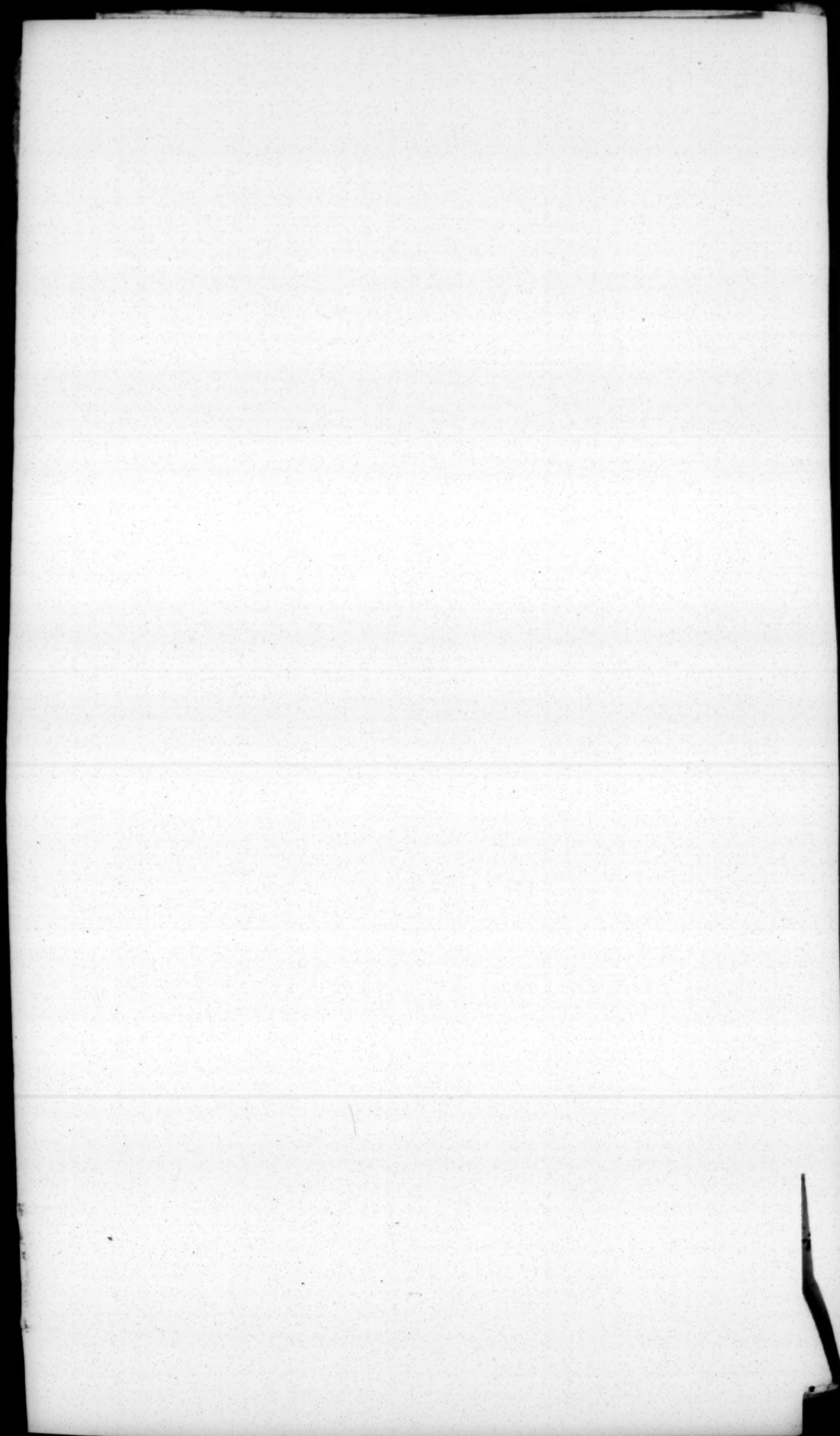
Chalybonitis

COCCHYSIA

PROBRIA

Mer





Syria reduced to a Roman province. Before we proceed to the history of the *Seleucidæ*, we shall exhibit a series of the kings of that race, with the years of their respective reigns.

A table of the kings of Syria, from the foundation of that monarchy, to its being reduced by the Romans, with the years of their respective reigns.

<i>Seleucus Nicator</i>	32	<i>Alexander Zebina</i>	5
<i>Antiochus Soter</i>	19	<i>Antiochus Theus</i>	2
<i>Antiochus Theus</i>	15	<i>Antiochus Sidetes</i>	9
<i>Seleucus Callinicus</i>	20	<i>Antiochus Grypus</i>	19
<i>Seleucus Ceraunus</i>	3	<i>Antiochus Cyzicenus</i>	21
<i>Antiochus the Great</i>	36	<i>Seleucus</i>	months 7
<i>Seleucus Philopator</i>	11	<i>Antiochus Eusebes</i>	1
<i>Antiochus Epiphanes</i>	11	<i>Demetrius Eucharus</i>	3
<i>Antiochus Eupator</i>	2	<i>Philip</i>	7
<i>Demetrius Soter</i>	12	<i>Antiochus Dionysius</i>	3
<i>Alexander Balas</i>	6	<i>Tigranes</i>	18
<i>Demetrius Nicator</i>	13	<i>Antiochus Asiaticus</i>	4

Seleucus, the founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, was the son of *Antiochus*, one of the chief captains of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. We are told by *Justin*^c, that his mother *Laodice*, nine months before he was born, dreamt, that *Apollo*, being in bed with her, presented her with a precious stone, on which was engraved the figure of an anchor, commanding her to deliver it to the son she should bring forth; and that next morning upon waking she found in her bed a ring, with a stone like that which she had seen in her dream. The same author adds, that not only the child she was afterwards delivered of, but all the *Syrian* kings of his race had the mark of an anchor on their thigh (A). The ancients speak

^c JUSTIN. l. xv.

(A) To this *Ausonius*, speaking of the cities of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, alludes in the following verses.

*Et vos ite pares, Macedumque attollite nomen,
Magnus Alexander te condidit, illa Seleucum
Nuncupat : ingenitus nœvus fuit anchora signum :
Qualis juncta solet generis nota certa : per omnem
Nam sobolis seriem nativa cucurrit imago (1).*

(1) *Auson. de clar. urbib.*

Made go-
vernor of
Babylon.

Aspires to
the sove-
reign pow-
er in his go-
vernment.

speak of several other dreams, prodigies, responses of oracles, &c. portending to *Seleucus* some extraordinary rise and good fortune; but the eminent parts he brought with him into the world, joined to a great sweetness of temper, to an obliging behaviour, and a no less gallant than prudent conduct, were the surest prognostics of his future greatness. He served under *Alexander* from his tender years, attended him in his expedition into *Asia*, and was by him honoured with the chief command of the elephants, a commission of great trust and reputation. After the death of that conqueror, *Perdiccas*, whom the officers had unanimously appointed regent of the empire, put him at the head of the cavalry of the allies; in which command he acquitted himself with such reputation, that *Antipater*, who succeeded *Perdiccas* in the regency, raised him to the government of *Babylon* and its territory. In this post he was tempted, by the example of the other captains of *Alexander*, who aspired to the supremè power in their respective allotments, to betray his trust, and entertain thoughts of setting up for himself; whence, when *Eumenes*, on his march into *Susiana*, pressed him to join the governors of the upper provinces against *Antigonus*, who had openly revolted, he not only refused to lend them any assistance, but even attempted to destroy both *Eumenes* and his army, by cutting the sluices of the *Euphrates*, and laying the whole plain where they were encamped under water. *Eumenes*, however, tho' thus surprized, gained an eminence with his troops, before the waters rose to any height, and the next day, by diverting their course, found means to escape the danger, without the loss of a single man. *Seleucus*, finding this stratagem prove unsuccessful, sent emissaries under-hand

But *Appian*, without taking any notice of this native mark, as *Ausonius* styles it, tells us, that *Laodice* was warned in a dream to deliver to her son the first ring she should find, and assured, that he should reign in the country where the ring should be lost. In compliance with this admonition, *Laodice*, having some time after found an iron ring, with the figure of an anchor engraved on it, gave it to her son *Seleucus*, who lost it near the *Euphrates*, where he afterwards reigned. The same author adds, that *Seleucus*, on his march to *Babylon*, having stumbled against a stone, and caused it immediately, out of a superstitious observance, to be dug up, found under it, deep in the ground, a small anchor; and hence the custom among the *Seleucidæ* of *Syria* to use an anchor on their seals (2).

(2) *Appian in Syriac.*

into

into *Eumenes's* camp, soliciting, with mighty promises, the *Argyaspides* and *Antigenes* their leader, to abandon *Eumenes* and come over to him; but not being able to prevail with them upon any terms whatsoever, he made a truce with *Eumenes*, granting him a free passage thro' his province. However, he sent an express at the same time to *Antigonus* in *Mesopotamia*, advising him to come with all possible expedition, and fall upon *Eumenes*, before he was joined by the governors of the upper *Asia*; for as *Eumenes* was unalterably attached to the interest of the kings, and withal the best general and greatest statesmen *Alexander* had left behind him, *Seleucus*, as well as the other governors, who were prompted by their ambition to usurp the sovereign power in their governments, were under no small apprehension of his superior merit and genius. *Antigonus* followed the reasonable advice of his friend *Seleucus*, and, being attended in his expedition against *Eumenes* with the great success we have related above^d, he returned to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* received him with rich presents, and, at a vast charge, feasted his whole army. But when *Antigonus* demanded an account of the revenues of his government, he told him in plain terms, That he was not accountable to any-body for the revenues of a province, which the *Macedonians* had bestowed upon him, as a reward for his services in *Alexander's* life-time. This blunt answer occasioned a misunderstanding between him and *Antigonus*, who, as the breach grew daily wider and wider, waited only for an opportunity of cutting off this new rival, as he had already treated others, whose abilities gave him umbrage; but *Seleucus*, suspecting his design, stole away with fifty horse only, and put himself under the protection of *Ptolemy* governor of *Egypt*, whose kindness and courteous behaviour, towards all who fled to him for shelter, was every-where cried up. *Antigonus*, when informed of his flight, expressed great joy, being thereby put in possession of a rich province without striking a blow, or being obliged to imbrue his hands, as he had resolved to do, in the blood of his old friend and confederate^e (B).

*Falls out
with An-
tigonus,
and flies to
Egypt.*

Seleucus

^c DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. PLUT. in Eumen. CORN. NEP. in vit. ejusd. c. 7. ^d See before, p. 280, & seq. ^e DIODOR. SICUL. APPIAN. & JUSTIN. ibid.

(B) *Diodorus* tells us, that, upon the first news of the flight of *Seleucus*, the *Chaldeans* foretold to *Antigonus*, that if *Seleucus* should get safe into *Egypt*, he should one day become lord of all *Asia*, adding, that if *Antigonus* opposed him, he should fall in a battle. Hereupon *Antigonus* immediately dispatched some horsemen after him.

Seleucus being got safe into *Egypt*, and received there by *Ptolemy* with all possible demonstrations of kindness and friendship, represented so effectually to that prince, as he did also to *Lyfimachus* and *Cassander*, the formidable power and ambitious views of *Antigonus*, that he engaged them all three in a league against him. This *Antigonus* apprehended, and therefore, to prevent them from entering into any measures prejudicial to his interest, sent an embassy to each of the three, with new assurances of his friendship; but finding, by their answers and the high demands they made, that they were entered into a confederacy against him, he began, without loss of time, to make the necessary preparations against the impending storm^f. This war, which put an end both to the life and reign of *Antigonus*, we have already described at length^g, and therefore shall at present confine ourselves to that part alone which *Seleucus* acted in it. After the victory which *Ptolemy* gained over *Demetrius* at *Gaza*, *Seleucus* having obtained of the conqueror a thousand foot, according to *Appian*, eight hundred according to *Diodorus*, and two hundred horse, took his rout towards *Babylon*, in order to attempt the recovery of that city. This undertaking was looked upon as a desperate enterprize, even by his friends, but, however, was attended with all the success he could have wished for (C). On his arrival at *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*, he prevailed, partly by force, and partly by persuasion, on the *Macedonians* who garisoned the place, to revolt from *Antigonus*, and join him. Being thus reinforced, he entered

^f DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Demet.* APPIAN. in *Syriac.* JUSTIN. l. xv. ^g See before, p. 301, & seq.

him, enjoining them to bring him back, with a design to put him to death; but *Seleucus* happily escaped the danger, which greatly disturbed *Antigonus*, though he had ever before slighted and ridiculed such predictions (3).

(C) His friends, seeing the inconsiderable number of his forces, and, on the other hand, the great strength of the enemy, did all that lay in their power to divert him from such an attempt; but he, in order to encourage them, and redeem himself from their importunities, told them, in an harangue which he made to the soldiery, that he was sure of success, since *Apollo Branchides*, with whom he had advised about the issue of this undertaking, had given him the title of king, and *Alexander*, standing by him in his sleep, had shewn him the ensigns of royalty, assuring him that he should be honoured with them in due time (4).

(3) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xix.*

(4) *Diodor. Sicul. ibid.*

the territories of *Babylon*, where great numbers of the inhabitants, his antient subjects, flocked to him from all parts, offering him their service, and declaring themselves ready to stand by him, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. Among others, one *Polyarchus*, who bore an office in the city, came over to him at the head of a thousand men compleatly armed. *Seleucus* had governed that province, for the space of four years, with great mildness and moderation, carrying himself in the most obliging manner to all, in order to gain the good-will of the people, and thereby secure an interest to himself, if at any time he should have occasion to contend for the sovereign power. On the other hand, *Antigonus*, who was of a morose and surly temper, had, with his unseasonable severity, so estranged the minds of all, that he was universally detested. No wonder then, that, as *Seleucus* approached the city, the inhabitants went out to meet him, welcoming him and his small army with loud acclamations, and all possible demonstrations of joy. Those who favoured *Antigonus*, perceiving the general and irresistible inclination of the people to *Seleucus*, retired into the castle, which was defended by one *Diphilus*; but as *Seleucus* was master of the city, and the affections of the people, he soon possessed himself of the fortrefs, and there found, to his inexpressible joy, his children, friends, and domestics, whom *Antigonus* had detained prisoners ever since his flight into *Egypt* ^h.

Seleucus, being now master both of the city and castle, judged it necessary to raise what forces he could, not doubting but *Antigonus* would soon send an army to drive him from these acquisitions. Accordingly, while he was busy in recruiting his army, and disciplining his new-raised troops, news was brought him, that *Nicanor*, governor of *Media* under *Antigonus*, was advancing full march against him, at the head of ten thousand foot and seven thousand horse. Upon this intelligence *Seleucus* went out to meet him with three thousand foot and four hundred horse only, and, passing the *Tigris*, concealed his men, as the enemy drew near, in the fens hard by the river, with a design to fall upon *Nicanor* at unawares, who not having had any intelligence of *Seleucus*'s march, encamped in a disadvantageous post, where he was the following night surpris'd, and his army with great slaughter put to the rout. *Nicanor* had the good fortune to make his escape; but *Evager*, who commanded under him, and most of the chief officers, were killed on the spot. Such of the soldiers as outlived the slaughter, declared for *Seleucus*,

Recovers
Babylon.
Year of
the Flood,
2687.
Before
Christ,
312.

Defeats
Nicanor,
and reco-
vers Me-
dia, Sus-
ana, &c.

^h DIODOR. SICUL. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

which

which enabled him to pursue his conquests, and reduce in a short time all *Media* and *Susiana*, with many of the adjacent provinces. Having, by this victory, established his interest and power in *Babylon*, he daily improved them by the clemency of his government, and by his justice, equity, and humanity to all his subjects, to such a degree, that, from so low a beginning, he became, in a few years, the greatest and most powerful of all *Alexander's* successors *.

*Æra of
the Seleu-
cidæ.*

FROM this retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, commences the famous æra of the *Seleucidæ*, made use of all over the east by *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans*. The *Jews* stile it the *æra of contracts*, because they were obliged, when subject to the *Syro-Macedonian* princes, to use it in all their contracts, and other civil writings. This method of computing their years they followed till the tenth century of the *Christian* æra, when, upon their being obliged to remove into the western countries, they learned of the *Christian* chronologers of those parts to compute by the years of the creation. The same æra is called by the *Arabians* *Taric debilkarnain*, that is, the æra of the *two-horned*; which appellation some derive from *Alexander*, who, in the *Coran*, and other *Arabic* books, is frequently called the *two-horned*, probably because he affected to be the son of *Jupiter Hammon*, whom the heathens represented with two rams horns on his head. But this æra has no relation to *Alexander*, though by some ignorantly derived from him, and also called by his name; for *Alexander* was dead twelve years before *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, from which recovery the æra of the *Seleucidæ* commenced. Others therefore, with better grounds, derive the *Arabic* name *Taric debilkarnain* from *Seleucus*, who, as *Appian* informs us¹, was a person of such extraordinary strength, that, seizing a bull by his horns, he could stop him short in his full career; and therefore the statuaries usually represented him with two bulls horns on his head, which, without all doubt, gave rise to the above-mentioned denomination, that æra taking its origin from him, and not from *Alexander*. In the two books of the *Maccabees* it is called the *æra of the kingdom of the Greeks* ^k; and they both use it in their dates, with this difference, however, that the first book begins the years of this æra from the spring, and the other from the autumn following (D).

Antigonus

* DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 121. ¹ APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 201. ^k MACCAB. l. i. c. i. ver. 10.

(D) The *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Jews*, and all others who antiently computed, or still compute (for it is still in use among the eastern nations)

Antigonus, receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the success of *Seleucus* in the east, sent his son *Demetrius* with an army to *Babylon*, to drive him from that city, and dispossess him of the provinces which he had lately seized, while he himself advanced to the coasts of *Asia Minor*, to defeat the designs of the confederate princes, whose power began to be formidable in those parts. *Demetrius*, pursuant to his father's directions, having, with all possible expedition, assembled his forces at *Damascus*, marched from thence to *Babylon*, at the head of five thousand *Macedonian* foot, ten thousand mercenaries, and four thousand horse. His march was so expeditious, that, passing the *Euphrates*, he invested *Babylon* before the enemy had notice of his departure from *Damascus*. *Seleucus* himself was then in *Media*, and *Patrocles*, whom he had intrusted with the government of the place, no-ways in a condition to make head against so powerful an enemy. The *Demetrius* wise governor therefore, instead of sacrificing the few troops *regains* he had under his command to no purpose, retired with them *Babylon*. into the fens and marshes, ordering the citizens to follow him with their most valuable effects, and abandon the city to the enemy. *Demetrius* finding the city deserted, laid siege to the two castles, which stood on the two opposite banks of the *Euphrates*, and had been well garisoned by *Patrocles* before his retreat. However, one of these *Demetrius* took, and placed in it a garison of seven thousand men; but not being able to master the other, before the time was expired in which his father had appointed him to return with his troops into

nations) by this æra, began it from the autumn, excepting the author of the first book of the *Maccabees*, who begins it from the preceding spring, and *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*, who, in his *great syntaxis*, places the beginning of this æra in the spring of the year following. *Ptolemy* did not reckon *Seleucus* thoroughly settled in the possession of *Babylon* till *Demetrius* made his retreat from thence; and this retreat happening in the spring of the following year, from that season he reckoned the years of the *Seleucidæ*. Some writers date the beginning of *Seleucus*'s reign from his recovering of *Babylon*, when this æra began. Others from the partition which was made twelve years after, upon the death of *Antigonus* and defeat of *Demetrius*, in the battle of *Ipsus*: so that, according to some, he reigned twenty, according to others thirty two years; for he died twenty years after that battle, and thirty two after the recovery of *Babylon*. We have followed *Eusebius* and the learned *Usher*, who compute the years of his reign from his recovering of *Babylon* (5).

(5) *Vide Euseb. in Chron.*

But abandons it again.

The authority of Seleucus established in Babylon.

Extends his conquests into Media, Bactria, Hyrcania, &c.

Takes the title of king.

Invades India.

Asia Minor, he left *Archelaus*, one of his principal officers, with a thousand horse, and five thousand foot, to pursue the siege, and, with the rest of the troops, marched to the assistance of his father in *Asia Minor*. Before his departure, he allowed his foldiers to plunder the city, which proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and greatly attached the inhabitants to *Seleucus*, even those who till that time had stood up for *Antigonus*; for they all looked upon this act of depredation as a tacit declaration of his having intirely abandoned them, since he would never have treated them as enemies, if he had looked upon them any longer as subjects; they therefore all unanimously declared for *Seleucus*, who, on his return to *Babylon*, after the retreat of *Demetrius*, without much ado, drove out the few troops he had left in the city, recovered the castle which he had garisoned, and thenceforth settled his authority in those parts upon so firm a foundation, that it could never after be shaken¹. From this year the *Babylonians*, as appears from *Ptolemy of Alexandria's syntaxis*, date the æra of the kingdom of the *Seleucidæ*, though all other nations place its commencement in the autumn of the preceding year.

AND now *Seleucus*, seeing himself in quiet possession of *Babylon* and its territory, advanced at the head of a considerable army into *Media*, where he engaged, and slew with his own hand, *Nicanor*, or, as others call him, *Nicator*, whom *Antigonus* had sent against him. Having reduced all *Media*, he pursued his march into *Persia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, &c. subjecting to his new empire these, and all the other provinces on this side the *Indus*, which had been formerly conquered by *Alexander*^m. From these conquests, and not from *Nicanor* or *Nicator*, whom he slew, he took the surname of *Nicator*, as *Appian* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* inform usⁿ. In the mean time *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* having assumed the title of kings, *Seleucus*, not to be behind-hand with them, took the same, stiling himself king of *Babylon* and *Media*.

Seleucus was now master of all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Indus*, but not of those large provinces which lay beyond the latter of these rivers, and had fallen to his share in the general partition. He was at this time closely united in point of interest with *Ptolemy*, *Cassander*, and *Lyfimachus*; the forces of *Antigonus* were divided into several distant bodies, and *Demetrius* was employed in the

¹ DIODOR. SICUL. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Demet.* ^m DIODOR. SICUL. l. XIX. & XX. APPIAN. in *Syriac.* p. 124. JUSTIN. l. XV. c. 4. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. XXIII. *Histor.* ⁿ AMMIAN. *ibid.*

siege of *Rhodes*. Having therefore no enemy to fear on this side the *Indus*, he resolved to cross that river, and, by a sudden irruption, make himself master of those vast provinces which were known by the name of *India*. These *Alexander* had formerly subdued; but, after his death, while his successors were engaged in mutual wars with each other, one *Sandrocottus*, or, as others call him, *Androcottus*, an *Indian* of mean extraction, under the specious pretence of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raised a powerful army, and, having driven out the *Macedonians*, seized the *Indian* provinces for himself. To recover these provinces *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus*; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had made himself absolute master of all *India*, and, from the several provinces of it, drawn into the field an army of six hundred thousand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it adviseable to provoke so great a power, and therefore entering into a treaty with him, he agreed to renounce all his pretensions to that country, provided *Sandrocottus* furnished him with five hundred elephants; which proposal the *Indian* prince willingly agreeing to, a peace was concluded between them^o. *Seleucus* having thus settled matters in *India*, marched back into the west against *Antigonus*; and the absolute necessity he was under of engaging in this war, was what hastened the peace with *Sandrocottus*; for *Cassander* finding himself reduced to great straits by *Demetrius*, and not being able to obtain a peace but upon terms of surrendering himself, without reserve to the will and pleasure of *Antigonus*, agreed with *Lyfimachus*, who was in no better condition than himself, to send ambassadors to *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*, and by representing to them the situation of affairs, the ambitious views and exorbitant power of *Antigonus*, prevail upon them to enter into an alliance against him, as a common enemy. The alliance was soon concluded, for they were all under no small apprehension of the over-grown power of *Antigonus* and his son *Demetrius*, who had already driven both *Cassander* and *Ptolemy* out of all the places they possessed in *Greece*. This confederacy induced *Seleucus* to hasten a peace with the king of *India*, and march back into *Assyria*, to provide therefor the war^p, which was carried on with great vigour the first year by *Cassander* in *Europe* and *Lyfimachus* in *Asia*, while *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* were raising forces in their respective dominions,

Concludes a peace with Sandrocottus, and yields to him all India.

^o JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 4. APPIAN. in Syriae. p. 122, 123. STRABO. l. v. p. 724. PLUT. in Alexand. ^p DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 4. PLUT. in Demet.

The battle
of Ipsus.

with a design to come against *Antigonus* with their whole strength, and put all to the issue of a general engagement. Accordingly, in the beginning of the next summer, *Seleucus* having drawn together at *Babylon* twenty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and four hundred and eighty elephants, with an hundred chariots armed with scythes, advanced into *Cappadocia* and after joining the forces of the confederate princes pursued his march into *Phrygia*, where he met *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* near the city of *Ipsus*. The confederate army was commanded by *Seleucus* and *Lysimachus*, and consisted of sixty-four thousand foot, ten thousand five hundred horse, four hundred and eighty elephants, with an hundred and twenty chariots armed with scythes. The enemies forces, amounting to seventy thousand foot, ten thousand horse, and seventy-five elephants, were commanded by *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who, as we have already related, behaved on this occasion with the utmost bravery; but their army being intirely defeated, and *Antigonus* killed, *Demetrius* was forced to save himself by flight, being attended only with five thousand foot and four hundred horse, the poor remains of seventy thousand men he had under his command at the beginning of the engagement ¹.

Antioch
built by
Seleucus.
Year of
the Flood,
2699.
Before
Christ,
300.

AFTER this battle, the particulars whereof we have already related at length^r, the four confederate princes divided the dominions of *Antigonus* among themselves, adding them to what they enjoyed before; but, before this division, *Seleucus* marching into the upper *Syria*, made himself master of that rich province, and there built on the river *Orontes* the city of *Antioch*, which soon became, and continued to be for many ages, the metropolis of the east; for not only the *Syrian* kings, but afterwards the *Roman* governors, who presided over the affairs of the eastern provinces, chose it for the usual place of their residence: and, in the *Christian* times, it was the see of the chief patriarch of *Asia*. It stood on the *Orontes*, about twenty miles from the place where that river empties itself into the *Mediterranean*, being equally distant from *Constantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, that is, seven hundred miles from each^r. *Seleucus* called it *Antioch*, either from his father's name, as *Malela*, *Cedrenus*, and the emperor *Julian* inform us, or from that of his son, as *Strabo*,

¹ ARRIAN. l. vii. PLUT. in Pyrrho. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 122. ^r See before, p 302. & seq. ^r JOHANNES ANTIOCHENUS, MALELA & BAUDRAND, Geogr. de Antioch. Mag.

Appian,

Appian, and *Trogus* insinuate^t, or perhaps from both. He built sixteen other cities bearing the same name, whereof one, situate in *Pisidia*, is mentioned in scripture^u; but *Antioch* on the *Orontes* eclipsed all the others, being by far the most famous of the many cities *Seleucus* built. *Antigonus*, not long before, had founded a city in that neighbourhood, which, from his own name, he called *Antigonia*, and had designed for the capital of his empire. This city *Seleucus* razed to the ground, employing the materials to build, and transplanting the inhabitants to people, his new metropolis (E). Besides *Antioch*, *Seleucus* built in the same

country
Seleucia,
Apamea
and Lao-
dicea
built.

^t JUSTIN, ubi supra. STRABO. l. xvi. p. 750. APPIAN. ubi supra.
^u ACTS. xiii. 14.

(E) *Johannes Malela*, a native of *Antioch*, tells us in his chronicle, that *Seleucus* coming to *Iopolis*, a city in the hilly country of *Siliphum*, offered there, on the first of the month *Artemisium*, a sacrifice to *Jupiter the Thunderer*, in a chapel said to have been antiently built by *Perseus* the son of *Danae*. From *Iopolis* he advanced to *Antigonia*, and there offering a sacrifice to *Jupiter*, on an altar newly built by *Antigonus*, he, together with *Amphion* the priest, begged *Jupiter* to shew him, by some sign, whether he should inhabit *Antigonia*, calling it by some other name, or build a new city in another place. They had scarce ended their prayer, when an eagle snatching up a piece of flesh from the altar, dropt it near the hill of *Siliphum*. Hereupon *Seleucus* on that spot, where antiently stood a town called *Botzia*, laid the foundation of his new city, on the twenty second day of the month *Artemisium*, that is, of our *May*. At a small distance from the city he built a magnificent temple in honour of *Jupiter Botzius*. These and many such things we read in *Johannes Malela* concerning the origin of *Antioch*. This metropolis of *Syria* was afterwards known by the name of *Tetrapolis*, being divided, as it were, into four cities, each of them having its proper wall, besides a common one, which inclosed them all. The first of these cities or quarters was built by *Seleucus Nicator*; the second by those who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire; the third by *Seleucus Callinicus*, and the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes* (5). The place where it stood was very subject to earthquakes, by which it suffered greatly, and was often in danger of being intirely overwhelmed; however, it continued to be, as *Pliny* calls it, the queen of the east, for the space of sixteen hundred years; till it was taken in 1262, and utterly destroyed by *Bibaris* sultan of *Egypt* (6). The walls of each quarter, as well as those which surrounded the whole, are

(5) *Strabo*. l. xvi. p. 750.
281.

(6) *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum*, p.

country several other cities, whereof three were more remarkable than the rest. One of these he called *Seleucia* (F) from his

still remaining ; but as the houses are entirely destroyed, those four quarters look like so many inclosed fields (7). It is now a small and contemptible villages known by the name of *Anthakia*, and remarkable for nothing but its ruins. *Aleppo* is become, in its stead, the metropolis of those eastern parts, the patriarchal see, which once adorned it, being translated to *Damascus*.

Daphne, mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees* (8), was reckoned one of the suburbs of *Antioch*, tho' four or five miles distant from it. There *Seleucus* planted a grove ten miles in compass, and in the middle of the grove built a temple, which he consecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making the whole an asylum. Thither the *Antiochians* resorted for their pleasures and diversions, as the *Romans* did to *Baiæ*, and the *Alexandrians* to *Canopus*. As persons of all ranks and conditions flocked to this delicious place, in process of time *Apollo* and *Diana* gave room to *Venus* and *Bacchus*, whereby it became so infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere*, to live after the manner of *Daphne*, was used as a proverb, to express a most voluptuous and dissolute way of living. Such as had any regard for their reputation, avoided *Daphne* as they did the public stews, it being frequented only by young debauchees and women of professed incontinency ; inasmuch, that when *Cassius* the *Roman* general came to *Antioch*, the very next day after his arrival, he took care to forbid, by a public proclamation, and under the severest penalties, any of his soldiers to enter, or even go near, that place, lest they should be corrupted by the horrid abominations practised there by the natives (9). It was so remarkable a place, that to distinguish *Antioch*, near which it lay, from other cities else where bearing the same name, the former was commonly called *Antioch near Daphne* (10).

(F) *Johannes Malela* tells us, that on the twenty-third day of our *April*, while *Seleucus* was sacrificing to *Jupiter* on mount *Casius*, and consulting him concerning a proper place to build a city in, an eagle snatching from the altar part of the sacrifice, flew towards the sea, and dropt it in a sea-town of *Pieria*, not far from *Palæopolis*, a small city, built in former ages by *Syrus* the son of *Agenor*. Hereupon *Seleucus* laid immediately the foundations of a great city on that spot, and called it from his own name *Seleucia*. Others tell us, that he was induced to build a city in that place, not by an eagle, but by a flash of lightning ; whence lightning was ever after adored there as a deity, and honoured with hymns and prayers by

(7) *Idem* *ibid*, p. 280.

(8) *Maccab.* l. ii. c. 4. ver 33.

(9) *Vide Chrysof.* sermon. in *Babylam* martyrem.

(10) *Strabo* l. xv. p. 719.

his own name; another *Apamea* from his wife *Apama*, the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Persian*; and the third *Laodicea* from his mother *Laodice*. *Apamea*, and *Seleucia* stood on the same river with *Antioch*, the former above it, and the latter fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the sea. *Laodicea* stood in the southern part of the same country. From these four cities, that quarter of *Syria*, in which they stood was called *Tetrapolis*, or the country of the four cities; which indeed was but an occasional name, if we may so call it, the true name of that tract being *Seleucis*, a name given it by *Seleucus* himself; for *Syria*, under the kings of the *Macedonian* race, was divided into three parts, viz. *Syria* properly so called, *Cælo-Syria* or the *Hollow-Syria*, and *Syria Palestina*. The first of these, called also the *Upper Syria*, contained *Commagena*, *Cyrrhestica*, *Seleucis*, and some other small districts, and extended from mount *Amanus* on the north, to mount *Libanus* on the south. It was, in after-ages, called also *Syria Antiochena*. The second reached from *Libanus* to *Antilibanus*, including the city of *Damascus*, and its large territory. As this tract consisted mostly of deep vallies between high mountains, it was on this account called *Cælo-Syria* or the *Hollow-Syria*. *Syria Palestina* extended from *Antilibanus* to the confines of *Egypt*. The maritime parts of the two latter, lying between *Aradus* and *Gaza*, were known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Phœnice*.

Antigonus being killed in the battle of *Ipsus*, and the power of *Demetrius* brought, by that dreadful overthrow, to a very low ebb, the confederate princes, having now no other enemy to fear, began to be jealous of each other. *Lyfimachus*, being under no small apprehension of the over-grown power of *Seleucus*, entered into a separate alliance with *Ptolemy*, taking to wife *Arfinoe* one of his daughters, and marrying his son *Agathocles* to another (G). This alliance gave umbrage to

Seleucus
enters into
an alliance
with *De-*
metrius.

the inhabitants (11). *Seleucus* allowed the *Jews* the same privileges and immunities in each of these new cities, as were enjoyed by the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, especially at *Antioch* in *Syria*, where that people settled in such numbers, that they possessed as considerable a part of *Antioch* as their countrymen did of *Alexandria*.

(G) *Lyfimachus* married the daughter, not of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, as we read in *Memnon* (12); but of *Ptolemy* the first, the son of *Lagus*, and *Eurydice*, as *Plutarch* (13), *Justin* (14), *Pausanias* (15), and even *Memnon* himself elsewhere informs us (16).

(11) *Appian. in Syriac. p. 125.* (12) *Memnon. in excerpt. c.*

5. (13) *Plut. in Demet.* (14) *Justin. l. xvii. c. 2. & l. xxiv.*

c. 2. (15) *Pausan. in Attic. p. 8.* (16) *Memnon. in excerpt. c. 9.*

Seleucus,

Seleucus, who thereupon entered into a treaty with *Demetrius*, marrying *Stratonice* the daughter of that prince by *Phila* the sister of *Cassander*. As *Demetrius* was at that time in a very low condition, he readily laid hold of *Seleucus's* proposal; and sailing from *Greece*, where he still held some cities, conveyed the new bride, with the few ships he had then remaining, into *Syria*. In his passage thither he made a descent on *Cilicia*, which then belonged to *Plistarchus* the brother of *Cassander*, the four kings having, in the general partition, bestowed it upon him. Hereupon *Plistarchus*, leaving *Cilicia*, went to complain to *Seleucus* of the wrong done him, and to expostulate with him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy, without the consent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be an infraction of the treaty. *Demetrius*, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of *Quinda*, where the treasures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents, were kept. These he seized, and hastening back to his fleet with the booty, sailed to *Orasus*, a maritime town of *Syria*, where he met *Seleucus*, and delivered to him his bride. After the two princes had spent several days there in nuptial rejoicings and mutual entertainments, without arms or guards, *Seleucus* returned in great pomp and magnificence to *Antioch*, and *Demetrius* with his fleet to *Cilicia*, which he intirely reduced, and thereby considerably increased his power in those parts, being, after this acquisition, master of all *Cilicia*, of the whole island of *Cyprus*, and of the two rich and strong cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnice* *.

It was highly impolitic in *Seleucus*, to permit a prince of an unbounded ambition, of extraordinary parts, and great skill in military affairs, to settle at so small a distance from him, and usurp from one of his allies a province so near his own dominions as *Cilicia*. His eyes, however, were opened at last, and growing jealous of such a neighbour, he would fain have purchased *Cilicia* of him; but *Demetrius* rejecting the proposal, *Seleucus*, to pick a quarrel with him, insisted upon his yielding up to him the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, as belonging to *Syria*, of which he was king. *Demetrius* was fired at this demand, and in a great passion replied, That though he were to be vanquished a thousand times over, he would never purchase a son-in-law at so dear a rate; and immediately sailed to both those cities, reinforced the garisons, and furnishing them with all things necessary for a vigorous de-

* PLUT. in Demet. STRABO. l. xv. p. 719. MEMNON. in excerpt. c. 5. JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 2.

sence, defeated," for the present, the designs of *Seleucus*, whose proceeding on this occasion was generally blamed; for as his dominions were of a vast extent, reaching from the river *Indus* to the *Mediterranean*, every one judged it base and mean in him to disturb his father-in-law, who was under a cloud of misfortunes, in the enjoyment of those poor remains of his broken fortune ^w. But *Seleucus*, notwithstanding these public murmurs, falling upon *Cilicia*, made himself master of that whole country, while, on the other hand, *Lyfimachus* reduced all the territories belonging to *Demetrius* in *Asia*, and *Ptolemy* made himself master of the island of *Cyprus*, and of the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnice*. Thus was *Demetrius*, notwithstanding his alliance with *Seleucus*, stripped by the confederate princes of the best part of his dominions ^z.

Demetrius being, by these losses, reduced so low as to give *Seleucia* *Seleucus* no further jealousy, that prince undertook the building ^{on the Tigris} of a new city, which he called from his own name *Seleucia*, ^{gris built.} and made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire beyond the *Euphrates*. It was placed on the western side of the *Tigris*, about forty miles from *Babylon*, over-against the place where at present the city of *Bagdad* stands. This new city soon became one of the most populous and flourishing in those parts; for the country near *Babylon* being laid under water, by the breaking down of the banks of the *Euphrates*, and the branch of that river which passed through the middle of the city, rendered innavigable, most of the inhabitants, forsaking their antient habitations, settled at *Seleucia*; which *Seleucus* had not only made the place of his residence whenever he came into those parts, but distinguished it with many privileges above all the other cities of the east. By these means *Babylon*, soon after the building of *Seleucia*, was quite abandoned, nothing remaining of that antient city but its walls. *Pliny* ^y tells us, that it was drained of its inhabitants, and brought to desolation by the neighbourhood of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, which *Seleucus Nicator*, to use *Pliny's* words, built there for that purpose. *Jerom*, who flourished in the fourth century of the *Christian* æra, writes, that, in his time, *Babylon* was intirely ruined, the walls only being kept up by the *Parthian* kings, who had made the space within a park for the

^w PLUT. *ibid.*
c. 26.

^z PLUT. in *Demet*

^y PLIN. l. vi.

keeping of wild beasts * (H). On the other hand, *Seleucia* became so populous, that in *Pliny's* time, it had six hundred thousand

* *HIERONYM.* Comment in *Esaï.* c. 14.

(H) The first after *Jerom*, who mentions *Babylon*, is one *Benjamin*, a Jew of *Tudela* in *Navar*. This traveller, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, tells us, that he was upon the spot where the city of *Babylon* stood, and that he saw only some ruins of *Nebuchadnezzar's* palace still remaining, which no body ventured to visit, by reason of the many serpents and scorpions that infested the place (15). *Texeira*, in the account he gives us of his travels from *India* to *Italy*, tells us, that, in his time, there was scarce any thing remaining of this great and famous city, and that the place on which it stood was the least frequented of any in all that country (16). *Rawwolf*, a German traveller, who visited those places in 1574, confirms what we read in the abovementioned writers. We shall quote his words: "The village of *Elugo*, says he, stands on the place, where formerly *Babylon*, the metropolis of *Chaldea*, stood. The harbour is a quarter of a league off, whither those use to resort, who intend to travel by land to the famous city of *Bagdad*, which lies about a day and a half's distance to the east on the river *Tigris*. This country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled, and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this powerful and potent city (which was the most stately and famous one of the world, situated in the pleasant and fruitful country of *Sinar*) stood in that place, if I had not known it by its situation, and several antiquities still to be seen in that neighbourhood; first by the old bridge which was laid over the *Euphrates*, whereof there are some arches still remaining, built of burnt brick, and wonderfully strong.—Just before the village of *Elugo* is the hill, whereon the castle stood: and you may still see the ruins of its fortifications. At a small distance from the castle stood the tower of *Babylon*. This we see still, and it is half a league in diameter, but so ruined and full of venomous reptiles, that no body dares come within half a mile of it, except in two months of the winter, when the insects keep within their holes. Among these reptiles there are some called in the *Persian* tongue *Eglo*, bigger than our lizards, very poisonous, &c. (17)." All this shews how fully the predictions of the prophet *Isaiab* relating to this place have been accomplished. His words are as follow; *And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees excellency, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrha; it shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there,*

(15) *Benjamin. Itiner.* p. 76. (16) *Texeira* c. 8. (17) See *Ray's* edition of these travels in *Englsh*, part ii. chap. 7.

neither

thousand inhabitants, and far excelled all the other cities of the east^a. Besides *Seleucia*, *Seleucus* built several other cities, *And many sixteen other cities.*

^a PLIN. ubi supra.

neither shall the shepherds make their folds there; but wild beasts of the desert shall be there, and their house shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall dwell there, and satyrs shall dance there, and the wild beasts of the island shall cry in their desolate houses, and dragons in their pleasant palaces, and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged (18). Thus far *Isaiab*; and, besides him, several other prophets have uttered prophecies to the same purpose, foretelling the utter destruction of *Babylon*. 'Tis true, that *Lucan* (19), *Philostratus* (20), and others, mention the city of *Babylon* as still standing and flourishing in their time; but those authors, and all others who speak of *Babylon* as a city still remaining after the time of *Seleucus Nicator*, are to be understood of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and not of old *Babylon* on the *Euphrates*; for that city becoming soon after it was built, the metropolis of the east, was called also *Babylon*, as *Pliny* and *Stephanus* inform us (21). It was first called *Seleucia Babylonia*, or *Seleucia* in the province of *Babylon*, to distinguish it from several other cities in different provinces bearing the same name. Afterwards it was known by the name of *Babylonia*, and at length by that of *Babylon* (22). That *Lucan* by *Babylon* in the place abovementioned means *Seleucia*, is very plain; for the poet speaks there of the metropolis of the *Parthian* kingdom, where the trophies of *Crassus* were hung up after the defeat of the *Romans* at *Carrhæ*; which can be understood only of the *Seleucian Babylon*, that city, and not the old *Babylon*, being the seat of the *Parthian* kings. The same author, speaking in another place of *Babylon* (23), describes it as surrounded by the *Tigris*; which plainly shews, that by *Babylon* he meant *Seleucia* or the new *Babylon*; for that city, and not the old *Babylon*, stood on the *Tigris*, as every one knows. As for *Philostratus*, he mistook *Seleucia*, then called *Babylon*, for the old *Babylon*, and therefore gives us the same description of it, which *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo* and others give of old *Babylon*; but this is not the only blunder *Philostratus* is guilty of in his account, or rather romance, of *Apollonius Thyanæus*. As *Babylon* was drained of its inhabitants by *Seleucia*, so was *Seleucia* in process of time by *Ctesiphon* and *Almadayan*, and these two again by *Bagdad*. This last city was first built in the same place where *Seleucia* or new *Babylon* stood, which without all doubt, gave rise to the common error, that *Bagdad* stands on the ruins of old *Babylon*. In the year of the

(18) *Isa.* c. xiii. ver. 19—22. (19) *Lucan.* l. i. ver. 10. (20) *Philostrat.* l. i. c. 17, 18, 19. (21) *Plin.* l. vi. c. 26. & *Steph.* in *Babylon*. (22) *Vide Plin.* & *Steph.* *ibid.* (23) *Lucan.* l. vi. ver. 50.

sixteen of which he called *Antioch*, from the name of his brother *Antiochus*; nine *Seleucia*, from his own name; six *Laodicea*, from his mother *Laodice*; three *Apamea*, from *Apama* his first wife; and one *Stratonicea*, from his last wife *Stratonice*^b. In these, as well as in the other cities he built, viz. *Beræa*, *Edeffa*, *Pella*, &c. he planted the *Jews*, allowing them most ample privileges; and hence it was that they were dispersed all over *Syria* and the *Lesser Asia*. They had been settled in the eastern countries beyond the *Euphrates*, and multiplied there in great numbers, ever since the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities; but *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, as *Josephus* informs us^c, who granted them settlements in the provinces of *Asia* on this side the *Euphrates*.

WHILE *Seleucus* was thus employed in building cities, *Demetrius* having, as he thought, settled his affairs in *Greece*, began to make great preparations for the recovering of his father's dominions in *Asia*. With this view he raised an army of an hundred thousand foot, and about twelve thousand horse, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred sail, which was the greatest force that had been seen since the time of *Alexander*. These formidable preparations alarmed *Ptolemy*, *Lyfimaachus* and *Seleucus*, who renewing their antient alliance for

^b APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 201. ^c JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. & contra APPIAN. l. ii. EUSEB. in Chron.

Christian æra 754, *Seleucia* was reduced to such a state of desolation, as to have nothing on the spot where it stood, but the cell of a monk called *Dad*, and a garden adjoining to it, whence it was called *Bagdad*; that is, in the language of the country, *the garden of Dad*. In this place *Abu Jaasar Almanfur*, caliph of the *Saracens*, not likeing *Hishemia*, where his predecessor had resided, built a new city, which has ever since been called from the place *Bagdad*. This he made the capital of his empire, raising it upon the very foundations of *Seleucia* or new *Babylon*, on the west side of the *Tigris*; but not long after it was translated to the other side, where it still stands, that part which was built on the west side, being at present no more than the suburbs of it. It was, for many years, the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and is still a place of great note; but such as take it for the antient *Babylon*, are greatly mistaken, that city standing on the *Euphrates*, and *Bagdad* on the *Tigris*, about forty miles from it (24).

(24) Vide Bochar. Geog. Sacr. part. i. l. i. c. 8. Gollii notæ ad Alfragan. p. 121, 122. Sionitæ descript. Bagdad. in Geog. Nubiens.

their mutual defence against *Demetrius* as a common enemy, prevailed also upon *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to join in the same confederacy. *Demetrius*, not being able to withstand so many enemies, was, after many great losses, obliged to abandon the conquests he had made in *Caria* and *Lydia*, and march into the east; but *Agathocles* the son of *Lyfimachus* following him close in his march, reduced him to such straits for want of provisions, that a sickness spreading through his army, swept off great numbers of his men; and when he attempted with the small remains of his troops, to pass mount *Taurus*, he found all the passes guarded by the enemy, which obliged him to return to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, a city belonging to *Seleucus*, to whom he transmitted an account of the melancholy situation of his affairs, intreating that prince, in a very moving manner, to afford him the necessary subsistence for himself and the remainder of his troops. *Seleucus* at first pitying his condition, ordered his lieutenants in those parts to supply him and his army with all things necessary; but afterwards, being put in mind of the valour and enterprizing genius of this prince, instead of helping him, he resolved upon his destruction; and accordingly marching against him, reduced him to such difficulties, as we have already related, that he was obliged to surrender at discretion. *Seleucus* caused him to be conducted under a strong guard to the *Syrian Chersonesus*, where he was detained prisoner till he died, but allowed the freedom of a park to hunt in, and plentifully supplied with all things necessary both for the support and pleasures of life^d. Upon his death *Seleucus* took possession of whatever he held in *Syria* and *Asia*, and of both these kingdoms made, to use the expression of *Eusebius*, one intire empire^e.

A FEW months after *Demetrius*, died also *Ptolemy Soter* king of *Egypt*, so that now two only of all *Alexander's* captains survived, viz. *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus*. As they were now drawing near to the last period of their days, each of them being upwards of seventy, one would have thought they should have closed the scene of their life in the union which had subsisted so long between them, for they had ever been closely united, and, to the utmost of their power, supported each other; but it happened quite otherwise, a war, which proved fatal to both, soon breaking out between them, on the following occasion: *Lyfimachus*, after the marriage

Death of
Demetrius.

Year of
the Flood,
2715.
Before
Christ,
284.

War be-
tween Se-
leucus and
Lyfima-
chus.

^d PLUT. in Demet. APPIAN. in Syriac. VAL. MAX. l. v.

^e EUSEB. in Chron.

of his son *Agathocles* with *Lyfandra*, one of *Ptolemy's* daughters, married another of them called *Arfinoe* himself, and had by her several children. Hereupon great emulation arose between the two sisters, each of them striving to form a powerful party in their favour against the death of *Lyfimachus*. As they were sisters by different mothers, for *Lyfandra* was the daughter of *Eurydice*, and *Arfinoe* of *Berenice*, the disagreement of their mothers greatly contributed to the heightening and fomenting of the contention between them. In the height of their emulation, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the brother of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, arrived at the court of *Lyfimachus*, and his arrival, as he was brother to *Lyfandra* by both parents, made *Arfinoe* apprehensive, that his interest would prove too effectual to the party of *Lyfandra*, and enable them to destroy her and her children at the death of *Lyfimachus*. To prevent this she plotted the death of *Agathocles*, and effected it, by representing him to her husband as one who was forming conspiracies against his life and crown, which induced the old king to confine him to a castle, and there put him to death. Hereupon *Lyfandra* with her children, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* her brother, took sanctuary in the court of *Seleucus*, and prevailed upon him to make war upon *Lyfimachus*. Many of *Lyfimachus's* chief officers, even those who had been most attached to his interest, were so much affected with the death of *Agathocles*, under whose conduct they had gained many glorious victories, that they went over to *Seleucus*, and backed the remonstrances of *Lyfandra* with their own complaints. *Seleucus* was easily persuaded to engage in this war, being already sufficiently inclined to it on other accounts; but before he imbarqued in so great an undertaking, he not only resigned to his son *Antiochus* a considerable part of his empire, but also, by an unparalleled example, his favourite queen *Stratonice*. The manner how this happened is thus related by *Plutarch*^t, *Appian*^g, and *Valerius Maximus*^h. As *Stratonice* was the most beautiful woman of her age, *Antiochus* fell violently in love with her; but not daring to own his passion, he silently languished under it, and at length fell dangerously ill. *Erasistratus*, an eminent Greek physician, who attended him, soon perceived that love was his distemper; but the difficulty was to discover the object of his flame: He therefore passed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and carefully watching the countenance of the prince when visited by the ladies of the court, he observed,

Seleucus
yields his
queen Stratonice to
his son Antiochus,
with all
the provinces of the
upper Asia

^t PLUT. in Demet.
l. v. c. 7.

^g APPIAN. in Syriac.

^h VAL. Max.

that

that when *Stratonice* came alone, or in company with *Seleucus*, to make him a visit, great alterations happened in his pulse, in his countenance, in his behaviour, &c. and that nothing of this was seen when any other lady entered his room. From these infallible symptoms *Erasistratus* plainly perceived, that *Stratonice* was the object of his passion; and the first time he was alone with the sick prince after that discovery, he, with great dexterity, drew the secret from his own mouth. The prince owned his passion for *Stratonice* his mother-in-law, and declared that he had done all that lay in his power to vanquish it; that he had a thousand times had recourse to every consideration that could be represented to his thoughts in such a conjuncture, particularly the respect which was due from him to a father and a sovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the shameful circumstance of indulging a passion altogether unjustifiable, and contrary to every maxim of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a desire, which he never ought to gratify, &c. but that his reason, in its present state of distraction, being incapable of attending to any motives that could be suggested, he had resolved to put an end, both to his shameful passion and unhappy life, by abstaining from all kind of food. *Erasistratus*, plainly seeing that the prince neither could nor would live, unless some way were found out to apply the only remedy which was capable of curing him, for the bringing of this about thus managed the matter with great craft and dexterity. The first time *Seleucus* inquired of him after his son's health, he put on all the assurance he could, and told him, That the prince's disease was love, and that he was incurable, because it was impossible for him to have the person he loved, and he could not live without her. *Seleucus*, surprized at this answer, asked, Why his son could not have the person he loved? *Because she is my wife*, replied the physician, *and I am not disposed to yield her up to the embraces of another.* How! said *Seleucus*, will *Erasistratus*, my dear *Erasistratus* refuse to part with his wife to preserve the life of a son I so tenderly love? Is this the friendship you profess for me? Nay then, answered the physician, make it your own case; if *Antiochus* were thus desperately in love with *Stratonice*, would you part with her for the sake of *Antiochus*? would you take the counsel which you give me? No certainly; and if you, who are a father, and have all the tenderness imaginable for your son, would not part with your wife to save his life, how can you expect such a sacrifice from any other? Ah! my dear friend, subjoined *Seleucus*, may the gods put the safety of the prince upon that issue; I would part, not only with *Stratonice*, but my empire, to pre-
serve-

serve the life of Antiochus, my dearest Antiochus. In uttering these words he burst out into a flood of tears; when *Erasistratus* taking him by the hand, *You have then no need,* said he, *of any physician but yourself; for the love of Stratonice is the source of his distemper, and nothing can recover him but your yielding her up to him.* Hereupon *Seleucus* having, without much ado, prevailed upon *Stratonice* to accept of a young prince for her husband instead of an old king, the nuptials were solemnized with the utmost pomp and magnificence; after which *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were crowned king and queen of *Upper Asia*, *Seleucus* willingly resigning to them all those provinces^s. From this incestuous marriage sprung all the kings of *Syria*, who so tyrannically oppressed the Jewish nation in *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history (I).

*Seleucus
marches a-
gainst Ly-
simachus.*

Seleucus being now eased of this inquietude, thought of nothing but marching against *Lyfimachus*. Having therefore drawn together a powerful army, he advanced at the head of it into *Asia Minor*, where he easily reduced all the places belonging to *Lyfimachus*, most of the governors coming over to him out of hatred to that prince, on account of the murder of his son *Agathocles*, who was the darling of the army (K).
The

^s PLUT. & APPIAN. *ibid.* LUCIAN. *de dea Syria.*

(I) The emperor *Julian*, surnamed the *Apostate*, relates in a fragment of his writings, which is still extant, that *Antiochus* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to marry *Stratonice* till after the death of his father; but herein he contradicts *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Lucian*, and all other writers (25). Some authors tell us, that *Leptinas* a mathematician, and not *Erasistratus*, discovered the secret passion of *Antiochus*. *Erasistratus* was the grandson of *Aristotle*, by a daughter of that philosopher, and, according to *Pliny* (26), a disciple of *Chrysippus*, or, as *Laertius* will have it (27), of *Theophrastus*. Against the followers of *Erasistratus*, known by the name of *Erasistratæans*, *Galen* wrote a book of *phlebotomy*, or opening the vein, which is still extant. *Plutarch* places the marriage of *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* before the death of *Demetrius*; but most other writers relate this adventure as happening at the time *Seleucus* engaged in a war with *Lyfimachus*; and these, with the learned *Usher*, we have followed.

(K) Amongst these was the eunuch *Philetærus*, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, whom *Lyfimachus* had trusted with all his treasures in

(25) *Julian. in Misopogone.*
Laertius in vita Theoph.

(26) *Plin. l. xxix. c. i.* (27)

The city of *Sardis* was the only place that sustained a siege, which was carried on by *Seleucus* with such vigour, that the garison was soon obliged to capitulate, and surrender at discretion, putting *Seleucus* in possession of that important city, and of all the treasures which *Lyfimachus* had laid up there, as in a place of great safety. *Lyfimachus*, upon intelligence of this invasion, marched with all possible expedition to the *Hellepont*, in order to check the progress of *Seleucus*, and having crossed over into *Asia*, met the enemy at a place called *Europedion* in *Phrygia*. Both armies prepared for the engagement, being commanded by two generals, who, out of the thirty-six left by *Alexander*, were the only two captains now alive, and both seventy years old and upwards. The engagement was very bloody, and the victory long doubtful; but at last *Lyfimachus*, who had fought the whole time at the head of his troops with incredible bravery, being run through with a spear by one *Malacon* of *Heraclea*, and killed on the spot, his men betook themselves to a precipitous flight, and left *Seleucus* master of the field, and all their baggage. Thus died *Lyfimachus*, after having seen the death of fifteen of his children; and as he was, to use the expression of *Memnon*, the last stone of his house to be pulled down, *Seleucus*, without opposition, made himself master of all his dominions; but what gave him most pleasure on this occasion was, that he was now the only survivor of all the captains of *Alexander*; and that, by the event of this battle, he was become, as he stiled himself, *the conqueror of conquerors*. This last victory, which he looked upon as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour, gave him the best title to the name of *Nicator* or *Conqueror*, by which historians commonly distinguish him from other kings of the same name, who afterwards reigned in *Syria* ^b.

*Lyfima-
chus kil-
led, and his
army de-
feated.*

^b POLYÆNUS l. iv. c. 9. JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 128, 131. MEMN. Excerpt. c. 9. PAUSAN. in Attic. p. 9. OROS. l. iii. c. 23. LUCIAN. in Macrob.

Pergamus. These *Philetærus* seized, and making himself master of the city, offered to put *Seleucus* in possession of both. *Seleucus*, not doubting of the sincerity of his offer, put off going to take possession of the place, and *Philetærus* improving this delay, raised with the money troops, by which he maintained himself in the sovereignty of *Pergamus* for the space of twenty years, and founded a new kingdom, as we shall relate in the history of that country. *Appian* calls him only prince or potentate of *Pergamus* (28); but in some antient medals we find him honoured with the title of king (29).

(28) *Appian. in Syriac. p. 129.* (29) *Vide Huber. Golzii, Thesaur.*

HIS

His triumph on this occasion did not last long ; for seven months after, as he was marching into *Macedon*, to take possession of that kingdom, with a design to pass the remainder of his life in his native country, he was treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours ; for he had received him into his court on his flight thither, and maintained him suitably to his rank : he had likewise taken him with him in this expedition, designing, upon his finishing it with success, to employ the same forces in restoring him to his father's kingdom ; but the base traitor, having no sense of gratitude for these favours, conspired against his benefactor, and villainously murdered him in the following manner : *Seleucus* having crossed the *Hellepont*, in his way to *Macedon*, as he was pursuing his journey from thence to *Lyfimachia*, a city built by *Lyfimachus*, near the *Isthmus* of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, he spied an old altar standing at a small distance, on a very conspicuous place ; and being told that it was called *Argos*, he asked many questions about it, whether it was so named from the *Argonauts* who passed that way in going with *Jason* to *Colchos* ; or from the *Argivi* who went to the siege of *Troy* ; or from the ship *Argos*, which was cast away in that neighbourhood ; or finally, because that was the country of the *Atridae*, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* ? What made him thus inquisitive was, that he had been warned by an oracle to beware of *Argos* (L), which he had ever understood of the city of *Argos* in *Peloponnesus* ; but while he was thus inquiring about the origin of that name, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, who stood behind him, ran Year of him through with his sword, and before those, who stood the Flood, round the king, recovered from the surprize and consternation they were in, got, by the help of a swift horse, into *Lyfimachia*, whence he soon returned to the army with a crown on his head, and a strong guard about him. The troops, being destitute of a general, and in the utmost confusion, not only received the traitor, but saluted him king of *Macedon*, the soldiers, who had served under *Lyfimachus*, looking upon him as the revenger of that prince's death ; but providence did not suffer this and many other barbarous

Seleucus
murdered
by Ptolemy
Ceraunus.
Year of
the Flood,
2719.
Before
Christ,
280.

¹ JUSTIN. I. xxiv. c. 2. MEMN. Excerpt. c. 15.

(L) We are told, that the oracle was uttered in the ambiguous words of the following distich :

*Si fugias Argos, fatum superabis iniquum ;
Sin minus, ante diem tartara nigra petes.*

murders

murders he soon after committed, to go long unpunished, as we shall relate in the history of the *Ptolemies of Egypt*. Such was the end of *Seleucus*, the greatest general, in the opinion of *Arrian*, and the most powerful prince, after *Alexander*, of the age he lived in ¹. He died in the forty-third year after the death of *Alexander*, in the thirty-second of the *Grecian* or *Seleucian* æra, and seventy-third, or, as *Justin* will have it, seventy-eighth of his age ¹. *Philetærus*, the prince of *Pergamus*, having, with a great sum of money, purchased his body of *Ceraunus*, sent it to his son *Antiochus*, who, with extraordinary pomp, burnt it in *Seleucia* on the sea-coast, erecting on the place a magnificent chapel, which, from his surname, he called *Nicatorium* ^m. *Polybius* observes, that *Ptolemy* the first, *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* died all in the CXXIVth olympiad; and that *Ptolemy* the first died in the first year of it, and *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus* in the last; but *Ceraunus* did not die till the latter end of the first year of the following olympiad; whence *Polybius* being, it seems, well apprized of his mistake, in mentioning elsewhere the concurrence of their deaths, omits *Ceraunus* ⁿ.

Seleucus was, without all doubt, a prince endowed with extraordinary qualities; for, without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself above all the kings of his age by a very remarkable love for justice, a great sweetness of temper, and a peculiar regard for religion, which endeared him to his people. He had a taste for polite literature, and was a great encourager of learning, taking great pleasure in the conversation of *Erasistratus* and the famous *Megasthenes*. The latter he employed in his negotiations with *Sandrocottus* king of *India*. On this occasion it was, that *Megasthenes*, by residing some time in that country, and travelling over great part of it, gathered the materials for his history of *India* ^o (M).
Seleucus

His character.

¹ *ARRIAN. de reb. Alex. PIAW. in Syriac. p. 129.*

¹ *JUSTIN. ubi supra.*

^m *AP-*

ⁿ *POLYB. l. ii. p. 128. & ib. p.*

155. ^o *Vide Voss. de Historicis Græcis.*

(M) *Megasthenes* composed a history of the *Indies*, from the third book of which *Clemens of Alexandria* quotes a passage in the first book of his *Stromata*, where that author tells us, that whatever the antients have said concerning nature, was taught them, not by the *Greeks*, but by *Indian Brachmans* and the *Jews of Syria*. *Pliny* and *Solinus* inform us, that *Megasthenes* lived in *India* to

His triumph on this occasion did not last long ; for seven months after, as he was marching into *Macedon*, to take possession of that kingdom, with a design to pass the remainder of his life in his native country, he was treacherously slain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours ; for he had received him into his court on his flight thither, and maintained him suitably to his rank : he had likewise taken him with him in this expedition, designing, upon his finishing it with success, to employ the same forces in restoring him to his father's kingdom ; but the base traitor, having no sense of gratitude for these favours, conspired against his benefactor, and villainously murdered him in the following manner : *Seleucus* having crossed the *Hellepont*, in his way to *Macedon*, as he was pursuing his journey from thence to *Lyfimachia*, a city built by *Lyfimachus*, near the *Isthmus* of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, he spied an old altar standing at a small distance, on a very conspicuous place ; and being told that it was called *Argos*, he asked many questions about it, whether it was so named from the *Argonauts* who passed that way in going with *Jason* to *Colchos* ; or from the *Argivi* who went to the siege of *Troy* ; or from the ship *Argos*, which was cast away in that neighbourhood ; or finally, because that was the country of the *Atridae*, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus* ? What made him thus inquisitive was, that he had been warned by an oracle to beware of *Argos* (L), which he had ever understood of the city of *Argos* in *Peloponnesus* ; but while he was thus inquiring about the origin of that name, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, who stood behind him, ran him through with his sword, and before those, who stood round the king, recovered from the surprize and consternation they were in, got, by the help of a swift horse, into *Lyfimachia*, whence he soon returned to the army with a crown on his head, and a strong guard about him. The troops, being destitute of a general, and in the utmost confusion, not only received the traitor, but saluted him king of *Macedon*, the soldiers, who had served under *Lyfimachus*, looking upon him as the revenger of that prince's death ; but providence did not suffer this and many other barbarous

Seleucus

murdered

by Ptolemy

Ceraunus.

Year of

the Flood,

2719.

Before

Christ,

280.



JUSTIN. I. XXIV. C. 2. MEMN. Excerpt. c. 15.

(L) We are told, that the oracle was uttered in the ambiguous words of the following distich :

*Si fugias Argos, fatum superabis iniquum ;
Sin minus, ante diem tartara nigra petes.*

murders

murders he soon after committed, to go long unpunished, as we shall relate in the history of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. Such was the end of *Seleucus*, the greatest general, in the opinion of *Arrian*, and the most powerful prince, after *Alexander*, of the age he lived in ^k. He died in the forty-third year after the death of *Alexander*, in the thirty-second of the *Grecian* or *Seleucian* æra, and seventy-third, or, as *Justin* will have it, seventy-eighth of his age ^l. *Philetærus*, the prince of *Pergamus*, having, with a great sum of money, purchased his body of *Ceraunus*, sent it to his son *Antiochus*, who, with extraordinary pomp, burnt it in *Seleucia* on the sea-coast, erecting on the place a magnificent chapel, which, from his surname, he called *Nicatorium* ^m. *Polybius* observes, that *Ptolemy* the first, *Lyfimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* died all in the CXXIVth olympiad; and that *Ptolemy* the first died in the first year of it, and *Lyfimachus* and *Seleucus* in the last; but *Ceraunus* did not die till the latter end of the first year of the following olympiad; whence *Polybius* being, it seems, well apprized of his mistake, in mentioning elsewhere the concurrence of their deaths, omits *Ceraunus* ⁿ.

Seleucus was, without all doubt, a prince endowed with extraordinary qualities; for, without mentioning his military accomplishments, it may be justly said, that he distinguished himself above all the kings of his age by a very remarkable love for justice, a great sweetness of temper, and a peculiar regard for religion, which endeared him to his people. He had a taste for polite literature, and was a great encourager of learning, taking great pleasure in the conversation of *Erasistratus* and the famous *Megasthenes*. The latter he employed in his negotiations with *Sandrocottus* king of *India*. On this occasion it was, that *Megasthenes*, by residing some time in that country, and travelling over great part of it, gathered the materials for his history of *India* ^o (M). *Seleucus*

His character.

^k ARRIAN. de reb. Alex. ^l JUSTIN. ubi supra. ^m APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 129. ⁿ POLYB. l. ii. p. 128. & ib. p. 155. ^o Vide Voss. de Historicis Græcis.

(M) *Megasthenes* composed a history of the *Indies*, from the third book of which *Clemens* of *Alexandria* quotes a passage in the first book of his *Stromata*, where that author tells us, that whatever the antients have said concerning nature, was taught them, not by the *Greeks*, but by *Indian Brachmans* and the *Jews* of *Syria*. *Pliny* and *Solinus* inform us, that *Megasthenes* lived in *India* to gather

Seleucus having found in *Persia* the famous library which *Xerxes* had taken from the *Athenians*, sent them it back, together with the statues of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, whom they honoured as their deliverers. He is highly commended by *Polyænus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Appian*, *Lucian*, and *Plutarch*. This last writer tells us, that he used to say, If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters, which in those days was thought the indispensable duty of a king, no one would accept of a crown, though thrown at his feet, or think it worth taking off the ground.

Antiochus
Soter.

ON the death of *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* surnamed *Soter*, his son by *Apama* the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Persian*, took possession of the empire of *Asia*, and held it for the space of nineteen years. Having, upon the first news of his father's death, secured his dominions in the east, where he then

gather materials for his history. Some fragments of this history are preserved by *Josephus* (30), and *Eusebius* (31), wherein he makes mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and extols his great wealth and power. He is likewise quoted by *Strabo* (32) *Athenæus*, *Arrian*, *Cicero*, *Pliny*, and *Solinus*; but the book itself has not reached our times. *Annius*, a monk of *Viterbo*, who flourished about the end of the fifteenth century, counterfeited several books under old names, of which number were *Manetho*, *Berosus*, and *Megasthenes*, whom he, by mistake, calls *Metaſthenes*, being led into this error by *Rufinus's* Latin version of *Josephus*, and this first gave occasion to the discovery of the imposture. These books he published with a comment upon them; and they were for some time looked upon as the genuine works of the authors whose names they bore, but are now every where exploded as fictitious and fabulous, being framed on purpose to impose upon the world. *Plutarch* seems to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of those authors in general who have wrote of *India* (33); and *Strabo* (34) tells us, that all those who have wrote histories of *India* are great liars, but above all *Diamarchus*, and after him *Megasthenes*, *Onesicritus*, and *Nearchus*. To the two former, continues *Strabo*, we ought to give no credit at all, for they would make us believe, that there are men in *India*, whose ears are so large as to cover their bodies, that some have no mouths, nor noses, and but one eye; that their feet are of a monstrous size, and their toes turned inwards; that there are whole nations of men only three spans high, ants that search for gold, and birds with heads in the shape of a wedge, which swallow serpents, stags, and oxen.

(30) *Joseph. Antiquit. l. x. c. 11. & contra Appian. l. i.*

(31) *Euseb. Præp. Evang.*

(32) *Strabo. l. xv. p. 687.*

(33) *Plut. de flumin.*

(34) *Strabo. l. ii.*

was, he sent *Patrocles*, one of his generals, at the head of a powerful army, over mount *Taurus*, into *Asia Minor*, to settle affairs there. *Patrocles*, on his first arrival, marched against *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, at that time a powerful state, with a design to make himself master of its rich territory, the *Heracleans* having formerly entered into an alliance with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, and the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* against *Seleucus*; but matters being made up between them by a treaty, *Patrocles*, led his army against the *Bithynians*, and entering their territories, committed there, on what provocation we know not, great devastations; but the *Bithynians* having drawn him into an ambush, cut off *His army* him and his whole army, not one man escaping the general *cut off by* slaughter. *Zipætes*, who was then king of *Bithynia*, and *the Bithy-* in the seventy-sixth year of his age and forty-eighth of his *nians.* reign, was so overjoyed at the news of this victory, that he died soon after, leaving behind him four sons, of which the eldest, by name *Nicomedes*, succeeding his father in the kingdom, caused, out of jealousy, two of his brothers to be put to death; but the youngest, called also *Zipætes*, having saved himself, by a timely flight, seized on part of his father's dominions, and there maintained a long war with his brother, who, hearing that *Antiochus* was making great preparations to attack him at the same time, and revenge the death of *Patrocles* and the loss of his army, called in the *Gauls* to his assistance; and on this occasion it was that the *Gauls* first passed into *Asia Minor* ^P. With their assistance *Nicomedes* having overcome his brother *Zipætes*, and acquired the possession of all his father's dominions, bestowed upon them that part of *Asia Minor*, which, from their name, was called by some *Gallo-Græcia*, and by others *Galatia*. In process of time the latter name prevailed, whence the people were no more called *Gauls*, but *Galatians*. To their descendants *St. Paul* wrote one of his canonical epistles; and *St. Jerom* witnesses, that, near seven hundred years after they had settled in *Asia*, they continued to speak the same language, which, in his time, was spoke at *Treves*.

BUT to return to *Antiochus*; *Softhenes*, who had defeated the *Gauls*, as we have related in the history of *Macedon*, and reigned some years in that country, being dead, *Antiochus Soter* and *Antigonus Gonatus*, the son of *Demetrius*, laid claim to that kingdom, their fathers having held it, one af-

^P APPIAN. in SYRIAC. EUSEB. CHRO. I. MEMNON. Excerpt. p. 16. & 21. LIV. I. XXXVIII.

ter the other ; but *Antigonus*, who had already reigned ten years in *Greece*, being nearest, first took possession of those dominions. Hereupon *Antiochus* being resolved to dispossess his rival, if possible, of his new conquests, and the other to support himself in them, each raised great armies, and contracted powerful alliances. On this occasion *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* having espoused the cause of *Antigonus*, *Antiochus* not thinking it adviseable to leave such an enemy behind him in *Asia*, instead of crossing the *Hellepont* to attack *Antigonus*, unexpectedly poured his troops into *Bithynia*, which then became the theatre of the war ; but both armies having there lain some time in sight of each other, and neither daring to attack

Antiochus the other, the two kings came to an agreement, in consequence of which *Antigonus* having married *Phila* the daughter of *Stratonice* by *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* renounced his pretensions to the crown of *Macedon*. In virtue of this renunciation *Antigonus* not only quietly enjoyed himself the kingdom of *Macedon*, but transmitted it to his posterity, who reigned there for several generations, till at length *Perseus*, the last of that race, was, by *Paulus Æmilius*, divested of his dominions, and *Macedon* reduced to a Roman province^q.

Antiochus, being thus freed from a threatening war, marched against the *Gauls*, who having, by the favour of *Nicomedes*, got settlements in *Asia*, harassed, with frequent incursions, the neighbouring princes. *Antiochus* defeated them with great slaughter, and delivered those provinces from their oppressions ; and hence he acquired the title of *Soter* or *Saviour* ^r.

Antiochus, not long after this successful expedition against the *Gauls*, hearing of the death of *Philetærus* prince of *Perne* king of *gamus*, laid hold of that opportunity to invade his territories, with a view to add them to his own dominions ; but *Eumenes*, nephew and successor to the deceased prince, having raised a considerable army, encountered him near *Sardis*, overthrew him in battle, and thereby not only secured himself in the possession of what he already enjoyed, but enlarged

his dominions with several new acquisitions ^s. After this defeat, *Antiochus* returning to *Antioch*, there put to death one of his sons for raising disturbances in his absence, and

the Flood,

2738.

Before

Christ,

261.

in Zeux.

^q MEMNON. c. 19. JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 1. PLUT. in Demet. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. p. 229. ^r APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 130. ^s MEMNON. c. 21. STRABO. l. xiii. p. 624. LUCIAN. in Zeux.

at the same time proclaimed the other, called also *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*. He died soon after, leaving his son in the sole possession of all his dominions. This young prince was his son by *Stratonice* the daughter of *Demetrius*, who, from his mother-in-law, became his wife, as we have related above.

Antiochus, on his coming to the throne, assumed the surname of *Theos*, that is, *God*; and by this he is distinguished from the other kings of *Syria* who bore the name of *Antiochus*. The *Milesians* were the first who bestowed it upon him, for delivering them from the tyranny of *Timarchus*; for *Timarchus*, being governor of *Caria* for *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, rebelled against his sovereign, and, setting up for himself, chose *Miletus* for the seat of his tyranny. The *Milesians*, to deliver themselves from his oppressions, had recourse to *Antiochus*, who defeated and slew him; in acknowledgment of which favour, they rendered him divine honours, and by an impious flattery, conferred upon him the title of *Theos* or *God*. The *Lemnians* had not long before placed his father and grandfather in the number of their gods, and built temples to them, as the *Smyrnians* did to *Stratonice* his mother.

Antiochus
Theos.

IN the beginning of this king's reign lived *Berosus* the famous *Babylonian* historian, and dedicated his history to him (N). *Pliny* informs us, that it contained the astronomical

^t TROG. in prologo. l. xxvi. POLYÆN. Statagem. l. viii. c. 50. APPIAN. ubi supra. JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 1. THEOCRIT. Idyll. 17. ATHEN. l. vi. c. 6.

(N) The words of *Tatian* are as follow: *Berosus the Babylonian, who was a priest of Belus at Babylon, and lived in the time of Alexander, dedicated to Antiochus, who was the third after him, his history, which he wrote in three books, of the affairs of the Chaldeans, and the actions of their kings* (35). Now, the third after *Alexander* was, without all doubt, *Antiochus Theus*: for *Seleucus Nicator* was the first, *Antiochus Soter* the second, and consequently the prince we are speaking of the third; but as *Berosus*, according to *Tatian*, lived in the time of *Alexander*, who died sixty four years before the beginning of the reign of *Antiochus Theus*, we must place this dedication as early as possible, that is, in the very first year of his reign; for if *Berosus* was but twenty at the death of *Alexander*, he must have been eighty four in the first year of *Antiochus Theus*.

(35) *Tatian. in Orat. advers. Græcos.*

observations

observations of four hundred and eighty years. While the *Macedonians* were masters of *Babylon*, he learned of them the *Greek* language, and passing from *Babylon* into *Greece*, first settled at *Cos*, a place famous for the birth of *Hippocrates*, and there opened a school, in which he taught astronomy and astrology. From *Cos* he went to *Athens*, where he acquired such reputation by his astrological predictions, that the *Athenians* erected to him in their gymnasium a statue with a golden tongue^u. *Josephus* and *Eusebius* have transmitted to us many noble fragments of this history, which illustrate several passages of the old testament, and, without which, it would be impossible to trace out the series of the *Babylonian* kings.

War between Antiochus Soter and Ptolemy Philadelphus king of Egypt.

IN the third year of the reign of *Antiochus Soter*, a bloody war, which was carried on for a long time with great vigour, broke out between him and *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, on the following occasion: *Magas* king of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, having waged war for many years with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his half-brother, to support himself in the usurpation of those dominions, and being now grown very old and infirm, caused overtures of an accommodation to be tendered to *Ptolemy*, with the proposal of a marriage between *Berenice* his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of *Egypt*, promising to resign all his dominions to her for her dowry. The proposal was approved of by *Ptolemy*, and a peace concluded on these terms; but *Magas* died the year following, before the execution of the treaty, after he had reigned fifty years over *Libya* and *Cyrene*, from the time that these provinces were first committed to his care. On his death his widow *Apame*, whom *Justin* calls *Arsinoe*, the sister of *Antiochus Theus*, resolved to put a stop to the marriage of her daughter with the son of *Ptolemy*, since it had been agreed on without her consent. With this view she sent into *Macedon* for *Demetrius*, half-brother to *Antigonus Gonatus*, promising him her daughter in marriage, and with her the kingdoms of *Libya* and *Cyrene*. This invitation soon brought *Demetrius* thither; but, as he was a beautiful young man, *Apame* no sooner saw him but she fell in love with him, and resolved to marry him herself. *Demetrius* finding himself highly favoured by the mother, intirely neglected the young princess, and imagining that her favour raised him above all controul, he began to treat the princess, as well as the ministers and officers of the army, in a most insolent and imperious manner. Hereupon they all conspired against him, and *Berenice* herself led the conspirators to the door of

^u PLIN. l. vii. c. 35, & 37. VITRUV. l. ix. c. 7.

her mother's apartment, where they slew him in her bed, though *Apame* did all she could to save him, and even covered him from the swords of the conspirators with her own body. Upon his death *Berenice* went into *Egypt*, where she was married, according to the former agreement, to the son of *Ptolemy*, and *Apame* was sent to her brother *Antiochus Theus* in *Syria* ^w. On her arrival at his court, she so exasperated him against *Ptolemy*, that he proclaimed war against him. This war was carried on for many years with great fury, and proved at last very fatal to *Antiochus*, as we shall see anon. *Ptolemy* did not head his army in person, his declining state of health not permitting him to expose himself to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for which reason he left the whole conduct of the war to his generals; but *Antiochus*, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field, at the head of a numerous army, having under his standards all the forces of *Babylon*, and the east. History has not transmitted to us the successes of this war on either side, probably because they were not very considerable; for if any signal events had happened, they would, in all likelihood, have been recorded in an age, when so many learned men and able historians lived, who would not have failed to commit them to writing.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus engaged in a war with the king of *Egypt*, great commotions and revolts happened in the eastern provinces of his empire, which, as he was not at leisure to suppress them immediately, grew to such a head, that he could never afterwards master them. The lewdness of *Agathocles*, whom *Arrian* calls *Pherecles*, was the occasion of this great event. *Antiochus* had committed to his care the administration of all the provinces beyond the *Euphrates*; so that *Parthia* and the adjacent countries were under his government. As *Agathocles* was most viciously given, he was charmed with the gracefulness and beauty of a youth called *Teridates* to such a degree, that he made an attempt on his modesty. Hereupon *Arfaces*, the brother of the youth, enraged at the affront offered to his family, ran to arms, and being supported by some friends who engaged in his quarrel, fell upon the governor, and slew him. After his death, *Arfaces* prevailed upon several of his countrymen to stand by him, and by degrees his party grew so numerous, while neglected by *Antiochus*, that in the end he found himself strong enough to drive out the *Macedonians*,

The Parthians and Bactrians revolt from Antiochus.
Year of the Flood, 2749.
Before Christ, 250.

^w JUSTIN. lib. xxvi. c. 3. ATHENÆUS ex Agatharclide l. xii. p. 550. PLUT. in Demet.

and set up for himself, which he accordingly did, fixing his residence at *Hecatompolis*, and there giving rise to the *Parthian* empire, which rose in process of time to so great a pitch of power, as to become formidable, not only to all the princes of the east, but to the *Romans* themselves. Much about the same time *Theodotus* revolted in *Bactria*, and, from governor, became king of that province, which, if we believe *Justin*, contained no fewer than a thousand cities, and strengthened himself so effectually in his new kingdom, while *Antiochus* was taken up with the *Egyptian* war, that he could never afterwards be dispossessed of his acquisitions. His example, and that of *Arfaces*, were followed by all the nations in those parts, each of them shaking off at the same time the *Macedonian* yoke, and setting up princes of their own; by which means *Antiochus* lost all the provinces of his empire lying beyond the *Euphrates* *. The revolt of the *Parthians* happened, according to *Justin*, while *L. Manlius Vulso*, and *M. Attilius Regulus* were consuls at *Rome*; which period, as *Polybius* observes, coincides with the fourteenth year of the first *Punic* war. This *Arfaces* is called by the modern *Persian* writers *Aski* and *Askam*. *Mircondus* gives him the name of *Chapur*, and says, that he began his reign seventy two years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, which, according to the learned *Usser*, is one year before the consulship of *Manlius* and *Attilius*, and three years before the *CXXXIII*d olympiad, when, according to the calculation of *Eusebius*, *Arfaces* and his *Parthians* revolted from *Antiochus*; but as they annually solemnized the day on which *Arfaces* engaged and defeated *Seleucus Callinicus*, the son and successor of *Antiochus*, and looked upon it as the day that gave birth to their liberty, both *Justin* and *Appian* thought, that the *Parthians* first revolted under *Seleucus*, and not under *Antiochus* his father *.

Antiochus
concludes a
peace with
Ptolemy.

THESE troubles and commotions in the east made *Antiochus* weary of his war with *Ptolemy*; a treaty of peace was therefore concluded on the following terms; That *Antiochus* should divorce his former wife *Laodice*, who was his own sister by the father, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and settle the crown upon the male issue of that marriage. *Antiochus*, pursuant to this treaty, put away *Laodice*, tho' she had already brought him two sons; and *Ptolemy* carrying his daughter to *Pelusium*, there put her on

* ARRIAN. in Parthica apud Phot. cod. 58. SYNCHEL. p. 284.
JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4. Strabo. l. xi. p. 515. * JUSTIN. l. xli.
c. 4. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 130.

board his fleet, and sailed with her to *Seleucia*, a maritime city near the mouth of the *Orontes* in *Syria*, where he met *Antiochus*, delivered his daughter to him, and solemnized the nuptials with extraordinary magnificence. *Ptolemy*, as he had a tender affection for his daughter, gave, of his own accord, an immense sum with her by way of dowry; whence he was surnamed *Phernopheros*, or the *Dowry-giver*¹. Besides, he ordered regular supplies of water from the *Nile* to be transmitted to her, where-ever she was, believing it to be more beneficial to her health than any other².

Two years after this marriage *Ptolemy Philadelphus* died, which *Antiochus Theus* his son-in-law no sooner heard, than he removed *Berenice* from his bed, and recalled *Laodice*, with her children *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*; but *Laodice* being well acquainted with his fickle temper, and fearing lest he might again alter his mind, and receive *Berenice*, resolved to improve the present opportunity, and secure the succession to her son; for by the late treaty with *Ptolemy*, her children were disinherited, and the crown settled on the children which *Berenice* should bear, and she had then a son. For the effecting of this design, she caused *Antiochus* to be poisoned, and when she saw him expiring, she ordered him to be privately conveyed away, and one *Artemon*, who greatly resembled him, as well in features as in the tone of his voice, to be placed in his bed. *Artemon* acted his part with great dexterity, and personating *Antiochus*, tenderly recommended his dear *Laodice* and her children to the lords that visited him. In the name of *Antiochus*, whom the people believed still alive, orders were issued, enjoining all his subjects to obey his beloved son *Seleucus Callinicus*, and acknowledge him for their lawful sovereign. The crown being by this means secured to *Callinicus*, the death of the king was publicly declared, and *Callinicus*, without any opposition, ascended the throne³. *Antiochus Hierax*, the other son of *Laodice*, had at this time the government of the provinces of *Asia Minor*, where he commanded a considerable body of troops.

Antiochus Theus
poisoned by
his wife
Laodice.

Seleucus Callinicus
ascends the
throne.

Laodice not thinking herself safe so long as *Berenice* and her son were alive, concerted measures with *Seleucus* to destroy

¹ Vide *HIERONYM.* in *Daniel.* c. 11. ² *ATHENÆUS.* l. ii. c. 2. ³ *HIERONYM.* ubi supra. *PLIN.* l. vii. c. 12. *VAL. MAX.* l. ix. c. 14. *SOLINUS.* c. 1. *APPIAN.* in *Syriac.* p. 130. *JUSTIN.* l. xxvii. c. 1. *POLYB.* l. ii. p. 155.

Berenice
with her
son mur-
dered by
Laodice.

them likewise ; but *Berenice* being informed of their design, eluded the danger for some time, by retiring with her son to *Daphne*, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by *Seleucus Nicator*. There she was closely besieged by the forces of *Seleucus* ; which the cities of *Asia* hearing, and pitying her condition, they formed a confederacy, and sent a strong body of troops to *Antioch* for her relief. *Ptolemy Euergetes*, her brother, hastened thither likewise at the head of a formidable army ; but both *Berenice* and her son, with all the *Egyptians* who attended them, were barbarously cut off before either of the armies came to their rescue (O). When they

(O) The particulars of the marriage of *Antiochus* with the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and the fatal consequences that attended it, with the greatest events in the history we are now writing, were evidently foretold by the prophet *Daniel*. The words of the prophecy are (36) ; *And now I will shew thee the truth ; Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, viz. Cyrus, who was then upon the throne ; his son Cambyses, and Darius the son of Hystaspes ; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all : and by his strength through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Greece. The monarch here mentioned was Xerxes, who invaded Greece with a formidable army. And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled ; for his kingdom shall be plucked up even for others besides those. This part of the prophecy evidently alludes to Alexander the Great, whose vast kingdom we have already seen broken by his death, and parcelled out into four great kingdoms, and, besides these, divided into a great many petty kingdoms, namely, Cappadocia, Armenia, Bithynia, &c. The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage, which we have mentioned. And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes, and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion ; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together ; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement : but he shall not retain the power of the arm, neither shall he stand, nor his arm ; but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times. We must observe, that *Daniel*, in this passage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himself to the kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, these being the only princes who engaged in wars against the people of*

(36) Dan. c. xi. ver. 2, 3, 4, &c.

God

they saw all their endeavours for saving the queen and her child rendered ineffectual, they determined to revenge their death in a remarkable manner. The *Asian* forces joined the *Egyptian*, and *Ptolemy*, at the head of both, carried all before him; for he not only slew *Laodice*, but made himself master of all *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and then passing the *Euphrates*, subdued all the country as far as *Babylon* and the river *Tigris*; and if the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition, which obliged him to return to *Egypt*, he would have brought under subjection all the provinces of the

*Her death
revenged
by Ptoe-
my Euer-
getes her
brother.*

God. *The king of the south shall be strong.* This king of the south was *Ptolemy* the son of *Lagus*, the first who reigned in *Egypt* after *Alexander*; and that he was strong all historians testify; for he was master of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, *Arabia*, *Palestine*, *Cælo-Syria*, and most of the maritime provinces of *Asia Minor*, together with the island of *Cyprus*, and several isles in the *Ægean* sea; and even possessed the cities of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in *Greece*. The king of the north was *Seleucus Nicator*, of whom the prophet says, that he shall be more powerful than the king of the south, and his dominion more extensive; for such is the import of the prophet's expression, *and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion*; and that he had a more extensive dominion is plain from the large territories he possessed; for he had under him all the countries of the east, from mount *Taurus* to the river *Indus*, several provinces of *Asia Minor* between mount *Taurus* and the *Ægean* sea, and a little before his death the kingdoms of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The prophet, in the next place, tells us of the coming of the daughter of the king of the south, and the agreement, or treaty of peace, which should thereon be made between these two kings. This plainly points out the marriage of *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, and the peace, which, in consequence of that marriage, was made between them; every particular of which was exactly fulfilled, according to the holy prophet's prediction. *Daniel* afterwards informs us of the fatal consequences attending this marriage; that is, that *neither he*, viz. *Antiochus* king of the north, *nor she*, that is *Berenice* daughter of *Ptolemy* king of the south, *should continue in their power, but that he*, viz. king *Antiochus*, *should fall, and that she*, viz. *Berenice*, being deprived of him *that strengthened her*, that is, of her father, who died a little before, *should be given up with those that brought her*, that is, who came with her out of *Egypt*, to be cut off and destroyed; and so it happened to her and her attendants who came with her out of *Egypt*, as we have related. The king of *Egypt* is called by the prophet king of the south, and the king of *Syria* styled king of the north, which must be understood with respect to *Judæa*, that country having *Syria* to the north, and *Egypt* to the south.

Syrian empire. On his return he appointed *Antiochus*, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had reduced on this side mount *Taurus*, and *Xantippus* to command in those he had possessed himself of beyond it ^b. He returned loaded with an immense booty; for he is said to have brought from *Syria* forty thousand talents of silver, with a prodigious number of gold and silver vessels, and two thousand five hundred statues, among which were many of the *Egyptian* idols, which *Cambyfes*, on his conquering *Egypt*, had carried from thence into *Persia*. These *Ptolemy*, on his return from this expedition, replaced in their antient temples, and thereby gained the hearts of his superstitious subjects, who, in acknowledgment of so great a favour, honoured him with the title of *Euergetes*, or *Benefactor* (P).

Seleucus Callinicus, who had succeeded his father *Antiochus Theus* after a reign of fifteen years, no sooner heard that *Ptolemy* was returned to *Egypt*, but he set sail with a mighty fleet, which he had fitted out at a vast charge, to reduce the revolted cities; but he had scarce advanced into the open sea, when his whole navy was destroyed by a violent storm; as if the gods, says *Justin*^c, had made the winds and waves the

^b JUSTIN. APPIAN. HIERONYM. ubi supra. POLYB. L. V. POLYÆN. l. viii. c. 50. ^c JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 2.

(P) All this was likewise accomplished exactly, as the prophet *Daniel* had foretold it (37); for in that prophecy he tells us, That after the daughter of the king of the south should, with her attendants, be cut off, and he that strengthened her in those times, (that is, her father, who was her chief support) should be dead *there should one arise out of a branch of her roots in his estate*, that is, *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who, springing from the same root with her, as being her brother, did stand up in the room or estate of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his father, whom he succeeded in his kingdom. And *he shall come with an army*, continues the prophet, *and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north*, (who was *Seleucus Callinicus*) *and shall deal against them, and shall prevail; and shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue more years than the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land.* How exactly all this was fulfilled, what we have related above sufficiently shews. As to the last part, viz. that the king of the south, on his return into his kingdom, should continue more years than the king of the north, this likewise happened as foretold by the prophet; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* outlived *Seleucus Callinicus* four years.

(37) Dan. c. xi. ver. 7—9.

ministers

ministers of their vengeance. *Seleucus* himself, with a small number of his attendants, was, with the utmost difficulty, saved; but all the rest perished in the wreck; but this dreadful stroke, which seemed intended to overwhelm him, by a strange turn of fortune, contributed to the re-establishment of his affairs; for the revolted cities of *Asia*, which, out of the aversion and horror they had conceived against him on account of the murder of *Berenice* and her son, had declared for *Ptolemy*, no sooner received intelligence of the great loss he had sustained, than they turned their hatred into compassion, and thinking that crime sufficiently revenged, submitted to him anew^d. Being again restored, by this unexpected revolution, to the best part of his dominions, he raised a great army to recover the rest; but this effort proved as unsuccessful as the former; his army was defeated by *Ptolemy*, and he obliged to save himself by flight to *Antioch*, with as few of his followers as when he escaped from the shipwreck, as if he had recovered his former power, says *Justin*, only to lose it a second time by a fatal vicissitude of fortune. In this condition he invited his brother *Antiochus* to join him with his forces, promising him all the provinces of the *Lesser Asia* that belonged to the *Syrian* empire, provided he found means to extricate him out of his present difficulties. *Antiochus* was then at the head of an army in those provinces, and being of an aspiring genius, and very ambitious, though then only fourteen years old, he readily accepted the proposal, and accordingly reinforced his army with great numbers of mercenary *Gauls*, not with a design to assist his brother in the recovery of his dominions, but to seize them for himself; for he was of a very greedy and rapacious temper, wresting from others whatever came in his way, without the least regard to justice or equity, and thinking every thing good prey which he could lay his hands on; whence he had the surname of *Hierax*, that is, the *Hawk*. At the same time the cities of *Smyrna* and *Magnesia* in *Asia Minor*, out of affection to *Seleucus*, formed a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually stipulated to support him to the utmost of their power. This treaty they caused to be engraved on a large column of marble, which is still to be seen in *Oxford*, with the said league, in *Greek* capitals very legible (Q). When

Ptolemy

^d JUSTIN. l. xxvii c. 2.

(Q) This column was brought out of *Asia* by *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, at the beginning of the reign of *Charles* the first, and presented,

After hav-
ing sustain-
ed several
great los-
ses, makes
a truce
with Pto-
lemy.

Ptolemy heard that *Antiochus* was preparing to join *Seleucus* against him, not caring to engage both these princes at the same time, he came to an agreement with *Seleucus*, and concluded a truce with him for ten years ^e.

BUT notwithstanding this truce, *Antiochus* continued his military preparations, which *Seleucus* now plainly seeing to be made against himself, marched, without delay, over mount *Taurus* to suppress them. The pretence for the war on the side of *Antiochus* was the promise which had been made him of the sovereignty of the provinces in *Asia Minor*, as a reward for assisting his brother against *Ptolemy*; but *Seleucus*, being delivered from the war without the aid of his brother, did not think himself obliged to any thing by that promise; but *Antiochus* persisting in his demand, and *Seleucus* refusing to comply with it, the controversy was brought to the decision of a battle, which was fought near *Ancyra* in *Asia Minor*.

Defeated
by his bro-
ther Anti-
ochus.

In this battle *Seleucus* was intirely defeated, and most of his troops cut in pieces, he having very narrowly escaped falling into the enemies hands. *Antiochus* likewise was exposed to great dangers, even after his victory; for as the troops, to whose valour the victory was chiefly owing, was a body of *Gauls*, which he had taken into his pay, these *Barbarians*, on a false report that *Seleucus* was slain in the action, plotted the death of the other brother also, not doubting but in case both were cut off, they should easily make themselves masters of all *Asia*; *Antiochus* therefore was obliged to redeem his life with all the treasures he possessed ^f.

Eumenes
and Atta-
lus seize
great part
of Asia
Minor.

Eumenes, king or prince of *Pergamus*, taking advantage of these divisions, advanced with all his forces against *Antiochus*, and the *Gauls*, in hopes of crushing them both at once. The imminent danger which *Antiochus* saw himself exposed to on this occasion, obliged him to make a new treaty with the *Gauls*, in which it was stipulated, that he should renounce the title of their sovereign, and content himself with that of their ally, entering into an offensive and defensive league with them. This treaty, however, did not prevent *Eumenes* from falling upon them; and, as he attacked them before they had time to reinforce themselves with new levies after the loss they had sustained in the battle of *Ancyra*, he

^e JUSTIN. ubi supra. ^f TROGUS in prologo 27. STRABO, l. xvi. p. 750. POLYÆN. l. viii. c. 61.

sented, with other marbles, to the university of Oxford, by his grandson Henry duke of Norfolk, in the reign of Charles the second.

gained

gained a complete victory over them, which cost him but little, and laid all *Asia Minor* open to him. *Attalus*, who succeeded *Eumenes* in the sovereignty of *Pergamus*, improving the advantages gained by him over the *Gauls*, intirely subdued that people, and being by that means firmly established in his dominions, took upon him the title of king, which his predecessors had declined, though vested with sovereign power^g.

WHILE *Eumenes*, and after him *Attalus*, were thus curtail-
ing the *Syrian* empire in the west, *Theodotus* and *Arfaces*
were doing the same in the east; for it being reported that
Seleucus had been slain in the battle of *Ancyra*, *Arfaces* laying
hold of this opportunity, possessed himself of *Hyrkania*, and
annexed it to *Parthia*, which he had already dismembered
from that empire, causing himself to be acknowledged king
of both countries. *Theodotus*, who had possessed himself of
Bactria, dying soon after, *Arfaces* entered into an alliance
with his son bearing the same name for their mutual defence;
by which means they supported each other in the possession of
the dominions they had usurped. In the mean time the two
brothers, *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*, pursued the war against each
other with implacable hatred, not considering, that, while
they were thus contending for their father's empire, it would
be wrested from them both by their common enemy. This
war was at length carried into *Mesopotamia*^h, at the time
when, in all likelihood, happened the battle in *Babylonia*,
or the province of *Babylon*, which was a part of *Mesopotamia*,
mentioned by *Judas Maccabæus* in his speech to his armyⁱ.
In this battle eight thousand *Babylonish Jews* joined
with four thousand *Macedonians*, defeated the *Galatians*, and
put to the sword an hundred and twenty thousand of their
men. The *Galatians* indeed were joined in confederacy
with *Antiochus Hierax*, as we have related above, and at
this time came into *Asia* in such swarms as to fill the whole
country, serving under such princes as thought fit to hire
them. However, it is somewhat strange, that such a signal
victory should not be mentioned by any one of the eminent
writers who flourished under the kings of *Syria*, and trans-
mitted their actions to posterity: but be that as it will, *Seleu-
cus* at length prevailed over his brother *Antiochus*, who, af-
ter several overthrows and losses, was obliged to shift from

*Antiochus
and Seleu-
cus conti-
nue on the
war.*

^g JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 3. LIV. l. xxxiii. STRABO, l. xiii. p. 624.
VALESII excerpt. ex Polyb POLYÆN. l. iv. c. 19. ^h TRIG-
GUS in prologo 27. POLYÆN. l. iv. STRATAGEM. c. 17.
ⁱ 2 MACCABVIII. 20.

place to place with the shattered remains of his army, till he was at last driven quite out of *Mesopotamia*. As he found no place within the *Syrian* empire where he thought himself safe, he retired to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, whose daughter he had married; but that prince, notwithstanding this alliance, growing soon weary of entertaining a guest who could bring him no advantage, and was very chargeable to him, ordered him to be cut off; but *Antiochus*, being informed of his design, escaped the danger by a speedy retreat into *Egypt*, chusing rather to put himself into the hands of *Ptolemy*, a professed enemy to his family, than to trust a brother whom he had so highly offended. He had soon reason to repent of this resolution; for immediately after his arrival, *Ptolemy* caused him to be seized, and kept him closely confined for several years, till at last, by the assistance of a courtesan, he made his escape; but, as he was retiring out of that kingdom, he had the misfortune to fall in with a band of robbers, by whom he was murdered *.

Death of
Antiochus

Seleucus, being now extricated out of the troubles his brother had created him, applied himself first to the establishing of good order and tranquility at home; and having repaired the disorders occasioned by the war, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the eastern provinces which had revolted from him; but in this attempt he was attended with bad success. *Arfaces*, having been allowed too much time to strengthen himself in his usurpations, obliged him to return with shame and dishonour. He might perhaps have succeeded better, if he had made a longer stay in those parts; but new commotions arising at home in his absence, he thought it adviseable to make a speedy return to suppress them. *Arfaces* did not fail to improve this farther respite to his advantage, establishing his power so effectually, that all future efforts of the *Syrian* kings could never shake it †.

Seleucus
defeated
and taken
prisoner by
Arfaces.

HOWEVER, *Seleucus*, as soon as he was at leisure from his other affairs, undertook a second expedition against the usurper, which proved more unsuccessful than the former; for he was not only overthrown by *Arfaces* in a great battle, but taken prisoner. The day on which *Arfaces* gained this victory was, for many succeeding ages, observed annually by the *Parthians* with great solemnity, as being, in their opinion, the first day of their liberty; whereas it was in reality the first of their slavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than the *Parthian* kings, under whose despotical government they thenceforth continued. From this time

* JUSTIN. POLYÆN. *ibid.*

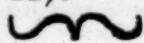
† JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4.

Arfaces

Arfaces took upon him the title of king, having founded, and by this victory firmly established, an empire in the east, which, in process of time, counterbalanced the overgrown power of the *Romans* in the west ^m. *Seleucus* having, for the space of four years, continued prisoner in *Parthia*, died in that country, by a fall from his horse. *Athenæus* tells us, that *Arfaces* treated him during his confinement as a king ⁿ; but that he restored him to his liberty and kingdom, as some will have it, does not appear from antient records. *Justin* says in express words, that he died in the manner we have related, being then an exile, which cannot be otherwise understood than that he died out of his own dominions, being held in captivity by the *Parthian* king. He died, according to some, in the twentieth, according to others, in the twenty-first year of his reign, leaving behind him by his wife *Laodice*, the sister of *Andromachus* one of his chief generals, two sons and a daughter. The sons were *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*. The daughter he married to *Mitbridates* king of *Pontus*, yielding *Phrygia* to him for her dowry ^o. He was surnamed *Pogon* from his long beard, and ironically *Callinicus*, or the victorious, being very unfortunate, and generally conquered in the battles he fought; however, some writers tell us, that the surname of *Callinicus* was given him after the victory which he gained over his brother *Antiochus*.

Seleucus, the eldest of the two sons, succeeded to his father's throne, and assumed the surname of *Ceraunus*, or the Thunderer, a name which no-ways suited his character; for he was a very weak prince, both in body and mind, and never did any thing worthy of that name. He reigned but three years, and during that time, had no great authority either in the army or the provinces; nay, he would have lost it intirely, had not *Achæus*, the son of *Andromachus* his mother's brother, who was a man of great courage and abilities, managed his affairs, as well as the bad fate which his father's ill conduct had brought them into would admit. As for *Andromachus*, he was taken prisoner by *Ptolemy* in his wars with *Callinicus*, and kept in *Alexandria* all this reign, and some part of the next, till the *Rhodians*, to ingratiate themselves with *Achæus*, obtained his liberty. *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* having made himself master of all *Asia Minor*, from mount *Taurus* to the *Hellepont*, *Seleucus* marched against him, leaving *Hermias*, a *Carian*, regent of *Syria* in his absence. *Achæus* attended him in this expedition, and served

Dies in
captivity.
Year of
the Flood,
2772.
Before
Christ,
227.



^m JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5. ATHEN. l. iv. c. 13.

ⁿ ATHEN.

l. iv. c. 13.

^o JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 3.

Seleucus
Ceraunus
poisoned.

Antiochus
the Great
ascends the
throne of
Syria.
Year of
the
Flood,
2775.
Before
Christ,
224.

him in it as well as the shattered state of his affairs would allow; but money being wanting to pay the army, and the king, on account of his weakness, despised by the soldiery, *Nicator* and *Apaturius*, two of the chief officers, formed a conspiracy against him, and, by poison, put an end to his life; but *Achæus*, who was then in the army, revenged his death, by cutting off the two ringleaders, and all those who were any ways concerned in the plot. After this he managed the army with such prudence, address, and resolution, that he not only kept all in order, but also prevented *Attalus* from reaping any advantage from this accident, which, had it not been for his prudent conduct, would have been attended with the loss of *Syria*. *Seleucus* dying without children, the army offered the crown to *Achæus*; and several of the provinces did the same: But he then generously refused it, tho' he afterwards judged it necessary, for his own safety, to act in a different manner. In the present conjuncture, instead of accepting the crown, he preserved it with great integrity for the lawful heir *Antiochus*, the brother of the deceased king, who was but in the fifteenth year of his age. When *Seleucus* set out for *Asia Minor*, he sent him to *Babylonia* to be educated there; and in that city he was when his brother died. He now was sent for to *Antioch*, where he ascended the throne after his brother, and reigned thirty-six years. This prince was afterwards, for his illustrious actions, surnamed *the Great*. *Achæus*, the better to secure him in the possession of the empire, sent a detachment of the army to him in *Syria*, under the command of *Epigenes*, one of the late king's most experienced generals. The rest of the army he kept with him in *Asia Minor*, to support the *Syrian* interest in those parts^p.

Antiochus, seeing himself seated on the throne, sent *Molo* and *Alexander*, two brothers, into the east, appointing the former governor of *Media*, and the latter of *Persia*. All the provinces of *Asia Minor* he committed to the charge of *Achæus*. *Epigenes* had the command of the troops which the king kept about him; and *Hermias* the *Carian* was declared prime minister, which station he had held under the deceased king. *Achæus* soon recovered all the countries which *Attalus* had wrested from the *Syrian* empire, and confined him within the limits of his own kingdom of *Pergamus*; but *Alexander* and *Molo*, despising the young king, were no sooner

Alexander
and *Molo*,
two of his
generals re-
volt.

P POLYB. l. iv. p. 315. APPIAN. in Syriac. HIERON. in Daniel. c. 11. JUSTIN. l. xxix. c. 1.

fixed

fixed in their governments, but they refused to acknowledge his authority, and set up for themselves in their respective districts. They hoped that *Abeæus* would join them; but above all things, apprehended the cruelty and malice of *Hermias*, who bore a great sway at court, and therefore chose rather to withdraw their obedience to the king than obey so wicked a minister, against whose malice no man was safe. This *Hermias* was of a most savage disposition, punished the least faults with the utmost rigor, and, being himself a man of little genius and no merit, could not endure either merit or abilities in others. He was haughty, envious, full of himself, and so tenacious of his own opinion, that he thought it highly dishonourable either to ask or follow the advice of another. He suspected all those who had any trust, or share in the king's esteem; but the chief object of his jealousy and suspicion was *Epigenes*, who had the reputation of being one of the ablest generals of his time and in whom the troops reposed an intire confidence. It was this reputation that gave the prime minister umbrage, and he could not conceal the ill-will he bore him. News being brought of the revolt of *Molo* and *Alexander*, *Antiochus* assembled his council to deliberate on proper measures in so delicate a conjuncture; for he had great reason to apprehend a general revolt of the provinces. Every one being desired to deliver his opinion freely, *Epigenes* spoke first, and declared, That they had no time to lose; that it was absolutely necessary the king should, without delay, march in person against the rebels; that his authority on the spot would be of great weight; and that *Molo* and his followers would not have the assurance to persist in their rebellion, seeing the king himself at the head of his army; or should they continue obstinate, the soldiers themselves would mutiny, return to their duty, and deliver up their leaders to the king. *Epigenes* had hardly delivered his opinion, when *Hermias*, in a violent passion, replied, That this was not the first treacherous advice he had given; that he had long harboured evil designs against the king; that, however, he was now pleased to hear him openly declaring his bad intentions in the pernicious counsel he had given, wherein he plainly shewed his design of betraying the king into the hands of the rebels. He said no more then on that subject, being content to have thus sown the seeds of suspicion against him. The real motive of his opposing the opinion of *Epigenes* was, his being afraid to venture upon that expedition. As *Ptolemy Philopator*, who had succeeded his father *Ptolemy Evergetes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, was a most vicious and effeminate prince, he thought him a much less formidable enemy, and therefore

The rebels
defeat the
troops sent
against
them.

advised the king to march in person against him, and attempt the recovery of Syria. He thought there would be no danger in invading a prince, who was wholly immersed in pleasures of all kinds. The opinion of *Hermias* prevailing, *Antiochus* marched in person into *Cæle-Syria* with one part of his army, and sent *Zeno* and *Theodotus*, two of his generals, with the other, to suppress the rebellion in the east ¹. Being arrived, on his march towards *Cæle-Syria*, at *Seleucia* near *Zeugma*, he there found *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who had been some time betrothed to him. He made some stay there to solemnize the nuptials; but the joy of his marriage was soon interrupted with bad news from the east; for his generals there, being overpowered by the joint forces of *Molo* and *Alexander*, had been forced to retire, and leave them masters of the field. *Antiochus* then saw the error he had committed in not following the advice of *Epigenes*, and was for laying aside his expedition into *Cæle-Syria*, in order to march directly with all his forces into the east, and there crush the rebellion before it gathered greater strength; but *Hermias* persisting in his former opinion, and telling the king, that it became kings to march in person against kings, and to send their lieutenants against rebels, *Antiochus* was so weak as to acquiesce again in the opinion of *Hermias*, and, sending another army into the east, to proceed in his intended expedition into *Cæle-Syria*. The general who commanded this army was one *Xenætas* an *Achæan*. His commission was to join the forces which were there before under the two generals, and take upon him the command of the whole army. he had never before commanded in chief, and his only merit was his being the prime minister's friend and creature. Being thus raised to a post which he never expected, he behaved with great haughtiness towards the other officers, and by his insolent behaviour, incurred the hatred of the soldiery. The success was such as might be expected from so bad a choice; in crossing the *Tigris* he fell into an ambuscade, and was cut off with his whole army. This victory opened to the rebels the province of *Babylonia* and all *Mesopotamia*, of which they made themselves masters without the least opposition ².

Antiochus
disappoint-
ed in his
attempt
upon *Cæle*-
Syria.

IN the mean time *Antiochus* having advanced into *Cæle-Syria*, as far as the valley which lies between the two ridges of mountains called *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, found the passes

¹ POLYB. l. v. p. 387, 388, 389. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. i. ² POLYB. ubi supra p. 390, 391, 392, 393, &c.

there

there so well fortified and guarded by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had intrusted with the government of this province, that he was obliged to march back, without attempting to make any farther progress that way. The bad news, which he had by this time received, of the defeat of his troops also hastened his retreat; being therefore now resolved to lay aside the *Syrian* enterprize, he turned his thoughts wholly on the war with the rebels; wherefore assembling his council once more to deliberate about it, and requiring every one to deliver their real opinion, *Epigenes* again spoke the first, saying, That it had been well for the king's service if they had followed his first advice without any delay or loss of time; for, in that case, the enemy would not have had time to strengthen himself in the provinces which he had usurped; that he was still of the same opinion, viz. that the king should desist from any other enterprize, and march without delay in person against the rebels. *Hermias* fancying himself affronted by the speech of *Epigenes*, began to exclaim against him, and renew the antient charge, as if he designed to deliver up the king to the rebels. He conjured the prince not to quit the enterprize of *Cæle-Syria*, since the abandoning of it would be ascribed to fickleness and inconstancy, a character which no ways suited a prince of his wisdom and knowledge; but notwithstanding all he could say, the advice of *Epigenes* prevailing in the council, the king resolved to put off his march into *Syria*, and head his army in person against his rebellious subjects. *Hermias*, *Resolves to* finding that all opposition would be vain, became all on a *march in* sudden quite another man, seeming the most sanguine of them *person a-* all in hastening the execution of what he had hitherto opposed *gainst the* with incredible warmth. Accordingly the troops were, with *rebels.* the utmost expedition, assembled at *Apamea*; but before they began their march, a sedition broke out in the army about the soldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmost consternation, and filled him with the deepest melancholy; which *Hermias* perceiving, offered to satisfy the army out of his private fortune, provided he would not take *Epigenes* with him in this expedition, pretending, that the quarrel which had happened between them would be the occasion of new disputes, and greatly hinder him in the management of his affairs. His view in this was to lessen, by absence, the esteem and affection which *Antiochus* had shewn on all occasions for *Epigenes*, men being apt to forget, and especially princes, the services of such as are removed out of their sight. This proposal gave the king great uneasiness, he being very sensible how much he wanted the presence of such

a general as *Epigenes*, who was not only an experienced commander, but an able counsellor ; but as *Hermias* had a great ascendant over him, and had likewise gained those about him, he was not master of his own resolutions : Wherefore yielding to the present necessity, he complied with the request of *Hermias*, and ordered *Epigenes* to remain at *Apamea*. This incident alarmed the other officers, who were apprehensive of meeting with the same fate ; but the common soldiers having received all their arrears, expressed great obligations to *Hermias*, by whose means they had been satisfied^c.

Epigenes
treacher-
ously mur-
dered.

Hermias having thus gained the good-will of the soldiery, set out with *Antiochus* and the army, after having charged *Alexis* governor of the citadel of *Apamea*, a man entirely at his devotion, to destroy under some plausible pretence, *Epigenes* during the king's absence. *Alexis*, pursuant to his orders, having, by the promise of a great reward, bribed one of the domestics of *Epigenes*, gave him a letter, with orders to lay it among his master's papers. This was a forged letter from *Molo*, wherein he thanked *Epigenes* for forming a conspiracy against the king, and pointed out to him by what methods he might safely put it in execution. Some days after *Alexis* went to *Epigenes*, and asked him, whether he had not received a letter from *Molo*. *Epigenes* replied with the greatest indignation, that he had no intercourse with rebels ; but *Alexis* acquainting him that he had orders to look into his papers, entered his lodgings by force, and a search being made, the forged letter was found ; whereupon *Epigenes* without being tried, or even heard, was immediately put to death. The king, at the bare sight of the letter, approved of his death, and greatly commended the zeal of *Alexis* ; but the great men of the court understood the whole matter, tho' none of them dared to undeceive their master, being awed into silence by the great power of the minister^c.

In the mean time, *Antiochus* arriving with his army at the *Euphrates*, joined the troops he found there, and pursuing his march, came to *Antioch* in *Mygdonia* (R), where, as the year

^c POLYB. ubi supra.

^c POLYB I. v. p. 393, 394.

(R) *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* stood in the north part of *Mesopotamia*. St. *Jerom* carries the antiquity of it as high as *Nimrod*. It was as considerable for the number of its inhabitants as its great extent. The *yro-Macedonians*, when they became masters of *Mesopotamia*, gave this city the name of *Antioch* in *Mygdonia*, to distinguish it from the capital of *Syria*. Before that time it was called *Nisibis*, or, as we find it wrote on some antient medals, *Nesebe*. It served as a barrier against the incursions of the *Parthians* and *Persians* down to

year was now far spent, he put his troops into winter quarters, proposing to open the campaign very early next spring. As soon as the season allowed him to take the field, having assembled his troops, he advanced to *Liba* (S), and there summoned a council to deliberate with his officers what course was best to take to find out *Molo*, and by what means they might supply the army with provisions in their march, *Molo* being master of all the country about *Babylonia*. *Hermias* proposed to keep along the *Tigris*, by which means, said he, we shall have the benefit of that and two other rivers, the *Lycus* and the *Capros* (T), to cover our camp. Such danger there was in following this advice, that *Zeuxes*, though he had the fate of *Epigenes* before his eyes, could not help opposing it, and shewing the great difficulties they should meet with in holding their march along the river. He urged several reasons, chiefly, that after a long and tedious march through a continued desert, they should come to a place called the *King's Ditch*, which if it should happen to be possessed by the enemy, would put a stop to their further progress, and oblige them to return by the same desert, where they should be in great want of all things. On the other hand, he made it appear, that in case they passed the *Tigris*, they should be well supplied with provisions; and besides, that it was more than pro-

to the time of the emperor *Julian*, who, by a shameful treaty, gave it up to the latter. Some modern writers, by mistake, place it on the *Tigris*; but it is plain, both from *Polybius* and the emperor *Julian's* first oration, that it stood on the river *Mygdonius*, which springs from mount *Mafius* between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and running from north to south, discharges itself into the latter of these rivers. The *Mygdonius* divides *Mygdonia*, which is a small province of *Mesopotamia*, into two unequal parts. *Pliny* is of opinion, that this country was originally peopled by a colony of the *Mygdonians* in *Macedon*. *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* still retains its most ancient name, being called by the people of the east *Nasibin*, which is plainly a corruption of *Nasibis*.

(S) *Liba* was a chief city of *Carmania*, a province lying beyond *Persia*, and bounded by *Parthia* on the north, by *Gedrosia* on the east, and by the *Persian* and *Indian* seas on the south. The city of *Liba* stood near the confines of *Gedrosia*.

(T) The *Lycus* and *Capros* were two rivers of *Assyria*, properly so called, running between the cities of *Ninus* and *Seleucia*, and discharging themselves into the *Tigris*, they were so called by the *Greeks*, as *Strabo* (38) and *Pliny* (39) inform us, from two rivers of the same name in *Phrygia*.

(38) *Strabo*, l. xii. in fine.(39) *Plin.* l. v. c. 29.

bable,

Molo being overcome, lays violent hands on himself.

bable, that those of the country of *Apollonia* would return to their duty, since it was very plain, that out of necessity, and not by inclination, they had declared for *Molo*. He added, that when *Molo* should see his passage back into *Media* cut off, and find himself straitened for want of provisions, he would be constrained, either to venture a battle, or to see himself abandoned by his troops^u. The advice of *Zeuxes* was approved of; and accordingly the army being divided into three bodies, passed the *Tigris* in three different places, and pursued their march to *Dura* (U), which was at that time besieged by one of *Molo's* officers, who, on their approach, raised the siege, and retired. From *Dura* they advanced to *Oricum*, and from thence to *Apollonia*. *Molo* being informed of the king's arrival, marched with all possible expedition to the mountains of *Apollonia*; but, before he reached them, was overtaken by the king, who encamped over-against him. *Molo* apprehending it dangerous for rebels to march against their prince in broad day, and give him battle, resolved to fall on *Antiochus* in the night, and accordingly putting himself at the head of a body of chosen troops, he marched, by private ways, towards the neighbouring mountains, with a design to fall on the enemy's camp from those eminences; but his soldiers deserting in troops to the king, he thought it adviseable to return by break of day to his camp. In the mean time the king being resolved to venture an engagement, drew out his forces, and advanced in battalia to the enemy's trenches. *Molo* likewise, at the approach of the king, marched out in good order to meet him. Both armies engaged with the utmost fury; but a body of chosen men, which *Molo* had placed on his left to make head against the king, going over to him, that wing was soon put in disorder, and obliged to retire. Hereupon *Molo*, after having attempted several times, in vain, to lead them back to the charge, was obliged to retire with them; but being closely pursued by the king, and fearing to fall alive into his hands, out of despair killed himself, as did many of his accomplices; so that the king gained a complete victory without any considerable loss. *Neolaus* or *Nicolas*, the brother of *Molo*, escaping from the battle, fled to *Alexander*, another of their brothers, who was then in *Persia*, and carried

^u Idem. ibid. p. 395.

(U) *Dura* was a city in the province of *Affyria*, called by *Ptolemy*, *Apolloniatis*, no doubt from the city of *Apollonia* its metropolis. Some writers place *Dura* in *Mesopotamia*.

him the bad news of the death and defeat of their brother. These two finding their affairs quite desperate, first killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and lastly dispatched themselves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. After the king had pillaged the camp, he ordered *Mala's* body to be fixed on a cross, and placed on one of the highest mountains of *Media*; which was done accordingly, the body being carried into the country of the *Chalontidi* (W), and there placed on a cross on the most conspicuous part of mount *Zagrus*. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who had engaged in it. After this victory, the remains of the conquered army submitted to the king, who, after having severely reproved them, granted them his pardon, ordering them into *Media*, under the command of those he sent to regulate the affairs of that province. He then returned to *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and having spent some time there in re-establishing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and settling all things on their former foot, he resolved to attack the *Barbarians* bordering on his dominions, in order to deter them for the future from taking part with his rebellious subjects, or entering into alliance with them. He proposed to begin with *Artabazanes* king of the *Atropatis* (X) and other neighbouring nations, and by far the most powerful of all those princes. *Hermias* was at first very unwilling to engage in this war, in regard of the danger that attended it, and because he was still bent on the

(W) *Chalontidis* was the most southern province of *Assyria*, so called, according to *Isidorus Characenus* (40), from the city of *Chala* its metropolis, and divided from *Media* by mount *Zagrus* or *Zagrus*, the highest in the whole country.

(X) *Atropatia* was a part of *Media*; for *Strabo* (41) divides all *Media* into two parts; the one he calls *Media Magna*, and the other *Media Atropatia* and *Atropatane* (42). It borrowed this name from one *Atropatus*, who being governor of that province for the king of *Persia* in *Alexander's* time, defended it against that conqueror, and, upon the downfall of the *Persian* empire, seized it for himself and transmitted it to his posterity. *Artabazanes* was one of his descendants, and another of the same race reigned in *Strabo's* time, the kingdom being held even then by the same family. This country, according to *Polybius* (43), extended on one side as far as the *Pontus Euxinus*, and on the other to the *Caspian* sea, was plentifully stored with all sorts of provision, and its inhabitants were deemed good soldiers.

(40) *Isidor. Charac. p. 5.* (41) *Strabo. l. xi. p. 360.* (42) *Idem ibid. p. 363.* (43) *Polyb. l. v. p. 402.*

recovery of *Cæle-Syria*; but on the news of the queen's being brought to bed of a son, he changed his mind, and warmly promoted a war with the *Barbarians*, in hopes that the king might lose his life in that dangerous expedition, in which case the regency and tuition of the infant prince would fall to his share. All things therefore being got ready for this invasion, the army marched over the mountain *Zagra*, and entered the country of the *Atropatii*. *Artabazanes* their king being then very old, and greatly terrified at the approach of the king at the head of a victorious army, made his submission, and concluded a peace on such terms as *Antiochus* thought proper to impose w.

By this time *Hermias*, through his insolent and haughty behaviour, growing intolerable to his master, as well as to his fellow-subjects, *Apollophanes* the king's physician, in whom he reposed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free access to him, took a proper time to represent to him the general discontent of his subjects, and the danger he himself was in from his ambitious and wicked minister; he therefore advised him to take care of himself, lest the same fate should attend him which his brother had met with in *Phrygia*, he having fallen a victim to the ambition of those on whom he most relied. He added, that it was plain to every one, that *Hermias* was hatching some wicked design, and that no time was to be lost in the preventing of it. *Antiochus*, as we have already observed, had begun to entertain some suspicions of his chief minister, but had suppressed them, not knowing whom to trust, though surrounded with courtiers whom he had loaded with favours. He was therefore extremely well pleased that his physician had given him this advice, and after having commended him for the care he shewed for his safety, and his resolution in opening so frankly his thoughts, immediately entered on measures with him for the ridding himself of a minister who was so universally detested, and whose attempts were so much to be dreaded. Accordingly the very next morning, the king, under pretence of taking the air, walked out of the camp, and *Hermias* not failing to attend him, as he usually did, when they came to a solitary place where none of the minister's creatures could lend him any assistance, the king stepping aside as on some necessary occasion, those who attended him falling upon *Hermias*, as it had been agreed on before-hand, put him to death, to the great satisfaction of all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. He had governed, not only the kingdom, but the king himself, with great

Hermias
put to
death by
the king's
order.

w Idem, *ibid.* p. 398.---400.

haughtiness,

haughtiness, treating him on several occasions in a very insolent manner; and whoever of the subjects dared to oppose his sentiments or designs, was sure to fall a sacrifice to his resentment, which drew on him an universal hatred; but no where was there a more signal instance of it than at *Apamea* in *Syria*, for there they no sooner heard of his death, than the whole city rose with the utmost fury, and the women, falling upon his wife and children, stoned them to death*.

Antiochus having now happily re-established his affairs in the east, and raised to the government of those provinces persons of merit, in whom he could repose the greatest confidence, marched back into *Syria*, and putting his army into winter-quarters, spent the remaining part of the year in consulting with his ministers and officers about the operations of the ensuing campaign; for he had two other very dangerous enterprises to put in execution for the restoring of the *Syrian* empire to its former splendor; one was against *Ptolemy*, for the recovery of *Cæle-Syria*, and the other against *Achæus*, who had usurped the sovereignty of *Asia Minor*; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* having seized on all *Syria* in the beginning of the reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*, as we have related above, a great part of it was still held by his successor *Ptolemy Philopator*. And as to *Achæus*, we have already observed how he refused the crown that was offered him on the death of *Seleucus Callinicus*, and with great fidelity put it on the head of *Antiochus* the lawful heir, who, to reward his zeal and services, appointed him governor of all the provinces of *Asia Minor*. In this station he wrested from *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* all the countries in *Asia* which he had seized, and annexed them again to the crown of *Syria*. The success that attended him on this occasion drew on him the envy of the prime minister, and others, who had the king's ear at court; and therefore, resolutions being taken to ruin him, forged letters were produced to prove, that he entertained treacherous designs against his prince, and held a correspondence with *Ptolemy*. *Achæus* having notice of what was plotting against him at court, thought that he had no other way to secure himself against the evil designs of his enemies than by doing what he was charged with, and accordingly, in his own defence, taking the crown, which he had before refused, he caused himself to be proclaimed king of *Asia*, and was crowned at *Ladicea* in *Phrygia*, assuming ever after the regal title in all his letters to the cities of *Asia*, and obliging them to give it him in all their addresses†. These were the two dangerous wars *Anti-*

Achæus
causes him-
self to be
proclaimed
king of
Asia.

* *Idem* *ibid.* p. 400, 401.† *Idem* *ibid.*

Antiochus
resolves on
a war
with Pto-
lemy
king of
Egypt.

ochus had on his hands ; and which of these he should first undertake was the matter under debate in the king's council. Upon mature deliberation it was resolved, first to reduce all the countries belonging to the *Syrian* empire on that side mount *Taurus*, before they marched over it against *Achæus*, to whom, for the present, they only sent menacing messages. Pursuant to this scheme all the forces were ordered to assemble at *Apamea*, and hold themselves in a readiness to march into *Cæle-Syria*. Before they set out, a council of all the chief officers was assembled, to consult about the first operations of the campaign, when *Apollophanes*, the king's physician, represented, that the design on *Cæle-Syria* was vain, and would prove an unprofitable expedition, while they left *Ptolemy* in quiet possession of *Seleucia*, a royal city, and in effect the metropolis of the kingdom ; that, not to mention the dishonour of leaving that city in the hands of an *Egyptian* king, the recovery thereof would redound greatly to the king's advantage ; that, while it was held by the enemy, it would be a great hindrance to the progress of his arms in the enterprize he was upon ; for which way soever he had a mind to carry his arms, he would find it necessary, over and above all other preparations, to strengthen all his towns with numerous garisons, merely on account of the danger which would threaten them from *Seleucia* : Whereas if *Antiochus* made the recovery of that place his first business, it would not only serve as a bulwark and frontier against the enemy, but enable him to prosecute the enterprize both by sea and land. This city stood on the same river as *Antioch*, at the distance only of fifteen miles below it, near the mouth of the *Orontes*. When *Ptolemy Euergetes* invaded *Syria*, as we have related above, to support the rights of his sister *Berenice*, he seized upon that important place, and having put a strong *Egyptian* garison into it, kept it full twenty seven years. As it was the port of *Antioch*, it not only was a constant annoyance to the *Antiochians*, but entirely cut off their communication with the sea, and quite ruined their trade. All which things being set forth by *Apollophanes*, the king and council resolved to follow his plan, and open the campaign with the siege of *Seleucia*². Accordingly the whole army marched thither, invested the place, and carried it by a general assault, some of the officers, who commanded in the city, having been gained over by *Antiochus*. The king treated the inhabitants with the utmost humanity, and restored them to their antient privileges³.

Seleucia
taken.

² POLYB. ubi. supra. p. 405.

³ Idem. p. 406.

Antiochus

Antiochus being now master of this important place, marched with all possible expedition into *Cæle-Syria*, being invited thither by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had appointed governor of that province. We have seen above how vigorously he repulsed *Antiochus* the year before; nevertheless the court of *Egypt* had not been satisfied with his conduct on that occasion, and therefore called him to *Alexandria* to answer for it at the peril of his head. 'Tis true he was acquitted, and sent back to his government; but nevertheless he was so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it. The luxury and effeminacy of the court, to which he had been an eye-witness while he attended his cause in *Alexandria*, heightened his resentment and indignation, it being intolerable to him to depend on so base and contemptible a set of men: And indeed the most abominable debaucheries of every kind were practised by *Ptolemy Philopator* during his reign; and the whole court followed his example. *Theodotus* therefore could not but abhor so vile a conduct, and being a gallant man, resolved to seek for a new master, who might better deserve his services. Accordingly he was no sooner returned to his government, but he seized on the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, and declaring for *Antiochus*, dispatched a messenger to him, inviting him into those parts. *Nicolaus*, one of *Ptolemy's* generals, though of the same country with *Theodotus*, would not join with him in this defection; but still adhering to *Ptolemy*, according to his first engagement, marched against *Theodotus*, and closely besieged him in the city of *Ptolemais*, which he had lately taken. *Antiochus* hastened to his relief, but met with a vigorous resistance from *Nicolaus*, who, on the news of his march, had seized the passes of mount *Libanus*. However the *Ætolian*, after a most gallant defence, being bore down by the superior power of *Antiochus*, was at length obliged to retire; whereupon the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais* were by *Theodotus* delivered into the king's hands, and with them the magazines which *Ptolemy* had prepared in those two places for the support of his army, and likewise a fleet of forty sail which lay in the two harbours. The ships he delivered to *Diognetus* his admiral, ordering him to sail to *Pelusium*, whither he himself intended to march by land, with a view to invade *Egypt* on that side; but being informed, that at that time of the year the inhabitants used to cut down the banks of the *Nile*, and lay the whole country under water, and consequently that the invading of *Egypt* was at that season impracticable, he abandoned this project, and employed all his forces in reducing the rest of *Cæle-Syria*. Some places surrendered of their own accord,

Ptolemais
and *Tyre*
betrayed to
Antiochus.

accord, others were taken by force, and *Damascus* itself, the capital of that province, fell into his hands by a stratagem with which he over-reached *Dion*, who was governor of it for *Ptolemy*^b. The last action of this campaign was the siege of *Dura*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount *Carmel*, called *Dor* in scripture^c; but the place being well fortified by *Nicolaus*, and defended by a numerous garison, the king could not master it, and was therefore glad to accept of a proposal which was offered him, of making a truce for four months with *Ptolemy*. This served him as an honourable pretence to march back to *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, where he put his army into winter-quarters, after having appointed *Theodotus* the *Ætolian* governor of all the places he had taken in this campaign^d.

DURING this truce a treaty was set on foot between the contending princes, but with no other view on either side than to gain time, which *Ptolemy* wanted to make the necessary preparations for the carrying on of the war, and *Antiochus* to put a stop to the conquests of *Achæus*; for he, not satisfied with *Asia Minor*, of which he was already master, was making great preparations to invade *Syria*, and dispossess *Antiochus*, if possible, of all his dominions. To check these ambitious views, it was necessary for the king to give over all thoughts of distant conquests.

IN this treaty the main point was, to whom *Coele-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Samaria*, and *Judæa* did belong, in virtue of the partition of *Alexander's* empire between *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Cassander* and *Lyfimachus*, after the death of *Antigonus*, and defeat of *Demetrius* in the battle of *Ipsus*. *Ptolemy* claimed these provinces, as having been, by that division, allotted to *Ptolemy Sotor* his great-grandfather. On the other side, *Antiochus* pretended, that they had been given to *Seleucus Nicator*, and were therefore his right, he being heir and successor to that prince in the kingdom of *Syria*. The affair of *Achæus* was likewise a great clog to the negotiation; for *Ptolemy* insisted upon his being comprized in the treaty, while *Antiochus* could not brook so much as to hear him named, thinking it a scandalous thing that *Ptolemy* should entertain the least thought of giving protection to one in rebellion against his prince^e.

Both kings
prepare for
war.

WHILE these pretensions and contests were carrying on by both parties, and neither would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapsed, and nothing being concluded by

^b POLYÆN. l. iv. c. 15.
27, &c.

^d POLYB. ibid. p. 408.

410, 411.

^c JOSHUA xi. 2. xii. 22. JUD. i.

^e POLYB. p. 409,

the treaty, they began again to provide for the war. *Nicolaus* the *Ætolian* had given such proofs of his valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that *Ptolemy* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, and committed to his care the government of the contested provinces. The command of the fleet was given to *Perigenes*, who was ordered to carry on the war by sea, and supply *Nicolaus* with provisions, and such military stores as he should stand in need of. *Nicolaus* having assembled his forces at *Gaza*, whither all the necessary provisions had been sent from *Egypt*, marched from thence to mount *Libanus*, and seized on all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, through which it was necessary for *Antiochus* to pass, firmly resolved to wait for him there, and, by the advantage of the place, obstruct his farther progress that way ^f.

IN the mean time *Antiochus* was not inactive; but having made the necessary preparations for a vigorous invasion both by sea and land, he gave the command of his fleet to *Diognetus* his admiral, and then marched himself with his army by land. On his arrival at *Marathum*, the *Aradians* met him with tenders of their friendship and alliance; and he not only received them with great kindness, but composed, by his mediation, some differences of a long standing between them and the neighbouring cities. From *Marathum* he continued his march into *Syria*, by that pass which is called by *Polybius* *Thott-prosopon*, arrived at *Berytus*, and, advancing to *Botris*, possessed himself of that city, after having burnt *Trieres* and *Chalchus*. From *Botris* he dispatched *Theodotus* and *Nicarchus*, with orders to seize on the streights which lead to the river *Lycus*, while he himself, pursuing his march, reached the river *Damura*, where he encamped, his fleet keeping always near him. From thence, taking with him *Nicarchus* and *Theodotus*, he advanced at the head of the light-armed troops to view the streights where *Nicolaus* was posted, and returned the same day to his camp. Early next morning, leaving *Nicarchus* with the command of his heavy-armed troops, he marched with the rest to the streights possessed by *Nicolaus*, and having, in sight of the enemy, divided his army into three bodies, he ordered *Theodotus*, at the head of one, to attack the enemy's forces which were posted on the eminences; the other he gave to *Menedemus*, enjoining him to dislodge *Nicolaus*, who had fortified himself in a narrow pass between mount *Libanus* and the sea; the third he kept for a reserve under the command of *Diocles*, who was

^f *Idem*, *ibid.* p. 413.

The Egyptians defeated by Antiochus.

to carry succours where-ever they should be wanted. *Antiochus* himself, attended only by his guards, posted himself on an eminence, whence he had a fair view of all that passed either by sea or land; for the two admirals, *Diognetus* and *Perigenes*, had drawn their fleets up in a line as near the shore as they could, that they might be ready at hand to assist their land-forces. By this means the battle by land and sea became, as it were, one single engagement. The signal being given, they advanced to the attack on all sides. At sea it was a drawn battle, the fleets being pretty equal; but at land the forces of *Antiochus* having dislodged *Nicolaus*, that brave commander was obliged, after a most gallant defence, to retire to *Sidon*, whither *Perigenes* followed him with the Egyptian fleet. About two thousand Egyptians were slain in the engagement, and the like number taken prisoners. The rest, under the conduct of *Nicolaus*, who retired in good order, got safe into *Sidon*. *Antiochus* pursued them, with a design to lay siege to that city; but finding it well stored with all sorts of provisions, and *Nicolaus* resolved to hold out to the last extremity, he altered his mind, and sending his fleet to *Tyre*, marched with his army into *Galilee*, where he reduced the cities of *Philoteria*, *Scythopolis*, and *Attabyrum*, which struck such terror into the inhabitants, that the whole country submitted to the conqueror. From *Galilee* he crossed the *Jordan*, and entering *Gilead*, possessed himself of all that country, which had been formerly the inheritance of the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manasseh* on that side of the river. He afterwards marched against *Rabbah* of the children of *Ammon*, which *Polybius* calls *Rabath-ben-Ammon* or *Rabatamana*, which, as it was a very strong and populous place, made a vigorous defence against the victorious army, but was at length obliged to submit for want of water. As the season was now far advanced, *Antiochus*, leaving the government of *Samaria* to *Hippolechus* and *Keraas*, who had lately come over to him from *Ptolemy*, and five thousand men to keep the country in subjection, marched back to *Ptolemais*, where he put his troops into winter-quarters⁸.

EARLY in the spring both armies again took the field. *Ptolemy*, having drawn together an army of seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy three elephants, advanced to *Pelusium*, whence he led them in person through the deserts which part *Egypt* from *Palestine*, and encamped at *Raphia*, a city lying between *Rhinocorura* and *Gaza*. Here

⁸ Idem, ibid. p. 414, 415.

Antiochus met him with an army somewhat superior to his; for he had with him seventy two thousand foot, six thousand horse, and an hundred and two elephants; he encamped first within ten furlongs, and afterwards within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near each other, many skirmishes happened between parties as they went out to forage; but without any considerable advantage on either side. Here *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, who had served many years under *Ptolemy*, gave a signal instance of his intrepidity and resolution; for being well acquainted with the customs of the *Egyptians*, he took the advantage of a dark evening, when he could not be well known, and, entering the enemy's camp with two companions, advanced as far as *Ptolemy's* tent, with a design to kill him, and, by this bold attempt, put an end to the war; but the king lying that night elsewhere, he killed his first physician, mistaking him for *Ptolemy*, wounded two other persons, and then, amidst the alarm and confusion which this attempt occasioned, escaped to his own camp. At length both kings agreed to a decisive battle, and drew up their armies accordingly; both rode before their respective lines, encouraging their soldiers to behave manfully. *Arfinoe*, the sister and wife of *Ptolemy*, not only exerted herself in animating the *Egyptians* before the engagement, but did not abandon her husband even in the heat of the battle, attending him in the midst of the greatest dangers. *Antiochus*, at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left; but while he pursued them too far, *Ptolemy*, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged in flank the center of *Antiochus*, which was then uncovered, and broke that body before it was possible for the prince to succour it. An old officer of *Antiochus's* army, observing which way the cloud of dust flew, concluded from thence that the main body was routed, and shewed it to the king, who faced about that instant; but came too late to retrieve his error, the rest of his army being broke and put to flight before his arrival. Hereupon he was obliged to retreat first to *Raphia*, and next to *Gaza*, after ten thousand of his men had been cut to pieces, and four thousand taken prisoners. After this defeat *Antiochus*, being no longer in a condition to make head against *Ptolemy*, abandoned all his conquests, and withdrew with the remains of his shattered army to *Antioch*. This battle was fought at the same time, according to *Polybius*, that *Hannibal* defeated *Flaminius* the Roman consul at the lake of *Thrasymenus* in *Hetruria*^h.

The battle
of Raphia.
Year of
the Flood
2782.
Before
Christ
217.

Antiochus
defeated.

^h Idem, p. 424, 425. & 3 MACCAB. c. iii. ver. 5, 6.

UPON the retreat of *Antiochus* the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine* strove, as it were, which of them should first submit to *Ptolemy*, being more inclined to him, as they had been long subject to the *Egyptians*, than to *Antiochus*, whom they had received after the defeat of *Nicolaus*, only because they were not in a condition to oppose him. *Ptolemy's* court, as soon as the news of this victory was spread abroad, was crowded with ambassadors from all the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Judæa*, making their submission to him, and congratulating him on his late success. The conqueror not only received them all with great kindness, but resolved to make a progress through all the provinces which had submitted to him; and accordingly visited all the states and cities of note, and, amongst the rest *Jerusalem*, where he took a view of the temple, and even offered sacrifices to the God of *Israel*, making at the same time oblations, and bestowing rich donations on that holy place. But not being satisfied with viewing it only from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was allowed to pass, he shewed a great inclination to enter the sanctuary, and even the holy of holies itself, to which no one was allowed access but the high-priest, and he only once a year on the day of the great expiation. This occasioned a great uproar all over the city: the high-priest informed him of the holiness of the place, and the express law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The priests and levites drew together in a body to oppose his rash design, which the people also conjured him to lay aside. But this opposition serving only to inflame his curiosity, he forced in as far as the second court, where, while he was preparing to enter the temple itself, he was struck by God with such terror, that he was carried off half dead. On this he left the city, highly exasperated against the whole *Jewish* nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and loudly threatening to revenge it at a more proper season¹.

Concludes a *Antiochus* no sooner returned to *Antioch*, but he sent ambassadors to *Ptolemy* to sue for a peace. What prompted him to this was his suspecting the fidelity of his own people, finding on his return his authority and interest much lessened by his late defeat. Besides, it was high time for him to turn his arms against *Achæus*, and put a stop to his conquests. For he being already master of all *Asia*, *Antiochus* foresaw, that if he gave him time to settle his authority in those provinces, it would not be long ere he must expect him in *Syria*, there to push for the whole empire. To prevent this he thought it advise-

¹ Idem, p. 426, 427. & 3 MACCAB. c. i. & ii.

able to strike up a peace with *Ptolemy* upon any terms, left having two such powerful enemies to contend with at the same time, he might be at last overpowered and stript of all his dominions. He therefore invested his embassadors with full powers to give up to *Ptolemy* all those provinces which were the subject of their contest, that is, all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*. *Cæle-Syria*, as we have hinted before, comprehended that part of *Syria*, which lies between the mountains *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; and *Palestine* all the country, which was antiently the inheritance of the children of *Israel*; and the coast of these two provinces was what the *Greeks* called *Phœnice*. All this country *Antiochus* was willing to part with to purchase a peace in his present circumstances, chusing rather to give up his claim to one part of his dominions, than run the risk of losing the whole. Accordingly a truce was agreed on for a year, and before that expired a peace concluded on the same terms. *Ptolimy*, who might have taken advantage of this victory, and easily conquered all *Syria*, was no less desirous than *Antiochus* of putting an end to the war, that he might be again at liberty to follow his pleasures ^k.

Antiochus having thus concluded a peace with *Ptolemy*, bent all his thoughts and attention on carrying the war into *Asia* ^{Marches against A-} *Minor* against *Achæus*, and having made vast preparations for ^{chæus.} that expedition, he crossed mount *Taurus*, and having concluded a league with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, by virtue of which they were both to act with all their forces against the common enemy, he so distressed *Achæus*, that he was obliged to quit the field, and shut himself up in *Sardis*, where he was closely besieged by the confederate princes. However, he held out above a year in spite of the utmost efforts of two victorious armies, during which time frequent battles were fought under the walls, and many brave men killed on both sides. At length the city being taken by a stratagem of *Ligoras*, one of *Antiochus's* commanders (Y), *Achæus* retired in- ^{Takes Sar-} ^{to} ^{dis.}

^k Idem, p. 428. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. i.

(Y) The castle, and the adjoining wall of the city, were on the top of a rock deemed inaccessible, both hanging over a deep valley, into which dead horses and other beasts were usually thrown. *Lagoras*, who was stationed on that side, observed that the ravens, and other rapacious birds, which haunted that valley for the food they found there, used to fly from thence up to the top of the rocks, and pitch upon the walls, resting there undisturbed. From thence

Achæus
betrayed by
two Cre-
tans.

to the castle, where he defended himself with incredible bravery, till he was by the treachery of two crafty *Cretans* delivered up to *Antiochus* in the following manner. *Ptolemy Philopator*, who had entered into a strict alliance with *Achæus*, was much concerned to hear he was so closely blocked up in the castle of *Sardis*, and therefore enjoined *Sofibius* his prime minister to deliver him at all events from the imminent danger he was in; he added, that if he could but rescue his person he cared for no more, knowing that if he only appeared in the countries about mount *Taurus*, he would soon have an army strong enough to keep *Antiochus* employed. There being at that time in *Ptolemy's* court a crafty *Cretan* called *Bolis*, well acquainted with the roads of that country and the by-paths among the rocks, on which the castle of *Sardis* stood, *Sofibius* consulted him about this matter, and asked him whether he could not think of some method to procure *Achæus's* escape. The *Cretan* desired time to consider of it, and at the next conference undertook the business, and communicated to *Sofibius* in what manner he designed to proceed in it. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was also a near relation of his, *Cambylus* by name, a captain of the *Cretan* mercenaries in *Antiochus's* army, and at that time commanding a fort behind the castle of *Sardis*; and that he would prevail with him to let *Achæus* make his escape that way. *Sofibius*, approving of the project, sent *Bolis* with the utmost expedition to *Sardis* to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to defray his

thence he concluded, that those parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought inaccessible, and acquainted *Antiochus* with what he had observed. Hereupon in a council of the chief officers it was resolved that a general assault should be made, during which *Lagoras*, with such men as he thought proper for the enterprize, should attempt to scale the rocks on that side, and enter the town. The success was agreeable to what *Lagoras* had imagined; for having with great difficulty scaled the rocks, he entered the city on that side without resistance, and then advancing at the head of his men into the market place, struck the inhabitants with such terror, that in many places they abandoned the walls, and gave an opportunity to the rest of *Antiochus's* army to enter the city and join their companions, by which means the place was reduced. In the same manner had *Sardis* been taken many ages before by the *Persians* under the conduct of *Cyrus*, when *Cræsus* thought himself secure on that side. But the citizens had forgot what had happened so many ages before (44).

(44) *Polyb. l. xvii. p. 506, 507.*

expences.

expences. At the same time he wrote to *Achæus* by a trusty messenger called *Arianus*, whom *Bolis* found means to convey into the castle. As the letter was wrote in characters, or rather cyphers, which none were acquainted with, save he and *Sofibius*, he was very well assured that this was no feigned device of his enemies in the name of his friends. As for the messenger, he was a trusty man, and one, whom *Achæus* found upon examination, heartily affected to his cause. But the contents of the letter, which were, that he should repose an entire confidence in *Bolis* and one *Cambylus*, whom *Bolis* had won over from *Antiochus*, gave him no small uneasiness. They were both quite strangers to him, and the *Cretans* he thought, were not blindly to be relied on. However, as he could not escape any other way, he resolved to follow their directions; the messenger therefore having often passed to and fro, it was at length concluded that *Bolis* himself should come and conduct *Achæus* out of the castle. This being agreed on, the two treacherous *Cretans* consulting together how to make their most of it, resolved in the first place to share equally between them the ten talents, which they had already received in hand, and then to reveal the whole matter to *Antiochus*, and on his promising a suitable reward, to turn the plot, and put *Achæus* into his hands. *Antiochus* was overjoyed when they first made their proposal, and promised them most ample rewards. At length when all things were ready on both sides, *Bolis*, *Cambylus*, and *Arianus*, went privately up into the castle, in order to convey from thence *Achæus* that very night. As *Achæus* was not acquainted either with *Bolis* or *Cambylus*, he had a long conference with them about the business in hand, and after having examined them on several heads, concluded that he had no reason to distrust their fidelity or judgment. However, to proceed with all possible caution, he told them, that he designed to stay in the castle a little longer, and send in the mean time with them three or four of his friends, from whom, when he should receive an account of their being safely got out, he would then, and not till then, venture his own person. Accordingly he appointed three of his friends to go that night with *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, and disguising himself, so as not to be known by his guides, as he had agreed with his friends before-hand, joined them when they were ready to depart. The other three were likewise disguised, and one of them only took upon him to understand the *Greek* tongue, the others feigning to be *Barbarians*, lest *Achæus* should be known by his speech. At length they set out, *Bolis* and *Cambylus* being very greatly per-

And deli-
vered up to
Antioch-
us.

Achæus
put to
death by
Antio-
chus.

The Expe-
ditions of
Antiochus
into Me-
dia, Par-
thia, Hyr-
cania, &c.

perplexed, as not knowing whether *Achæus* was there or no. If they betrayed those they were conducting into the hands of *Antiochus*, they well knew that *Achæus*, if he was not among them, would never trust himself with them; if they conveyed them away, they might, for ought they knew, by that means save *Achæus*, and lose the reward promised them by *Antiochus*. While they were under this uncertainty, *Bolis* observed, that where the paths among the rocks were dangerous, three of them were very officious to the other, lending him their hands to help him up or down, and taking such care of him as gave *Bolis* to understand that he was *Achæus*. Accordingly when they came to a certain place, where *Cambylus* had posted some soldiers that served under him, *Bolis* clasping *Achæus* about the middle, gave the signal agreed on, and the soldiers sallying out of the ambuscade, put him in irons, and carried him to *Antiochus*, who had watched all night expecting the issue of this affair. The king, when he saw *Achæus* loaded with chains, burst out into a flood of tears, and seemed to be touched with compassion at the misfortunes of a man to whom he was indebted for his crown. But motives of state prevailing over his natural tenderness, he caused him to be beheaded that very morning, and thereby put an end to the war of *Asia*. For as soon as those who were in the castle heard of his death, they surrendered to *Antiochus*, and all the places in the *Asiatic* provinces, which had declared for *Achæus*, did the same. Thus the king recovered his dominions in *Asia*, and having left persons to govern them, whom he could confide in, returned with his army to *Antioch*¹.

Antiochus, being now disengaged from this troublesome war, began to make the necessary preparations for the reducing of those provinces in the east, which had shaken off the Syrian yoke. As the *Parthians* had lately seized on *Media*, his first attempt was upon that province. *Arfaces*, the son of that *Arfaces* who first founded the *Parthian* empire, was at that time king of *Parthia*, and, taking advantage of *Antiochus*'s being engaged in war with *Ptolemy* and *Achæus*, had entered *Media*, and made himself master of that country. On the approach of the enemy he commanded all the fountains and wells in the desert, through which they were to pass,

¹ POLYB. *ibid* p. 445, 446. & l. vii. p. 506, 507. & l. viii. p. 522, 523.

to be stopped and spoiled (Z) ; but *Antiochus* having sent before several parties of horse to secure them, marched safely through those great deserts with his whole army, and entering *Media*, drove *Arfaces* from thence, and spent the remainder of the year in settling all things there in their former order, and providing for the further operations of the war. Early next spring he marched into *Parthia*, where he was as successful as he had been the year before in *Media*. *Arfaces* was forced to retire into *Hyrkania*, where he thought to secure himself behind the mountains, which parted that country from *Parthia*, and accordingly posted parties in all the passes, through which the *Syrian* army was to march, not doubting but by that means he should obstruct their further progress that way. But *Antiochus*, as soon as the season would permit, taking the field, advanced to the narrow passes, and dividing his army into as many bodies as there were attacks, he soon forced them all. He then assembled his army again in the plains, and with all his forces invested *Syringis* the capital of *Hyrkania*, which he soon obliged to surrender at discretion. In the mean time *Arfaces* was not idle, but all the way as he retreated having gathered what forces he could, made up at length an army of an hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. With these thinking himself strong enough to make head against the enemy, he took the field, and with great bravery put a stop to their further progress. His resistance drew out the war into a great length, insomuch, that no further advantage being gained by *Antiochus*, after many conflicts, he began to think it would be impossible for him to over-power so valiant an enemy, and drive him quite out of the provinces, in which he had by length of time so well established himself. He therefore gave ear to the overtures which were made him for the putting an end to so troublesome a war, and a treaty being set on foot, it was agreed, that *Arfaces* should hold *Parthia* and *Hyrkania*, on condition of

(Z) We are told by *Polybius* (45), that the *Persians*, when they first conquered *Asia*, finding many parts of it quite destitute of water, engaged to allow those, who should either discover water in places where none was then known to be, or find means to convey it thither, the profits arising from thence to the fifth generation. Our author adds, that the inhabitants, animated by this promise, spared neither labour nor expence to convey water under ground from mount *Taurus* as far as the desert here mentioned, there being no springs in that vast tract of country.

(44) *Polyb. l. x. p. 597.*

his

his assisting *Antiochus* to recover the other provinces which had revolted ^m.

Antiochus, having thus concluded a peace with *Arfaces*, turned his arms against *Euthydemus* king of *Bactria*. We have already shewn in what manner *Theodotus* first usurped the province of *Bactria*, caused himself to be acknowledged king of that country, and left it to a son of the same name. This son had been vanquished and driven out by *Euthydemus*, who, as he was a man of great courage and prudence, maintained a long war against *Antiochus*, who carried it on with great vigour, and on several occasions gave proofs of an extraordinary courage. In one of the battles fought with this prince his horse was killed under him, and in another he was dangerously wounded in the mouth, while he was encouraging his men in the first line. At length finding that he wasted his army without gaining any advantage by it, he grew weary of the war, and therefore admitted ambassadors from *Euthydemus* to treat of an accommodation. These represented to him, that the war he was carrying on against their sovereign was not just, since he had never been subject to the kings of *Syria*; that *Bactria* had thrown off the yoke under other monarchs long before him; that he possessed the kingdom by right of conquest, having vanquished and driven out the descendants of those who first revolted, and held it as the reward of a just victory, &c. They likewise insinuated, that the *Scythians*, taking advantage of the war, by which they were now weakening each other, were preparing to invade *Bactria* with a powerful army, and that therefore, if they persisted obstinately in contesting for it, a fair opportunity would be offered those *Barbarians* to take it from both. This consideration, added to the desire which *Antiochus* had to get rid, under some honourable pretence, of this tedious and unprofitable war, induced him to agree to such terms as ended in a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, *Euthydemus* sent his son to *Antiochus*, who, being taken with his majestic mein and agreeable conversation, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other conditions were agreed on to the great satisfaction of both princes, and confirmed by the usual oaths. After this, *Antiochus*, having received all the elephants of *Euthydemus*, which was one of the articles of the peace, crossed mount *Caucasus*, and entered *India*, where having renewed his alliance with *Sophagasenus* king of that country, and received likewise his elephants, which, with those he

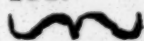
^m JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5.

had from *Euthydemus*, amounted to an hundred and fifty, he marched from thence into *Arachosia* (A), afterwards into *Drangiana*, and lastly into *Carmania*, settling in all those countries due order and discipline. He passed the winter in *Carmania*, and thence returned by *Persia*, *Babylonia*, and *Mesopotamia* to *Antioch*, after having spent seven years in this expedition. The boldness of his attempts and the wisdom of his conduct, during the whole course of this long war, gained him the reputation of a wise and valiant prince; so that his name became formidable to all *Europe*, as well as *Asia*. And thus far by his whole conduct he well deserved the surname of *Great*, which was given him, and which he might have carried with great glory to his grave, had he not unfortunately engaged in a war with the *Romans*.

NOT long after the return of *Antiochus* died *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt*, and was succeeded by *Ptolemy Epiphanes* his son, a child but five years old. Hereupon *Antiochus*, taking advantage of his minority and the domestic troubles which rent the kingdom into several factions, entered into an alliance with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in virtue of which they were to strip the infant king of his dominions, and divide them between them: *Philip* was to have *Caria*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, and *Egypt*, and *Antiochus* all the rest. Pursuant to this agreement, *Antiochus* marched forth- with into *Cæle-Syria*, and *Palestine*, and in less than two campaigns made an intire conquest of these provinces with all their cities and dependencies. In the mean time, *Scipio* having put an end to the second punic war in *Africa*, the name of the *Romans* began to be every-where known, and their victories spoke of not only in *Europe* and *Africa*, but all over *Asia*. The guardians therefore of the young king, finding themselves reduced to great straits by the confederate princes, sent an embassy to *Rome*, imploring the protection of that republic, and offering them the guardianship of their king and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; and lest the senate should refuse the offer, they added, that the deceased king had recommended both to them at his death. The *Romans*, thinking this would redound greatly to their glory, complied with the request of the ambassadors, and taking on them the tuition of the young king, immediately acquainted *Antiochus* and *Philip* therewith, requiring them to desist from

Antiochus enters into an alliance with Philip of Macedon against Ptolemy Epiphanes.

Year of the Flood, 2797. Before Christ, 202.



(A) We shall have occasion to describe *Arachosia*, *Drangiana*, *Paropamisus*, *Aria*, *Gedrosia*, and other countries on this side of the river *Indus*, when we come to the history of *Bactria*, *Hyrkania*, *elchos*, & c.

invading the dominions of their pupil, otherwise they should be obliged to make war upon them for his protection. *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, who was one of the ambassadors sent to both kings, after having delivered his embassy, repaired, agreeable to the instructions he had received from the senate at his first setting out, to the court of *Egypt*, there to take upon him the office of guardian to the young king, and regent of the kingdom (B). After he had regulated affairs there in the best manner he could, he appointed *Aristomenes* an *Acarnanian* to be chief minister to the king, and then returned to *Rome*. *Aristomenes* was an old experienced minister of that court, and, being well acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*, acquitted himself in this charge with great prudence and fidelity °.

THE first thing he did was to provide against the invasion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpose he took care to recruit the army with the best soldiers he could raise;

° POLYB. l. iii. p. 159. & l. 15. p. 707. LIV. l. xxxi. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6. HIERONYM. in cap. 11. Daniel.

(B) *Livy* takes no notice of the guardianship of *Lepidus*, whence the authors of the *Roman* history, which is now publishing in *France*, call in question the truth of the fact, thinking *Livy's* silence a strong proof against the single testimony, say they, of *Justin*. But herein they are greatly mistaken; for *Valerius Maximus* (46) tells us in express words, that *Lepidus* was appointed by the senate guardian of the young king of *Egypt*, and sent into that kingdom to take upon him the regency. *King Ptolemy*, says he, having left the people of *Rome* guardian to his son during his minority, the senate sent *M. Æmilius Lepidus* high pontiff, and one who had been twice consul, to *Alexandria* to take care of their pupil's kingdom, depriving themselves of a most upright man, who had been long conversant with their own affairs, &c. Besides, there are still extant several medals representing *Lepidas* putting a crown on a young man's head with this inscription, S. C. M. *Lepidus* Pont. Max. Tutor Reg. On the reverse of these medals is the city of *Alexandria*, where the kings of *Egypt* resided in those days. Our author here supposes, that *M. Lepidus* executed the office of guardian to the young king while he was high pontiff, and after he had been twice consul; whereas *Ptolemy Epiphanes* was dead before that time; perhaps he had seen some of the coins we have mentioned, and was by them led into this mistake (47).

(46) *Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 6.* (47) *Vide Usher. Annal. ad Ann. 1. andi. 3803.*

he sent *Scopas* an *Ætolian* with vast sums of money into *Ætolia* to levy there all the troops he could, the *Ætolians* being reputed the best soldiers of that age. *Scopas* had been formerly prætor of *Ætolia*, and was famous all over *Greece* for his skill in military affairs; when the time of his prætorship was expired, being disgusted with his countrymen for not confirming him, as he expected, in that office, he left *Ætolia* and went into the service of the king of *Egypt*, and being employed on this occasion, he had such success in his levies, that he brought in a very short time six thousand chosen men from *Ætolia*, which was a considerable reinforcement, to the *Egyptian* army^p (C).

IN the mean time *Antiochus* having passed into *Asia Minor*, and there engaged in a war with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, *Aristomenes*, taking advantage of the king's absence, sent *Scopas* with an army into *Palestine* and *Cæle-Syria* to recover those provinces. In this expedition the *Ætolian* was attended with such success, that he recovered several cities, reduced all *Judæa*, put a garison into the castle of *Jerusalem*, and on the approach of winter returned to *Alexandria*, loaded with the spoils of the conquered provinces. But it soon appeared, that the success of this campaign was chiefly owing to the absence of *Antiochus*, and the small resistance the *Egyptian* army met with. For *Antiochus* no sooner marched in person into *Cæle-Syria*, but the face of affairs was changed, and victory declared in his favour. *Scopas*, who returned with a powerful army, was defeated at *Paneas* near the source of the *Jordan*, and great part of his army cut in pieces. The general himself with much ado escaped to *Sidon*, where he shut himself up with ten thousand of his men, all the rest having been killed or taken prisoners. *Antiochus* laid siege to the city, and reduced the numerous garison to such straits, that they were forced by famine to surrender on terms of having

^p LLV. l. xxxi. HIERONYM. ibid. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3
LIV. l. xxxii.

(C) *Livy* tell us, that *Scopas* would not have left one man in the country able to bear arms, had not one *Damocritus* put his countrymen in mind of the war which *Ætolia* itself was ready to engage in, and represented to them the danger to which their own country would be exposed, if left naked and destitute of so many brave men. Hereupon great numbers, who had determined to follow *Scopas* into *Egypt*, remained at home. *Scopas* had not bribed and courted *Damocritus* as he had done the other heads of the *Ætolian* state.

only their lives spared. Accordingly they delivered up the city to *Antiochus*, who dismissed them stript of their effects and quite naked. However the regency of *Alexandria* was not wanting in using their utmost efforts for the relief of the place. They no sooner heard that *Scopas* was besieged, but three of their best generals at the head of the choicest troops of the state were sent to raise the siege. But *Antiochus* had disposed things so that all their attempts proved unsuccessful, and *Scopas* was obliged to submit to the dishonourable terms abovementioned ¹. From *Sidon* *Antiochus* marched to *Gaza*, and being provoked at the resistance he met with there, he gave up the city, after he had taken it, to be plundered by his soldiers. From *Gaza* he sent several detachments to secure the passes through which troops might be sent out of *Egypt* to disturb him in the possession of his conquests, and then marching back reduced *Betanea*, *Samaria*, *Abila*, *Gadera*, and the remaining parts of *Palestine* and *Cœle-Syria* ².

The Jews
submit to
Antiochus
who treats
them kind-
ly.
Year of
the Flood,
2801.
Before
Christ,
198.

THE *Jews*, who were at this time much alienated from the *Egyptians*, probably on account of the ravages committed the year before by *Scopas*, when he took *Jerusalem*, no sooner heard that *Antiochus* was advancing towards their country, but they went in crowds to meet him, delivering to him the keys of their cities; and when he approached *Jerusalem*, the priests and elders received him with great demonstrations of joy, paid him all kinds of honours, and entertained both him and his whole army in their city, supplying them plentifully with all sorts of provisions; nor was this all, they even took up arms and joined his forces in reducing the castle, which had been strongly garisoned by *Scopas*. In return for these services, *Antiochus*, in a decree directed to *Ptolemy* one of his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and favours; and in another he particularly ordained, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple; a prohibition which seems to have been made on account of *Philopator's* attempt which we have mentioned above. *Antiochus* had in his eastern expedition granted most ample privileges to the *Jews*, who were settled in *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*, and by that means gained the affection of the whole nation; no wonder therefore that, contrary to their former inclination, they were more desirous of having him to rule over them, than the *Egyptian* king who had used

¹ VALESII Excerpt. in POLYB. p. 77, 78. &c. HIERON. in cap. 11. Daniel. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xi. c. 3. ² JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 1. LIV. l. xxxiii. POLYB. Legat. 72. p. 893.

them



them ill. *Antiochus* depended so much on their fidelity, that, when a sedition broke out in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, he sent two thousand *Jewish* families out of the provinces of *Babylonia* and *Mesopotamia*, to quell it and keep the country in peace. They were transported thither at the king's charges, and by his order placed in the strongest fortresses of the country, had lands and possessions divided among them for their subsistence, and maintained at the king's expence, till they received the fruits of the lands allotted them^t. From these *Jews* were descended those whom we find scattered in great numbers all over *Asia*, when the gospel was first preached in those parts.

Antiochus having thus reduced all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, *Antiochus* conceived hopes of doing the same in *Asia Minor*, his great invades aim being to restore the *Syrian* empire to the full extent, in *Asia Minor* which it had been held by any of his ancestors, especially by *nor. Seleucus Nicator* its founder. But as he could not succeed in this design, unless he found some means to prevent the *Egyptians* from molesting him in his new conquests, while he was at a distance from them, he sent *Eucles* the *Rhodian* to *Alexandria* with proposals of a marriage between *Cleopatra* his daughter and king *Ptolemy*, to be consummated as soon as they were both of age, promising to give up those provinces on the day of the nuptials, by way of dowry with the young princess. This proposal being approved of at *Alexandria*, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the *Egyptians*, relying on the promises of *Antiochus*, suffered him to carry on his conquests without molestation^u.

Antiochus, having thus settled all in peace behind him, early next spring sent his two sons, *Arduas* and *Mithridates*, before him to *Sardis* with his land-forces, ordering them to wait for him there; while he himself set out with a fleet large enough to strike terror into all the coasts of the *Mediterranean*; for it consisted of an hundred large ships of war and two hundred other vessels of all sizes. His design was first to conquer the cities of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, and then advance in person to the assistance of his old ally *Philip*, who was engaged in a war with the *Romans*. As he sailed along the coasts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and *Caria*, many of the maritime cities of those provinces voluntarily submitted to him. Among these were *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodisias*, and *Corica*. From the latter he doubled the promontory *Anemurium*, and

^t JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.
Daniel.

^u HIERON. in cap. 11.

made himself master of the city of *Selinus*. Upon the bare report of his approach the cities sent deputies to him from all parts, acknowledging his authority, and declaring themselves ready to receive his troops within their walls. *Corocephum* (D) was the only city in those parts, which sustained a siege, though invested with all the forces of that mighty monarch. While he was employed before this place, the *Rhodians*, not in the least terrified at his formidable power, sent an embassy to him, requiring him not to extend his conquests farther, and to withdraw his troops out of *Cilicia*, else they should be obliged to take up arms against him, and put a stop to his further progress. The proud monarch, who was used to give law to others, was highly provoked at this bold message from so small a state; but, however, had command enough over his passions not to express any great resentment; he only answered, that he desired not to quarrel with the *Rhodians*, but to keep up always a good intelligence with them, and would therefore take care to order his ambassadors to renew the antient treaties his ancestors had made with *Rhodes*. He then sent ambassadors to *Rhodes*, but in the mean time continued the siege of *Corocephum*, which was at length taken by assault; several other cities of *Ionia* and *Æolis* underwent the same fate; but *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnassus*, and the island of *Samos* were preserved by the good offices of the *Rhodians*, and the large supplies of men and provisions, which they sent them. *Antiochus*, having thus reduced most of the maritime cities of *Asia Minor*, at length failed to *Ephesus*, and having likewise made himself master of that city, took up his winter-quarters there, spending the remainder of the year in concerting with his officers such measures as might be most proper for the pursuing and accomplishing of his vast designs; for nothing less than the intire conquest of all those kingdoms, which had formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, would satisfy his ambition ^w.

The free cities of Asia implore the protection of the Romans.

Smyrna, *Lampsacus*, and other *Greek* cities of *Asia*, which at that time enjoyed their liberty, finding that *Antiochus* designed to reduce them all to the condition they were in under his ancestors, resolved to stand out against him; but not be-

^w LIV. l. xxxiii. HIERON. in cap. xi. Daniel. APPIAN. in Syriac.

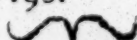
(D) *Corocephum* was a strong place situated near the sea on the top of a steep rock, which, according to *Strabo*, parted *Cilicia* from *Pamphylia*. This fort is now called *Scandelors*.

ing able to resist so powerful an enemy with their own strength, they implored the protection of the *Romans*, who willingly granted them it; for they plainly saw that it was their interest to check the progress of *Antiochus* towards the west, and that if they suffered him to settle on the coast of *Asia*, according to the plan he had laid down, he would have an easy passage from thence into *Europe*, and disturb them in the possession of the provinces they had already conquered, or might for the future conquer in *Thrace* and the adjacent countries. They therefore gladly laid hold of this opportunity, which the free cities offered them, of opposing his further progress; and immediately dispatched ambassadors to him; but before their arrival, *Antiochus* having sent two detachments from his army to besiege *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus*, had with the rest left *Ephesus*, and, crossing the *Hellepont*, seized all the *Thracian Chersonesus*. His pretence for it was to take possession of the old inheritance of his ancestors. We have already observed, that *Seleucus Nicator* had vanquished in *Phrygia* *Lyfimachus* king of *Thrace*; and this *Antiochus* thought a sufficient title to justify his claim upon *Thrace* as being his great-grandfather's conquest. The city of *Lyfimachia* which stood on the isthmus leading into the *Thracian Chersonesus*, had been founded by this *Lyfimachus*, but then lay in ruins, having been taken and reduced to this condition a few years before by the *Thracians*. *Antiochus* therefore had a design to rebuild *Lyfimachia*, and make it the capital of a great kingdom, which he intended as a portion for his second son *Seleucus*. He was bent upon these projects when he left *Ephesus*, and brought his troops by land into the *Chersonesus*, his fleet arriving before him at *Lyfimachia*. Here he made it his first business to rebuild and repopulate that great city. It was by its situation the most advantageous place he could have pitched upon in *Europe*; he therefore undertook to make it a convenient port for ships of all sizes, and a magazine of arms and provisions for the armies he intended to employ in the recovery of *Thrace*. With this view he assembled together its old inhabitants, who were dispersed and scattered in several places, rescued from slavery such as had been made captives, brought thither new citizens from the neighbouring countries, gave them most ample privileges, and furnished them with cattle, with instruments of husbandry, and whatever else was necessary for their encouragement*.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus busied in the restoring of *Lyfimachia*, the *Roman* ambassadors, with some deputies from

* LIV. & APPIAN. ubi supra.

Embassadors sent from Rome to Antiochus. Year of the Flood, 2803. Before Christ, 196.

the 

the Greek cities in *Asia*, arrived in *Thrace*, and finding *Antiochus* then at *Selymbria*, a city of that country, did all that lay in their power to dissuade him from settling in *Europe*. *Antiochus* received them very graciously, and entertained them in an hospitable and polite manner; but in the very first conference their minds were sowed against each other, the *Romans* giving themselves those imperious airs, which they assumed where-ever they came. They told him, that their republic was dissatisfied with his conduct ever since he came into *Europe*, demanded the restitution of all the cities and provinces which he had taken from *Ptolemy* during his minority, and above all, insisted upon his giving up those places which he had usurped from *Philip*; since the *Romans*, who had conquered the *Macedonian*, had a right to dispose of them. What! said *L. Cornelius*, who spoke on this occasion, shall *Rome* have been at all the expence of the war with *Philip*, and *Antiochus* reap the advantages of it? We should perhaps have connived at your conquests in *Asia*. But those you are come to make in *Europe* we will not suffer. Is not this step a declaration of war with the *Roman* senate and people? To this *Antiochus*, putting on a haughty air in his turn, replied, I have long observed that *Rome* is very watchful of my steps, but quite regardless of her own. Know then, proud *Romans*, that it no more concerns you to examine what I do in *Asia*, than it concerns me to controul you in any of your undertakings in *Italy*. You complain of my proceeding with regard to the king of *Egypt*; he is my friend, and will soon become my son-in-law; and then we shall settle our differences between ourselves. As to the *Thracian* cities, which I have lately taken from king *Philip*, I must let you know, that the *Chersonesus* was never a part of his dominions: *Nicator*, my great-grand-father, formerly conquered it, and took it from *Lyfimachus*, whom he overcame in *Phrygia*. *Ptolemy*, indeed, and *Philip* divided *Thrace* between them, while my predecessor was busy elsewhere. But that does not alter the nature of their usurpation; and I am come now justly to recover what they unjustly invaded. The *Thracians* have demolished *Lyfimachia*, a city belonging to me; and I am come to rebuild it. I will make it the capital of a kingdom, which is my right, and which I design for my younger son. The *Romans* desired that the ambassadors from *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* might be called in; and they, being admitted accordingly, spoke with so much freedom, that *Antiochus*, not able to bear it, cried out in a violent passion, that the *Romans* were not to be his judges; upon which the assembly broke up in great disorder, no satisfaction being given on either

ther side, but all things tending to an open rupture ¹. It must be owned, that according to the laws settled among the captains of *Alexander*, who survived that prince and divided his conquests, the claim of *Antiochus* to *Thrace* was not ill grounded. The strongest took from the weakest the share he had usurped upon the division of *Alexander's* dominions; and by this rule *Thrace*, which *Lyfimachus* had seized belonged to *Nicator*, who had conquered him, and consequently to *Antiochus* his great-grandson. Nevertheless this dispute would have lasted a great while, if *Antiochus* had not been obliged to leave *Lyfimachia* for another enterprize, which was of more consequence to him than even this ². A report was spread, that the king of *Egypt* was dead; whereupon *Antiochus* looking upon *Egypt* as his own, hastened on board his fleet to take possession of it, and having left his son *Seleucus* with the army at *Lyfimachia* to carry on the work begun there, he first sailed to *Ephesus*, where he joined to his fleet all the ships he found in that harbour, and made all the sail he could for *Egypt*; but on his arrival at *Patera* in *Lycia*, certain advice being brought him, that the report which was spread of *Ptolemy's* death was false, he changed his course, and made for the island of *Cyprus*, with a design to seize it; but meeting in his way thither with a violent storm, his fleet suffered shipwreck near the mouth of the river *Sarus*, which discharges itself into the *Cilician* sea. After a considerable loss of ships and men, he was glad to put in at *Seleucia* (E), to repair his shattered vessels, and from thence return to *Antioch*, without attempting any thing else that year ³.

WHAT occasioned the report of *Ptolemy's* death was, a conspiracy which had been formed against the life of that prince, and was first supposed, and afterwards reported, to have taken effect. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* was the author of this conspiracy, who being commander in chief of all the

¹ POLYB. Legat. 10. p. 800. & l. xvii. p. 769. LIV. & APPIAN. ibid. ² LIV. & APPIAN. ubi supra. ³ POLYB. l. xvii. p. 771, 772. & VALESII Excerpt. p. 61.

(E) Several cities, as we have observed elsewhere, bore this name, being all built by *Seleucus Nicator*. The city here spoke of stood in *Cilicia*, about twelve miles from the sea, on the banks of the *Calicadnus*. The antient geographers, to distinguish it from the other cities of the same name, call it *Seleucia Trachiotis*; an appellation which well agrees with the mountainous and rocky country in which it stood.

foreign forces in the service of the *Egyptian* king, most of which were *Ætolians*, imagined, that with so formidable a body of well-disciplined troops, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown, and make himself master of the whole kingdom during the king's minority. He had already formed his scheme for the attempt, and no doubt would have succeeded in it, had he executed his treason with the same boldness and resolution with which he contrived it. But though he was a very bold and daring man, yet when he came to the execution, his heart failed him, and, instead of going resolutely through with it, as such a desperate attempt required, he began to consult at home, and debate with his friends and accomplices, how he might best manage it, and by that means let slip the opportunity. For *Aristomenes*, the prime minister, having in the mean time got information of the plot, caused *Scopas* to be seized, and, having examined him before the council, and found him guilty, ordered him and all his accomplices to be executed. As for the rest of the *Ætolians*, they having forfeited the good opinion which the *Egyptians* had entertained of them on account of their fidelity till that time, most of them were disbanded, and sent back into their own country. *Scopas* was found at his death possessed of vast riches, which he had amassed by plundering the countries where he commanded as general. As he had, during the course of his victories, reduced *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, the greatest part of his treasures arose, no doubt, from thence. One of his chief accomplices in this plot was *Dicæarchus*, who had formerly been admiral in the service of *Philip* king of *Macedon*. We are told by *Polybius*, that *Philip* having commanded him to make war on the *Cyclades*, contrary to the most sacred and solemn treaties, to shew how little he regarded either piety or justice, before he sailed out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to *iniquity*, and the other to *impiety*, and sacrificed on them both, to insult, we may say, at the same time both gods and men. As this wretch had so signally distinguished himself by his crimes, *Aristomenes* very justly distinguished him from the rest of the conspirators in his punishment. For the others were dispatched by poison; but *Dicæarchus* tormented to death ^b.

Hannibal
puts him-
self under
the protec-
tion of
Antiochus.
Year of
the Flood,
2804.
Before
Christ,
195.

EARLY next spring *Antiochus* set out from *Antioch* on his return to *Ephesus*, and was scarce gone, when *Hannibal* arrived there, claiming his protection. This great general had lived six years unmolested at *Carthage*, ever since the last

^b Idem ibid.

peace with the *Romans*. But being now suspected to hold a secret correspondence with *Antiochus*, and in concert with him to form projects against *Rome*, his enemies sent privately advice of this to the senate. Hereupon ambassadors were immediately dispatched to *Carthage*, under pretence of settling some small differences between *Masinissa* and the *Carthaginians*, but in reality to watch *Hannibal's* conduct. If they found that he had entered into any engagements with *Antiochus*, the ambassadors were ordered to demand him to be delivered up to them. But *Hannibal* no sooner heard of their arrival than he suspected their business, and knowing that he was guilty of the practices which had been laid to his charge, resolved to withdraw before the ambassadors could make any inquiries. As he was *Suffes*, that is, the chief magistrate of the republic, he was obliged to appear continually in public; and this made his escape the more difficult. He therefore managed it with a great deal of address; he ordered his gold and silver to be carried to *Thapsus*, a city near a country-seat, which he had on the sea-shore at a small distance from *Carthage*. There he equipped two small vessels, manned them with good rowers, and concealed them in a little gulf within reach of his house. When the day came on which he designed to set out, he appeared before the senate and people as usual, and even had a conference with the *Roman* ambassadors. In the evening he went out on horseback, as it were to take a turn to *Thapsus*, from whence he was to return immediately, and therefore he ordered his attendants as *Suffes* to wait for him at the gate of the city. Being arrived at his country-house, he immediately imbarqued with a few chosen servants, and set sail for the island of *Cercina*; from *Cercina* he steered his course to *Tyre*, where he was received with all the respect due to so great a warrior, the *Tyrians*, who were originally the founders of *Carthage*, looking upon him as one of their own citizens. However, he did not stay long there, but pursued his journey to *Antioch*, hoping to find *Antiochus* there. But he being already gone for *Ephesus*, one of the king's sons kept him some days at *Antioch*, being desirous that this great man should be present at the festival celebrated near *Daphne* in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. As soon as the ceremony was over, *Hannibal* set sail for *Ephesus*, where he found *Antiochus* yet wavering between peace and war. But *Hannibal's* presence, and the reasons that great adversary of the *Romans* offered him, with the high opinion *Antiochus* had of his conduct and valour, soon determined the king's resolution for war. He did not doubt but, with the counsel and

assistance of a man, who had so often defeated the *Romans*, and thereby justly gained the reputation of being the greatest general of the age, he should be able to accomplish all his designs. He now thought of nothing but victories and conquests; accordingly war being resolved on, all that year and the following were employed in making the necessary preparations c (F).

Embassad-
ors sent
by Antio-
chus, first
to Flami-
nius and
after-
wards to
Rome.

IN the mean time, *Antiochus* being informed at *Ephesus* that *Flaminius*, who was then at the head of the *Roman* troops in *Greece*, was making great preparations for a new war, and apprehending that he might fall upon his son *Seleucus*, who was busy in rebuilding *Lyfimachia* in *Thrace*, sent deputies to *Flaminius* to propose an alliance with *Rome*. By this embassy *Antiochus* designed only to gain time, and discover what the *Romans* were doing. *Flaminius* answered the envoys, that his power was expired since the departure of the ten commissioners, who had been sent to settle the affairs of *Greece* and *Macedon*; wherefore, if their master desired to treat with the republic, he might send an embassy to *Rome*, where the senate would examine his proposals d. When the ambassadors returned to *Ephesus* with this answer, *Antiochus*, not having yet made the necessary preparations for the war he designed, in order to gain more time, resolved to send a new embassy to *Rome*, and accordingly ordered *Menippus*, *Hegesianax*, and *Lyfias* to depart immediately, and desire of the *Roman* senate in his name the friendship and alliance of the republic. On their arrival at *Rome* they were not received with that civility and regard, which the dignity and reputation of their master deserved; the proposal they made was not at all relished by the major part of the senators; the senate pretended to compound with them, and set bounds to their master's pretensions;

c LIV. l. xxxiii. in fine. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 1. & 2. ÆMIL. PROB. in Hannib. d LIV. l. xxxiv. c. 24.

(F) *Cicero* tells us (48), that, while *Hannibal* was at *Ephesus*, a peripatetic philosopher by name *Phormio*, having made an elegant and, as he thought, wise speech in his school, concerning the duty and office of a commander, how he should draw up his men in battalia, advance against the enemy, retire, rally, &c. *Hannibal*, who was present, after having heard him some time with a great deal of patience, could not help crying out at last, I have heard in my days many an old fool, but never such a fool as *Phormio*. Whence *Tully* concludes, that the military art is not to be learned from books in the closet, but by action in the field.

(48) *Cic. de Oratore*, l. ii.

may

may, before they gave their answer, they took indirect means to affront the ambassadors, they would not admit them into the senate, but referred them to the ten commissioners, who had been formerly sent into *Macedonia*, to conclude a peace with *Philip* and settle the affairs of *Greece*. *Flaminius*, who was then at *Rome*, was at the head of the commission, which did not a little displease the ambassadors; for they remembered how he had received the embassy sent him by their master, while he commanded the *Roman* forces in *Greece*. However, the ambassadors appeared before this new court, when *Menippus* expressed himself in the following manner: Why are all these delays made, and indirect methods taken to give us a plain answer? Our proposal is very plain, and contains no manner of difficulty; we desire the friendship and alliance of the *Roman* people. We do not come to treat with you as a conquered people with their conqueror, or as nations at war with one another, to settle their differences in an amicable manner. *Antiochus* and the *Romans* are neither upon the foot of enemies, or of conquerors. Why then do you pretend to give law to us? What right have you to dispose of the cities of *Asia* and *Europe*? What authority have you to direct us to withdraw our garisons from some places, and not to seize others? You may indeed treat *Philip* in this manner; but do the laws of nations give you a right to assume such an authority over *Antiochus*? *Flaminius* answered this discourse of *Menippus* with an imperious air, in the following terms: Since you insist upon a direct answer, I will give you one: *Antiochus* shall not be our friend and ally, but upon two conditions. The first is, that he keep within the bounds of *Asia*. The second, that if he comes into *Europe*, he shall not take it amiss, that the *Romans* protect the *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and enter into an alliance with them. At these words *Hegesianax* could not help crying out, What injustice! your design plainly is to dispossess *Antiochus* of the dominions of his ancestors. The *Chersonesus* and all *Thrace* belonged to his great-grandfather, whose right has descended intire to him. The possession which he has lately taken of his inheritance, was no more than rescuing it out of the hands of usurpers. Has *Rome* so good a right as this to the *Greek* cities in *Europe* and *Asia*? By what title do you pretend to justify your conquering them, or your depriving the king of *Syria* of them? He desires indeed your friendship, but in an honourable way; he is not fond of purchasing it at so dear a rate. To these solid reasons *Flaminius* could give no other answer, but that *Rome* was determined to pursue the resolution she had taken of procuring all the *Greeks* their liberty. *Æolis* and *Ionia*, said he, are inhabited

inhabited by colonies from *Greece*; and we have formed a design of setting all the *Greeks* at liberty. Those of *Europe* are already secured against the tyranny of *Philip*, and it is now our business to protect those of *Asia* against the power of *Antiochus*: what can be more humane or commendable? This speech of *Flaminius* confounded, if *Livy* is to be credited, *Hegesianax*, who, by his silence, says he, shewed his confusion. But, with that great historian's leave, nothing can be weaker than the principle on which *Flaminius* argued; for if *Thrace*, *Æolis*, and *Ionis* belonged to *Antiochus* by an antient conquest, could the pretence of restoring them to their liberty be a just reason for withdrawing them from their obedience to their lawful sovereign? the design of setting a prince's subjects at liberty, is not surely a sufficient reason for others to make war upon him: it must therefore be owned, that the war, which *Rome* waged with *Antiochus*, was founded on ambition, and not on justice. The final answer of the ten commissioners was this: Take your choice, either let *Antiochus* forbear ever setting foot in *Europe*, or not be surprized if we send our troops over into *Asia*. The ambassadors declared, That their master would not enter into an alliance with *Rome* upon such dishonourable terms, but would prefer a war to the loss of his antient right to vast countries in *Europe* and *Asia*^e. It is not improbable, that *Antiochus* made these first advances in asking the friendship of the *Romans*, purely to throw all the blame of a rupture upon them; for in effect he was already determined upon a war, and making great preparations for the carrying it on both by sea and land.

Hannibal
endeavours
to draw
Carthage
into a con-
federacy
with An-
tiochus.

Hannibal, who kept constantly with *Antiochus*, encouraging him to declare war with *Rome*, and inspiring him with the hatred he himself bore to that imperious republic, made an attempt to engage his own nation in the party he had lately embraced. He had still many friends at *Carthage*; however, he did not think it safe to treat with them by letters, but pitched upon a foreign merchant, who was come to trade at *Ephesus*, where *Hannibal* was then residing with *Antiochus*. His name was *Aristo*, and he seemed to be mighty well qualified for any difficult negotiation. As he was by birth a *Tyrian*, he understood the *Carthaginian* language, the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* being, as it were, but one people. Besides, he was a man of great address, intrepidity and resolution, and *Hannibal* had more than once experienced his skill in business, having employed him in the execution of several important

^e Liv. *ibid.* c. 59.

commissions; he therefore gave him proper instructions, told him the names of those he might confide in, and of such as he ought to suspect, and, without committing any thing to writing, taught him several signs, by which he might satisfy his friends that he acted in his name. *Aristo*, with these instructions, set out for *Carthage*, and arriving there was taken for a *Carthaginian*. He did not therefore make himself known to any but *Hannibal's* friends, soliciting them, in his name, to take up arms once more against their old enemy, and join many other nations that were ready to fall upon *Rome*, and in all likelihood to overpower her. He discovered to them the design *Antiochus* had formed of sending *Hannibal* to revive the war in *Italy*, &c. But tho' the *Tyrian* carried on his negotiation with all the secrecy and circumspection he could, yet his frequent visits to the leading men of *Hannibal's* faction betrayed him, and at length one of the opposite party declared in the public senate, that he had certain intelligence of dangerous intrigues, which were carrying on by one *Aristo* in favour of *Antiochus*, and that a storm was ready to break out, which would utterly destroy the *Carthaginian* republic. Hereupon the senators all with one voice cried out, that *Aristo* ought to be seized, and ambassadors sent to *Rome* to deliver him up to the senate. *Aristo* was therefore cited to appear, which he did without betraying the least fear; nay, he defied them all to produce any proof of his being sent by *Hannibal*, or carrying on intrigues of any sort whatsoever; but as he could not give a good account of his business at *Carthage*, and had been observed to make frequent and private visits to those of *Hannibal's* faction, some were for seizing, and punishing him, as an emissary sent by *Hannibal* to draw their republic into new troubles; but others pleaded in his behalf, remonstrating, that, if they arrested him upon bare suspicions, no foreign merchants would, for the future, venture to come into their ports, by which means they should be deprived of the most valuable branch of their revenues; besides, as the subjects of their republic were continually trading to all the ports of the *Mediterranean*, other nations, especially the *Tyrians*, would not fail to make reprisals, which would put a stop to their trade, without which their republic could not subsist. These considerations suspended, for some days, the arrest of the *Tyrian*, who took this opportunity to make his escape, having kept, the whole time he was at *Carthage*, his ship in a readiness to set sail; but, before he went off, he made use of a stratagem, which seemed calculated to make the *Romans* suspect the whole senate. In the dusk of the evening he went privately into the hall where public audiences were

were given, and, over the president's seat, affixed the following words in capitals: *Aristo had no orders to treat with private persons, but with the senate of Carthage.* His design in this was to prevent *Hannibal's* friends from being suspected, or brought into trouble, and to raise disturbances in the city. Accordingly the sight of this writing put the whole city in a ferment; some were for taking part with *Antiochus* in his wars with *Rome*, others for keeping to their late engagements with a republic, whose superiority they had already experienced, and whose vengeance they dreaded. The latter party prevailed, and an embassy was sent to *Rome*, to inform the senate of what had passed. As for *Aristo*, he set sail that very night, and got safe to *Ephesus*, where he was amply rewarded by *Hannibal*, though his negotiations had failed of the desired effect ^f.

Antiochus in the mean-time, without declaring his intentions, continued his preparations for the war he was resolved to make upon the *Romans*; and, in order to strengthen himself by new alliances, went to *Raphia* (G), and there married his daughter *Cleopatra* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* king of *Egypt*, to whom she had been some years before betrothed. The princess's portion was *Cæle-Syria*, *Phænice*, *Judæa* and *Samaria*, but upon this condition, that the revenues of these four provinces should be equally divided between the father and son-in-law. Some writers tell us, that *Antiochus* had no other view at first in marrying his daughter to *Ptolemy*, but to have a fair opportunity, by her means, of dispatching him, and seizing the kingdom for himself; but that the virtuous queen preferred the regard she owed to her husband to the ambitious designs of her father. On his return from *Raphia* to *Antioch*, he married *Antiochis* his second daughter to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. The third was designed for *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, in order to draw off that brave prince from his ancient alliance with *Rome*. With this view he caused the match to be proposed to the king of *Pergamus* and his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Philetærus*. His two brothers highly approved of it, thinking it a very honourable and an advantageous match; but the young king himself judged otherwise of it,

^f LIV. l. xxxiv. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 3. 4. APPIAN. in Syria. p. 89, 90.

(G) *Strabo* and *Livy* place *Raphia* in *Phænice*; *Ptolemy* makes it a city of *Samaria*, and *Pliny* of *Idumæa*; but as it stood near *Gaza*, it is counted by other geographers among the cities of *Palestine*.

thinking

thinking it adviseable to prefer the alliance of the *Romans* to that of *Antiochus*. He told his brothers, that, if he married the daughter of *Antiochus*, he could not help engaging with him in his wars against the *Romans*, who, if they should get the better of *Antiochus*, as he had reason to believe they might, would certainly drive him out of his kingdom. On the other hand, if *Antiochus* should conquer, no advantage would accrue from thence to him, it being manifest, that *Antiochus* aimed at the sovereignty of all *Asia*; and if he accomplished his designs, he might perhaps leave him, as being his son-in-law, on the throne, but would, at the same time, require such subjection and dependance from him, as would, sour all the pleasure of reigning. These reflections made *Eumenes* reject the offer made him by the king of *Syria*, and continue attached to the *Romans*. The event sufficiently proved the wisdom of his choice ^g.

Antiochus had no sooner solemnized these marriages, but he hastened back into *Asia Minor*, and arrived at *Ephesus* in the depth of the winter. From thence, in the beginning of the spring, he marched against the *Pisidians*, who still held out against him, and made himself master of all the country round *Selga*, a city on the banks of the river *Cestrius* (H). The *Romans*, hearing of the progress he made in *Pisidia*, and being informed by their friends in *Asia*, that most of the eastern princes were ready to declare for *Antiochus*, in order to avert the evil consequences of an alliance, into which all *Asia* seemed to have entered, and at the same time to have a certain knowledge of the state of affairs in those distant regions, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to the king of *Syria*, with orders to visit the coasts of *Asia* and *Greece*, and there see what states or republics seemed to waver between *Antiochus* and *Rome*. Three persons of distinction, who had been already employed in negotiations with the princes of the east, were pitched upon for this embassy, viz. *P. Sulpicius*, *A new embassy sent by the Romans to*

^g LIV. l. xxxv. & xxxvii. APPIAN. in Syriac p. 88 HIERON. in Daniel. c. 11. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. POLYB. chus. legat. 25.

(H) The name of *Selga* is corrupted in most copies of *Livy*. *Gelenius* is of opinion, that *Livy* means the city of *Selga*, which stood on a mountain near the borders of *Pamphylia*; and for this reason some modern geographers place it among the cities of that province. *Niger* calls it *Philadelphia*. *Glarean*, instead of *Sica* and *Sita*, which we find in the text, reads *Sida*, which was a city of *Pamphylia* near *Pisidia*, at a small distance from the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*.

Hannibal
over-rea-
ched by the
Roman en-
voys.

P. Villius, and *P. Ælius*, three of the ten commissioners who had settled affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon*. *Livy*, on the authority of some historians, tells us, that *Scipio* was in this embassy, and that, on this occasion, *Hannibal* gave him that celebrated answer, when, speaking of great commanders, he named *Alexander* in the first place, *Pyrrhus* in the second, and himself in the third. Some authors are of opinion that *Scipio* was not in this commission, and consequently look upon the conference between him and *Hannibal* as a mere fiction; but this point we shall examine in a more proper place. The ambassadors set out from *Rome*, and, pursuant to their directions, landed at *Elæa* (I) in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, where they found king *Eumenes* ready to take up arms against *Antiochus*. As this prince was still in *Pisidia*, and *Hannibal* waited for him at *Ephesus*, the *Roman* ambassadors went thither to visit *Hannibal*, being ordered by the senate to gain him over, if possible, or at least, by their civilities, to make *Antiochus* suspect him as keeping a secret intelligence with his enemies. The last of these designs had the desired effect, as we shall soon see, *Villius*, and, if *Claudius Quadrigarius* is to be credited, *Scipio* paying him frequent visits, and shewing a particular regard for him. In one of these visits they reproached him, in a friendly manner, with his flight from *Carthage*, assuring him, that *Rome* would have protected him against his domestic enemies; they advised him to return to his own country, where he should, under the protection of *Rome*, be reinstated in all his former honours; they told him, that *Rome* never spoke of him but with admiration, the terror which he had formerly struck into her, being changed into esteem, &c. *Hannibal* was greatly pleased with these fine speeches; but nevertheless could not be prevailed upon either to return to *Carthage*, or abandon the cause of *Antiochus*, which he had espoused. He often appeared in public with the *Roman* ambassadors, frequently conversed with them in private, and lastly, even suffered them to lodge with him in the same house, not being well apprized, as sagacious as he was, of the bad consequences that might attend his conversing thus familiarly with the *Roman* envoys. In effect, *Antiochus* was informed of it in *Pisidia*, and, from

(I) *Elæa* bordered upon *Great Mysia*, about twenty miles from *Pergamus*, and stood on the *Ægean* sea, near the mouth of the *Caicus*, over against *Metelina*, and had a convenient harbour. It is at present a small village, known by the name of *Alca*. The ancient city of *Elæa* was divided from *Lesbos* by an arm of the sea, called the gulf of *E.œa*.

that time, began to suspect him, fancying that he had reconciled himself to *Rome*; he was therefore no more employed in making the necessary preparations for the war, *Antiochus* not thinking it safe to depend upon him in matters of such importance.^h

FROM *Ephesus* the ambassadors advanced to *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, with a design to wait there for *Antiochus*, who being informed of their arrival, went thither to hear their proposals. As the *Romans* were too proud to abate any thing of their pretensions, they still insisted on *Antiochus's* confining himself to *Asia*; on his giving up some cities which he actually possessed, and his renouncing all his rights in *Europe*, particularly to *Thrace* and the *Cheronesus*; so that the conference between the king and the ambassadors was warm, but not long, a melancholy piece of news which the king received having soon put an end to it. He received advice, that his son *Antiochus*, a prince of great merit, and one who had signalized himself by a conduct worthy of an hero, was dead in *Syria*, whither he had been sent to keep those provinces in their duty. What heightened the king's grief on this occasion was, a report spread abroad, that he, growing jealous of his rising merit, had caused him to be poisoned by the eunuchs of his court. Tho' this report had no good foundation, it was necessary for the king to destroy it, by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. The ambassadors were therefore dismissed without concluding any thing, and *Antiochus* pursued his rout to *Ephesus*, where *Hannibal*, who was still in that city, soon found, that he was not the same favourite as formerly; for *Antiochus*, under pretence of solitude, shut himself up in his palace, and refused the *Carthaginian* admittance. The king spent his whole time there in private conferences with one *Minio* his sole confidant. *Minio* was a courtier, who had no knowledge of foreign affairs, and judged of his master's war with the *Romans* only by the victories he had gained in the east. He did not doubt in the least, but *Antiochus*, who had defeated *Achæus*, *Molo*, *Alexander*, and often the king of *Egypt*, would, in like manner, humble the haughty *Romans*; being therefore big with this expectation, he desired the king to send for the *Roman* ambassadors, who were then at *Pergamus*, and undertook to answer them in his name. *Antiochus*, being tired with so many useless conferences, and his mourning serving him for a just pretence to treat with the *Romans* for the future only by his

^h LIV. l. xxxiv, xxxv. JUSTIN. l. xxxic. 4 FRONT. Stratag. l. i. c. 8. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 90, 91.

favourites, complied with his request, and the ambassadors were accordingly sent for. When they arrived, the proud *Minio* received them with more haughtiness than *Antiochus* himself would have done. What he chiefly urged in behalf of his master's pretensions was, That he had as good a right to the countries possessed by the eastern *Greeks*, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the *Romans* had to those of the western *Greeks* in *Italy* and *Sicily*. All the *Greek* colonies, said *Minio*, have, according to you, a right to the general liberty of *Greece*; but does not *Rome* herself act in a direct opposition to this pretty speculation? Are there not cities in *Italy* which are as much *Grecian* as those in *Asia*? Were not *Rhegium*, *Naples*, and *Tarentum* built by *Greeks*? and yet you exclude them from this general enfranchisement, and keep them in subjection to your republic. What! can you keep the eastern part of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, the finest island in the sea, in slavery, and, at the same time, make war upon *Antiochus*, because he keeps *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and *Thrace* under his jurisdiction? What is the difference between the slavery of *Smyrna* and *Lampsacus* on one side, and that of *Tarentum* and *Syracuse* on the other? The right *Antiochus* has to *Ionia*, *Æolis*, and *Thrace* was derived to him from his ancestors; whereas *Rome* owes her possessing of *Great Greece* in *Italy*, and all the whole island of *Sicily*, to conquest. He concluded his speech by desiring them not to use querks or impertinent words, but to give a direct answer to this question, Why does not *Rome* maintain the liberty of the western *Greeks*, since she is so zealous for that of the eastern? *Sulpicius* endeavoured to answer this demand, by saying, That *Rome*, ever since she conquered those cities, had held them without any interruption, they never having passed into any other hands from the time they were first subdued by the republic; whereas the *Greek* countries possessed or claimed by *Antiochus*, tho' formerly conquered by his ancestors, had undergone, since that time, many changes. Some, said he, have been subject to *Philip* or *Ptolemy*; others have recovered their liberty; can therefore any thing be more just and humane than to restore it to them? The reasoning of the *Roman* was, as every one sees, more specious than solid; so that all things considered, the war which the *Romans* made upon the king of *Syria* was unjust, and the effect only of their unbounded ambition. However, *Minio*, by his master's order, offered to give up his claim to some *Greek* cities in *Asia*, and to maintain the liberty of *Rhodes*, *Byzantium*,

and *Cyzicus*; nay, he even consented, that these free states should enter into an alliance with *Rome*; but the ambassadors were not satisfied, and still insisted, that *Ionia* and *Æolis* should partake of the common liberty of *Greece*. This *Antiochus* opposed, and the ambassadors returned to *Italy*, leaving matters in the same situation they had found them on their first arrival^k.

THEY were no sooner gone but *Antiochus* called a council of war, composed of all the chief officers of his army, as well foreigners as *Syrians*. *Hannibal* alone was excluded from it, his too familiar conferences with the *Roman* envoys having made *Antiochus* jealous of him. The question which the king put to the council was, Whether it was proper to make war with the *Romans*? The council knew the king's inclinations, and were therefore all zealous for a war, that being the surest way to make their court, and gain his confidence. *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, who had formerly served *Antiochus* *Philip* and was now in great favour with *Antiochus*, assured the king, that the *Macedonians* would join him as soon as he landed in *Greece*; and that, as the *Ætolians* and *Nabis* tyrant of *Sparta* had taken up arms, and were ready to declare for him, he could not fail of success; but at the same time he advised him to dismiss *Hannibal*, and send him back to his own country. His presence there, said he, will alone be sufficient to keep the *Romans* in awe, and increase their diffidence. The hopes, in all likelihood, of commanding the army himself, was what induced the *Acarnanian* to give this advice; but, however that be, *Antiochus* from that time resolved to declare war with the *Romans*.

IN the mean time *Hannibal* plainly seeing, by the king's behaviour to him, that he had taken umbrage at his conduct, thought it necessary to undeceive him; having therefore demanded, and, with much-ado, obtained a private audience, he told the king, that when he was scarce nine years old, he began to be an irreconcilable enemy to the *Romans*, his father *Hamilcar* having made him swear upon the altars, that he would never lay aside his hatred to *Rome* but with his life; that he had ever acted suitable to that oath, having made war with those republicans for thirty years together; that he had now left his native country for no other reason but to keep more strictly to these engagements; that this animosity brought him into *Asia*, and the eager desire he had of doing what mischief he could to that proud and imperious republic, had led him into his dominions. If you, said the *Carthaginian*,

^k Idem ibid.

disdain

disdain my assistance, guided by the same hatred, I will fly to every part of the world where there are soldiers and arms, to raise up new enemies against *Rome*. I hate them, and am hated by them. So long as you are resolved to make war upon them, you may consider *Hannibal* as the first of your friends; but if there be any motives which incline you to peace, take counsel of others, not of me. I seek for nothing but war, and if I cannot find it here, I will be gone, and leave the place, I ought to hold near you, to courtiers, who seek my ruin only to aggrandize themselves. *Antiochus*, struck with these words, seemed to be reconciled to him. He then told the king, That he did not, by any means, approve of the advice which *Alexander the Acarnanian* had given him. No, said he, it is not in *Greece*, but in *Italy* that you can make yourself formidable. The *Romans* are invincible every-where but on their own continent. You must employ the forces of the *Italians* against the masters of *Italy*. Indeed any other nation would find it difficult to transport troops into the east; but the *Romans* will tire you out even here by their constancy. Their troops will over-run these countries like a torrent in a few months. This I take the liberty to tell you now in private, and shall not be afraid to repeat the same things in public in the face of your court. Have I not some right to teach your generals how to make war with the *Romans*? They were never able to conquer me so long as I kept footing in *Italy*; but *Carthage* recalled me and I met with a conqueror in *Africa*, who could not hurt me in *Italy*. Take therefore my advice, carry your troops over into *Italy*, and stop the inundation which threatens you at the spring head¹. This discourse would have made a lasting impression in the mind of *Antiochus*, had not the many flatterers about him, who were jealous of *Hannibal*, effaced it; and lucky it was for *Rome* that *Hannibal's* scheme was thus opposed; for the *Brutii*, *Salernini*, *Lucani*, *Samnites*, and the greatest part of the east of *Italy* were ready to follow his standards, while the *Gauls* in the west would have obliged the *Romans* to divide their forces; so that *Rome* would have relapsed into the same danger from which *Scipio* had delivered her.

THE *Romans*, not knowing yet for certain whether *Antiochus* would accept or not the conditions offered him, made no preparations for war till the return of their ambassadors; but then they began to take proper measures to prevent the evils that threatened them, both in *Greece* where the *Ætolians*

¹ Liv. *ibid.*

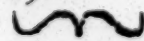
were ready to revolt, and in *Asia*, where *Antiochus* was making vast preparations. Nothing now kept this prince in *Asia*, but an expedition which he had undertaken against the cities of *Smyrna*, *Lampsacus*, and *Alexandria* in *Troas*, which *Antiochus* thought dangerous to leave behind him unreduced. The *Ætolians* being, from confederates of the *Romans*, now become their enemies, had sent ambassadors to him, inviting him over into *Greece*. *Thoas*, the brother of *Dicaarchus*, then prætor of *Ætolia*, who was at the head of this embassy, assured *Antiochus*, that the *Ætolians* would join him, as soon as he landed in *Greece*, with all their forces, and act in concert with him; that *Philip* king of *Macedon*, *Nabis* king of *Lacedæmon*, and several other *Greek* powers, who hated the *Romans* in their hearts, would declare against them. He observed in his speech to the king, that the *Romans*, by drawing their forces out of *Greece*, had left it in a defenceless condition; that this was the best opportunity he could wish for to possess himself of that country; that the *Greeks* would all receive him with open arms the instant he came among them, &c. This soothing description of the state of *Greece*, prevailed so far with *Antiochus*, that he resolved to drop the design of reducing the three above-mentioned cities, and hasten into *Europe*, without even waiting for the forces that were in full march from *Syria* to join him. According-
 having first gone to *Ilium*, and there offered a sacrifice to *Juno*, he embarked for *Greece* with no more than ten thousand foot, five hundred horse, and six elephants, which were scarce enough to take possession of the country, had it been wholly unguarded. With these forces he arrived in the island of *Eubœa*, about the end of the summer, and from thence passed to *Demetrias* in *Thessaly*, where he summoned all the chief officers of his army, to consult with them about the future operations of the war. On this occasion *Hannibal*, who was admitted to the council, and asked his opinion in the first place, insisted on what he had often declared, viz. That the *Romans* were not to be conquered but in *Italy*, and therefore it had been his constant advice to begin the war there; however, since other measures had been taken, and the king was then in *Greece*, it was his opinion, in the present state of affairs, that the king should send immediately for all his forces out of *Asia*, without depending upon the *Ætolians*, or other *Greek* allies, who, he foresaw, would deceive him; and that the instant these forces arrived, he should march with them to those coasts of *Greece* which lie over-against *Italy*, and there likewise keep his fleet, one half of which should be employed to ravage and alarm the coasts

Antiochus crosses over into Greece.
 Year of the Flood, 2807.
 Before Christ, 192.

coasts of *Italy*, and the other kept in some harbour near him, to make a shew of passing over, and to be, in effect, ready to cross over, in case a favourable opportunity should offer. By this means, said he, the *Romans* will be kept at home to guard their own coasts; and this, at the same time, will be the best method of carrying the war into *Italy*, the only place where they can be conquered. This advice was undoubtedly the best that could then be given to *Antiochus*; but he complied with it only in that particular which related to the troops of *Asia*, sending immediately orders to *Polyxenidas* his admiral to transport them into *Greece*. With regard to all the rest of *Hannibal's* plan, the flatterers about the court diverted the king from putting it in execution, assuring him, that he could not fail of success; that, should he follow *Hannibal's* plan, all the glory would be ascribed to the *Carthaginian* who had formed it; that it was proper the king should have all the honour of this expedition, and therefore they advised him to follow his own counsels, without hearkening any more to *Hannibal*. After this the king went to *Lamia*, and there being invested with the chief command of the *Ætolians*, and declared their generalissimo, he returned to *Eubœa*, where he made himself master of *Chalcis*, and took up his winter-quarters in that city^m. There he fell in love with the daughter of a *Chalcidian* called *Cleoptolemus*, in whose house he lodged; and, notwithstanding the disproportion of her age, she being under twenty, and he upwards of fifty, married her, and passed the remainder of the winter in nuptial rejoicings and revellings, with as much security as in the most peaceable times. The example of the king infected the whole army, both officers and soldiers abandoning themselves to idleness and debauchery. He was not roused out of this lethargy, till news was brought him, that *Acilius* the *Roman* consul was advancing full march against him at the head of twenty thousand foot, and two thousand horse. All he could do on this alarm, was to seize the famous streights of *Thermopylæ*, and send to the *Ætolians* for more forces; for the inclemency of the weather, and contrary winds having prevented the arrival of the *Asiatic* troops, which *Polyxenidas* was bringing over, the king had only those forces with him which he had brought the year before; but before the *Ætolians* could come to his assistance, the *Romans* having forced, with incredible bravery, the passes of *Thermopylæ*, cut the king's army in pieces, *Antiochus* himself

Antiochus
defeated at
Thermo-
pylæ.
Year of
the
Flood,
2808.
Before
Christ,

191.



^m LIV. l. xxxvi. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 5, & 6. APPIAN.

in Syriac. p. 93, 94.

having

having narrowly escaped with only five hundred men to *Chalcis*^a. But of this battle, and the surrender of the cities and strong holds that followed it, we have already given a particular and distinct account in our history of *Greece*^o.

Antiochus did not stay long at *Chalcis*, but from thence made *Antiochus* all the haste he could to his fleet, and, going on board with *returns in-* the poor remains of his shattered army, passed over to *Asia*.

Ephesus, carrying with him his young wife, and, thinking himself safe there from the *Romans*, he entirely neglected every thing that could secure him against so formidable an enemy. His flatterers had made him believe, that they would never venture over into *Asia*; but *Hannibal*, who had regained his confidence, roused him out of the idle and indolent life, into which he was relapsed, telling him, that as the *Roman* fleet was no less formidable than their land-forces, he was surprized that they had not yet crossed over into *Asia*; that they would, without all doubt, soon appear on the coasts, and oblige him to fight both by sea and land for the dominion of *Asia*; and that he must resolve either to renounce his pretensions to so wealthy a country, or to defend it sword in hand. The king was struck with this speech, and therefore sent to hasten the march of his troops from the eastern provinces, which were not yet arrived. He likewise caused his fleet to be equipped with all possible expedition, and, going on board of it himself, set sail for the *Thracian Chersonesus*, where he fortified *Lyfimachia*, as also *Sestos* and *Abydos*, and the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the *Romans* from crossing the *Hellepont* into *Asia*. In the mean-time *Polyxenidas*, who was then at *Ephesus*, having received advice, that the *Roman* fleet had appeared off *Delos*, dispatched a messenger to acquaint *Antiochus* therewith. Upon this intelligence the king hastened back to *Ephesus*, and having there summoned a council of war, it was unanimously resolved, that *Polyxenidas*, the *Syrian* admiral, should sail out in search of the *Roman* fleet, and venture an engagement. Accordingly the fleet, to the number of an hundred, or, as others will have it, two hundred sail, weighed anchor, steering their course towards *Phocæa* in *Æolis*. The *Roman* fleet, commanded by *C. Livius*, and consisting of fourscore ships, upon intelligence that the *Syrians* were in search of them, left the road of *Delos*, and, having doubled the cape of *Corycus* in *Ionîa*, met the enemy's fleet near *Cyffus*. Both fleets advanced in line of battle, and engaged with the utmost fury; victory was long doubtful, *Livius* having the advantage

^a LIV. *ibid.* PLUT. in *Catone*. APPIAN. *ibid.* FRONT. l. ii. *stratag.*

^o See Vol. VI. p. 583, & seq.

*The fleet of
Antiochus
defeated by
that of the
Romans.*

in the right wing, and *Polyxenidas* in the left. At length *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, who had been placed in the rear with fifteen ships, falling upon *Polyxenidas*, put the enemy's right wing in disorder, and thereby determined the fate of the day. The *Syrians* on all sides betook themselves to flight, and *Livius*, pursuing them, took thirty of their ships, after having sunk ten in the engagement. The *Romans* lost but one ship, which was taken in the very beginning of the fight; but the whole crew leaped over-board, and escaped slavery by swimming to the other *Roman* vessels. *Polyxenidas* put in no-where till he got to *Ephesus*, whither *Livius* pursued him; but, finding that he would not venture out, he sent *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* home, and retired himself to *Canae*, a port in *Mysia*, where he drew his ships ashore for the ensuing winter, after having fortified the place with a ditch and rampart^p.

IN the mean time *Antiochus* was at *Magnesia* assembling there his land-forces. When news was brought him, that his fleet had been defeated at *Corycus*, he hastened to the sea-coast, and applied himself with great care to the fitting out of a new fleet, being unwilling to part with the mastery of those seas. He refitted the ships which had escaped the late defeat, built new ones, and dispatched *Hannibal* into *Syria* to bring from thence the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* fleets for their reinforcement. He likewise ordered his son *Seleucus* with one part of the army into *Æolis*, to watch the *Roman* fleet, and keep that country in awe; the rest of the troops he kept some time with himself, and then put them into winter-quarters in the neighbouring towns of *Phrygia*^q.

THE next year the *Romans* appointed *L. Cornelius Scipio* consul to command the land-forces in room of *Acilius*, and *L. Æmilius Reginus* to carry on the war by sea in the place of *C. Livius*. The great *Scipio Africanus* served under *Cornelius* his brother in quality of his lieutenant, to the unspeakable joy of the *Romans*, who were highly delighted with the expectation of seeing *Scipio* and *Hannibal* once more enter the lists. They were now both subalterns, one under a consul, the other under a king; and this new scene drew the attention of all nations.

THE two brothers imbarqued at *Brundisium* with thirteen thousand men, including auxiliaries and volunteers, and landed at *Apollonia*. From thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Thessaly* to *Amphissa*, where *Acilius*, who was

^p LIV. l. xxxvi. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 99. xxxvi, & xxxvii. APPIAN. ibid. & p. 100.

^q LIV. l.

besieging

besieging that place, resigned the command of his two legions to the consul. The two *Scipios*, who were in haste to pass over into *Asia*, which was the chief object of their ambition, granted the *Ætolians* a six months truce, that they might have full time to send a new embassy to *Rome*, and pursued their march through *Macedon* and *Thrace* to the *Hellepont*. *Philip* had prepared every thing that could render their passage through his dominions agreeable to them. He came in person to meet them on his frontiers, and seemed to make it his duty, as well as pleasure, to attend them, discovering in the entertainments, which he gave the chief officers of the army, such a politeness as was very pleasing to *Scipio Africanus*. In return for the extraordinary kindness he had shewn them, the two brothers remitted him, in the name of the republic, the sums which yet remained to be annually paid by him, according to the agreement between him and *Flaminius*. In the mean time *Livius*, the *Roman* admiral, being joined by the *Rhodian* fleet and that of *Eumenes*, sailed with the latter from *Canæ* in *Mysia*, where he had wintered, to secure the straits of the *Hellepont*. With this view he made himself master of *Sestos* on the side of *Europe*, and invested *Abydos* on the opposite shore; for these two cities stood opposite to one another in that part of the strait where the passage into *Asia* was the safest. While *Livius* was thus employed on the *Hellepont*, *Polyxenidas*, having repaired the *Syrian* fleet, and being in a condition to put to sea again, destroyed by a piece of treachery the greatest part of the *Rhodian* fleet, with *Paufistratus*, who commanded it, as we have related at length in the history of *Rhodes*^r. This disaster obliged *Livius* to raise the siege of *Abydos*, and hasten to the defence of the ships he had left in the harbour of *Canæ* in *Mysia*. Besides, *Seleucus* was making some progress on the coast of *Asia*, and had already taken *Phocæa*, *Cyme*, and some other maritime places. It was therefore necessary to put a stop to the progress of the young prince, and retake *Phocæa*. But *Livius* finding, upon his arrival, the garison of *Phocæa* very numerous, he only made a descent, and ravaged the neighbouring territory. From thence he sailed to *Samos*, being attended thither by the fleet of the king of *Pergamus*. As for the *Rhodians*, the defeat of their fleet, and the loss of their admiral, sunk them almost into despair. However, they did not renounce their alliance with *Rome*, but fitting out twenty new gallies, they gave the command of them to *Eudamus*, who immediately joined the *Roman* fleet at *Samos*.

^r See Vol. VII. p. 345, & seq.

Livius with this reinforcement left *Samos*, and, sailing to *Ephesus*, insulted the *Syrian* fleet in that harbour. Some of the *Romans* landed, and laid waste the neighbouring country; but the garison of *Ephesus*, marching out against them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire with precipitation on board their ships. The next day *Livius* challenged the *Syrians* to an engagement ashore, but they declining it, he returned to *Samos*, and there resigned the command of the fleet to *Æmilius* his successor (K), who immediately detached him with some ships to attempt the reduction of *Patara* in *Lycia*, a place which was a great check upon the *Rhodians*, while in the enemy's hands. But *Livius* failed in his attempt, and soon after returned to *Rome*. As for *Æmilius*, he first appeared before *Ephesus* with the rest of the *Roman*

(K) *Livy* tells us (49), that *Æmilius* no sooner took upon him the command of the fleet, but he summoned a council of war, to advise with the chief officers about the first enterprize he should undertake. On this occasion *Livius*, whose command was just expired, being asked his opinion the first, gave it, says our historian, like an artful man, who was jealous before-hand of the success *Æmilius* might have. His pretence was very specious, but his real design was, to make *Æmilius* lose the whole campaign by engaging him in a trifling project; and it was therefore rejected. Had I continued in the command, said *Livius*, my design was to shut up the mouth of the port of *Ephesus*, and there keep the *Syrian* fleet confined. To this end I would have sunk some old barks filled with stones at the entrance into the harbour. Being by this means become sole master of the seas, I would have ravaged the coasts, and forced the maritime cities to surrender. *Eumenes*, who saw into *Livius*'s design, replied thus: After we have stopped up the mouth of the port, shall the *Roman* fleet continue before it, or not? If it continues there, the enemy's fleet will be in better condition than ours. They will be covered and sheltered by a great city, which will be supplied by land from all parts of *Asia*. Whereas we shall be exposed to winds and tempests, and lose time in a road without gaining any advantage but that of continuing inactive, and giving the enemy leisure to make the necessary preparations against the ensuing campaign. If we do not continue before *Ephesus*, the *Syrian* fleet will, without all doubt, clear the mouth of the port, and sail out; so that we shall have lost our time, labour, and expence to no purpose. *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, disapproved the project of *Livius*, without proposing any other. But *Epicrates*, an inferior officer in the *Rhodian* fleet, was for sending part of the fleet against *Patara*, and reducing that city. This proposal was approved of, and *Livius* ordered to put it in execution.

(49) *Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 14.*

fleet,

fleet, but was forced by a storm to put out to sea. Then calling to mind the affront the *Romans* had received before *Patara*, he flew thither with a design to besiege the place; but the officers remonstrating against the enterprize as dangerous to the allies, who, in the absence of the *Roman* fleet, would be left to the mercy of the enemy, he returned to *Samos*, where he was near enough to watch the motions of the *Syrians* ^c.

WHILE these things were doing, *Antiochus* on one side, *Antiochus* and his son *Seleucus* on the other, thinking that the *Roman* invades the fleet was engaged in the siege of *Patara*, invaded the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Seleucus* passing the *Caicus* from *Æolis*, *Pergamus*, where he had wintered, entered the dominions of *Eumenes* by the way of *Elæa*, while *Antiochus* advancing to *Sardis*, and from thence to the banks of the *Caicus*, incamped at a small distance from his son. The king had in his army about four thousand *Gauls*, whom he employed in plundering and laying waste the country, while *Seleucus* at the head of his body appeared before *Pergamus*, the capital of the kingdom, threatening to besiege it. But *Eumenes*, upon the first notice of the danger from his brother *Attalus*, whom he had left to take care of his dominions during his absence, sailed back to the port of *Elæa*, landed there, and reached his capital before the enemy had notice of his march. The *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleets followed him without delay; all the troops they had on board made a descent without opposition, and at the same time news came from all parts, that the *Scipios* were advancing by great marches thro' *Macedon*, would soon reach the *Hellepont*, and be ready to enter *Asia*. Upon this *Antiochus*, being struck with as much terror as he had given *Eumenes*, retired to an eminence near *Elæa*, and having intrenched himself there, sent an embassy to *Æmilius*, desiring to enter into a treaty with him. *Æmilius*, thinking it would greatly redound to his glory to conclude a peace before the *Scipios* arrived, readily hearkened to the proposal, and desired *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* to come to his camp, and assist at a council on the subject of *Antiochus*'s proposal. The *Rhodians* were not disinclined to a peace; but *Eumenes* opposed it, and by his arguments prevailed upon the council to return this answer to the messengers of *Antiochus*, that they could not determine any thing before the arrival of the *Scipios*. Hereupon *Antiochus*, leaving his son to ravage the kingdom of *Pergamus*, marched into the country of *Troas*,

^c LIV. l. xxxvii.

which

which adhered to the *Romans*, and encamped near *Adramyttium* at the foot of mount *Ida*. *Æmilius* therefore accompanied by *Eumenes* hastened to the assistance of those faithful allies. But *Attalus* continued at *Pergamus* to make head against *Seleucus*, and was there reinforced by a thousand foot and an hundred horse sent him from *Achæa*, under the command of one *Diophanes*, an officer of great courage and skill in military affairs; for with this small body he sallied out of the city, gained a considerable advantage over *Seleucus*, and obliged him to raise the siege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* ^t (L).

Antiochus

^t LIV. ubi supra.

(L) The defence of *Pergamus* was chiefly owing to a reinforcement of the *Achæans*, who came thither very seasonably, to the assistance of the young prince. Their commander, by name *Diophanes*, was an officer of distinction in his own country, had made his first campaigns under the famous *Philopæmen*, and seemed to have imbibed all the excellencies of his great master. With his body of a thousand foot and a hundred horse, he harassed *Seleucus* to such a degree, that he at length forced him to abandon the country which he infested. *Diophanes* spent the two first days after his arrival in observing the *Syrian* intrenchments, and the steps they took to make themselves masters of the city, which they kept invested. He observed from the ramparts, that they posted an advanced guard at the foot of an hill to keep the city in awe, and then dispersing themselves in the plains, pillaged the country. As no-body durst venture out against the advanced guard, the *Syrians* pillaged the country without opposition. This inaction of the besieged lulled the besiegers into a security; insomuch that they spent great part of their time in diversions, and were often observed to fall asleep even upon guard. *Diophanes* therefore concluded that it would be no difficult matter to surprize them. He acquainted *Attalus* with his resolution of attacking the advanced guard. That prince looking upon such an expedition as a rash attempt, was with much ado prevailed upon to consent to it. However, submitting his judgment to that of an old experienced officer, he at length gave him leave to march out at the head of his *Achæans*. All the citizens crowded to the ramparts to be spectators of the action, and there saw that the approach of so small a body did not even draw the *Syrians* off from their sports. At first *Diophanes* stood still, as if he had marched out only to watch the enemy's motions. But when he observed that the enemy took no notice of him, he marched at the head of his hundred horse directly up to a body of three hundred of the enemy, ordering his thousand foot to attack 4 000 *Syrians*, who were posted near their three hundred horse.

Antiochus had no better success in *Troas*; for *Æmilius*, *The Rhodians de-* supported by the confederate fleets, forced him to abandon *Adramyttium*; so that after he had taken by assault several *feat the* defenceless cities in his way, he returned to *Sardis*. Here- *Phœnician* upon the confederate fleets sailed back to *Samos*, where they *fleet com-* separated; *Æmilius* continued there to watch the motions *manded by* of *Polyxenidas*, *Eumenes* sailed towards the *Hellepont*, to *Hannibal*. get every thing ready for the passage of the Roman troops into *Asia*, and *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes*, there to receive fresh reinforcements. The latter, receiving intelligence that a fleet was coming from *Syria* under the command of *Hannibal*, hastened the equipment of his ships, sailed out to meet the *Carthaginian*, who was now indeed out of his proper element, and with fewer ships intirely defeated him off *Sida*, a maritime city of *Pamphylia*, as we have related elsewhere*.

UPON the news of this defeat, *Antiochus*, who was then *Antiochus* at *Sardis*, being sensible of the imminent danger he was in, *endeavours* used all possible means to engage in the same war all the *to gain o-* powers of *Asia*. He began with *Prusias* king of *Bithynia*, a *ver Prusias* potent prince, and then in a condition to bring into the field *king of* and maintain a numerous army. In order to draw him *Bithynia*. into his measures, *Antiochus* used the strongest argument

* Hist. Univerf. Vol. VII. p. 348.

horse. The onset was so sudden, and the shout of the *Achæans* so formidable, that the enemy's horse was immediately put in disorder. Their infantry, having scarce had time to draw up, after a faint resistance betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter by *Diophanes*. The next day the enemy posted themselves at a greater distance, and observed better discipline. However, *Diophanes* invited the citizens of *Pergamus* to march out with him, promising them a second advantage. But the garison refusing to follow him, he took with him his *Achæans* alone, who were glad to venture a second action under his conduct. All the day was spent in watching one another, without any attack on either side. At sun-set the *Syrians* withdrew to their camp; and this was the opportunity which *Diophanes* waited for. As the *Syrian* troops filed off in a line, the *Achæans* fell on their rear, and there made a most dreadful havock, the foremost hastening their pace to reach the camp without daring to face about and relieve their companions. These repeated advantages gained by *Diophanes* and his brave *Achæans* obliged *Seleucus* at last to raise the siege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* (50).

(50) *Appian. in Syriac. & Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 20.*

that

that can be made use of with sovereign princes. He represented to him the ambitious views of the *Romans*, telling him that their main aim was to overturn monarchy in all places, and, under the specious pretence of liberty, to solicit all nations to shake off the yoke of their kings; that after having subdued *Philip* and *Nabis*, they were now coming against him; and that if he should be unfortunately overcome, the haughty conquerors would soon penetrate into the heart of *Bithynia*. The two *Scipios*, who were then on their march into *Asia*, being informed of the endeavours *Antiochus* was using to engage *Prusias* in the war, thought proper to put a stop to the intrigues of the king of *Syria*; and with that view dispatched a messenger with a letter to *Prusias*, wherein they observed, that it was the constant practice of the *Romans* to bestow the greatest honours on such kings as sought their alliance; *Africanus* mentioned several instances, which he himself had been concerned in; he said, that in *Spain* several princes, who before they were favoured with the protection of the *Romans*, had made a very inconsiderable figure, were since become mighty kings; that *Masiniissa* had not only been restored to his kingdom, but that of *Syphax* had been given him, whereby he was become one of the most powerful potentates of the universe; that *Philip* and *Nabis*, though vanquished, had nevertheless been suffered to sit peaceably on their thrones; that the tribute, which he had agreed to pay, had been lately remitted, and his son, who was an hostage at *Rome*, sent back to him; that as for *Nabis*, they had left him in possession of his crown, which he would have still enjoyed, had he not lost his life by the treachery of the *Ætolians*. This letter made a strong impression on the mind of *Prusias*; but he was still wavering between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, till a new embassy quite fixed him. *C. Livius*, who had the last year commanded the fleet on the coasts of *Asia*, came from *Rome* to *Bithynia*, and made such proposals to the king in the name of his republic, as prevented him from entering into any engagements with the king of *Syria*^u.

Antiochus being thus disappointed in the hopes he had entertained of winning over *Prusias* to his interest, his whole dependence was on his fleet. He thought he could more effectually keep the *Romans* out of *Asia* by recovering the

^u POLYB. Legat. 22. LIV. l. xxxvii. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 150.
151.

mastership of the sea, than by guarding the shores of the *Hellepont* with his land-forces. With this view he left *Sardis* and came to *Ephesus*, where *Polyxenidas* was waiting for him with a good number of ships, all well equipped, and stored with arms and provisions. *Hannibal* had not yet joined him with the *Phœnician* fleet, being still blocked up in the ports of *Pamphylia*. But, on the other hand, the *Romans* had not yet been reinforced by the gallies they expected from *Rhodes*, and the fleet of *Eumenes* was waiting for the *Scipios* on the coasts of the *Hellepont*. *Antiochus* therefore ordered *Polyxenidas* to engage the *Romans* once more at sea. As for himself, he marched with his land-forces to *Notium* between *Smyrna* and *Ephesus*, and from thence to *Colophon*, which he invested. This was one of the most considerable cities of *Ionia*, and had been long troublesome to *Antiochus's* fleet; for as it was situated on an eminence, the *Colophonians* discovered all that passed in the port of *Ephesus*, and gave the *Romans* notice of it. *Antiochus* expected that the *Roman* fleet would fly to the assistance of their allies, and his aim was to draw it out of the port of *Samos*, that his admiral might have an opportunity of attacking it. And indeed the *Colophonians* immediately dispatched some of their citizens to *Æmilius*, desiring his assistance against an enemy, which they had drawn upon themselves only by their fidelity to *Rome*. This message broke the admiral's measures, for he had determined to sail to the *Hellepont* with the first favourable wind, and assist the *Scipios* in their passage. However, he was prevailed upon by *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, who had joined him with some gallies, to alter his scheme; and accordingly he ordered the fleet to be in a readiness to set sail. But before he attacked *Antiochus*, he resolved to touch at *Chios*, and take in there some provisions, the general magazine of the *Romans* both for their sea and land-forces being there. From *Chios* he sailed to the island of *Teos*, being informed that those islanders had promised the king of *Syria* about five thousand hogsheads of their best wine. He was resolved either to force them to deliver up the wine to him, or take and demolish their city, the vessels which were bringing wine to the *Roman* fleet being kept back by contrary winds. In the mean time *Polyxenidas*, being informed that the *Roman* fleet was at *Teos*, left *Ephesus*, and sailed to that island in hopes of being able to shut up the enemy's fleet in the harbour. For the city of *Teos* had two ports, whereof the safest and most capacious was formed by two promontories, which came so near each other, that two gallies could scarce sail out of it a-breast; and in this *Æmilius* first anchored,

*The Syrian
fleet de-
feated by
the Ro-
man.*

but before the arrival of *Polyxenidas* he had by the advice of *Eudamus* changed his post. Wherefore the Syrian admiral instead of blocking up the harbour was obliged to keep his fleet sheltered under the island of *Macris* over-against *Myonnesias*, till the Roman fleet sailed out. There he continued two days in hopes of surprizing the Romans as they sailed by from *Teos* to *Colophon*. But in the mean time *Æmilius*, being informed that the Syrian fleet waited for him at *Macris*, left *Teos*, and steered his course towards that island with his ships drawn up in line of battle. As *Polyxenidas* had positive orders to engage the Romans, he laid hold of this opportunity, and attacked them with great resolution. The Roman fleet consisted of eighty ships, and the Syrian of eighty-nine, some of which were of an enormous size, two of them being heptaremes, and three hexaremes. The Rhodians had then invented a kind of fire-ships, which struck great terror into the Syrian fleet; cauldrons full of combustible and burning materials were hung out at their prows, so that none of the enemy's ships durst approach them. These fell on the enemy's gallies, struck their beaks into them, and at the same time set them on fire. The Syrian gallies left their ranks, and crowded round them, not with an intent to board them, but to discharge their arrows, darts, and javelins against their crews; in the mean time the Roman ships, sailing into the spaces which the Syrians had left, put their whole fleet in confusion, *Polyxenidas* did all that lay in his power to encourage his men, but in spite of all his efforts the left wing being in great disorder, clapped on all the sails they could, and quitted the fight. Then *Polyxenidas* endeavoured to retire in good order, but the Rhodian fire-ships advancing against him, and setting some of his gallies on fire, the rest betook themselves to a precipitous flight. The historians, who most lessen the advantage gained by *Æmilius* on this occasion, agree, that he sunk thirty-nine of the enemy's ships, and took thirteen; but others say, that the Syrians lost forty-two ships and thirteen gallies, whereas the Romans lost but two ships, which were sunk in the very beginning of the engagement ^w.

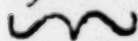
Antiochus was so struck with the news of this defeat, that, as if he had been quite deprived of his senses, he took such measures as were quite opposite to his interest. For in this consternation he sent orders for drawing his forces out of *Lyfismachia* and the other cities of the *Hellepont*, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, tho' *Lyfismachia* alone might have stopped the whole consular army for a great

^w LIV. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

while.

while. Then he complained of his hard fate in these words: I know not what god has infatuated me ! every thing happens contrary to my expectations. Heaven persecutes me, and what can I infer from all this, but that my ruin approaches ? Being greatly dejected by these reflections, he raised the siege of *Colophon*, and retired first to *Sardis*, and then to his son-in-law *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, where he made it his whole business to assemble all the land-forces he could with a design to make head against the *Scipios*, who were already arrived at the *Chersonesus* near the *Hellepont*. Here *Scipio Africanus* received advice of his son's being taken prisoner by the *Syrians*, an accident which gave him great uneasiness. He had brought him with him into *Greece* to form him from his tender years to the military profession, and had sent him in a *Chalcidian* ship to *Demetrias*, being unwilling to expose him to any hazards in *Asia*. But in his passage, the ship, which carried him, being attacked and taken by a *Syrian* galley, the young *Roman* was brought to *Antiochus*, who treated him with all the marks of honour that were due to his birth, and the reputation of his father. But after all the detention of a son, so tenderly beloved, sensibly affected the father. This accident, however, did not abate the ardor of *Scipio*, and the desire he had of fighting *Antiochus*. The *Roman* troops pursued their march, not doubting but they should meet with a vigorous resistance at *Lyfimachia*. They approached the city in battle-array, but were never more surprized than when they found that the sea was unguarded, and that *Lyfimachia* opened her gates to them. *Antiochus* had drawn the garison out of that important place, as we have related above, and the *Syrians* had evacuated it with such precipitation, as to leave all the provisions behind them ; so that the *Roman* army, which was fatigued with a long march, found there all sorts of refreshments, and waited in that neighbourhood for the coming up of their stragglers and sick. During their stay they received another piece of news no less surprizing than the abandoning of *Lyfimachia*. On the opposite shore stood the city of *Abydos*, the key of *Asia*, which was to be taken before they could enter the *Syrian* dominions. This city likewise *Antiochus* had deserted, and ordered the garison to evacuate the place and join him ; so that the inhabitants sent to acquaint the *Roman* generals, that they were ready to receive them as soon as they arrived. Hence the *Scipios* concluded, that *Antiochus* without *Hannibal* was no formidable enemy ; for the resolution of evacuating these cities, and waiting for the *Romans* in the heart of *Asia*, had been taken in his absence. As the *Romans* found no enemies at the *Hellepont* to dispute

The Ro-
mans enter
Asia.
Year of
the Flood,
2809.
Before
Christ,
190.



their passage, they crossed over in good order by the care of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, who had waited for them there * (M). The *Romans* being now in *Asia*, went up to *Troy*, and stopt some time there, looking upon that city as their primitive country, and the place they originally sprung from. The consul offered up sacrifices to *Minerva*, who presided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed much after the same manner as parents and children when they meet after a long separation. The inhabitants seeing those who were descended from the same ancestors with themselves conquerors of the west, and of *Africa*, laying claim to *Asia*, imagined they saw *Troy* rise from its ashes in greater splendor than ever. On the other side, the *Romans* were highly pleased to see themselves in the antient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to *Rome*; and to view and contemplate the temples and deities which they had in common with that city † (N).

Antiochus WHEN advice was brought to *Antiochus* that the *Romans* sends an embassy to was seized with fresh terror; and being fully convinced that some deity was contriving his ruin, he turned all his thoughts on peace. He seldom employed any but foreigners in the most important negotiations, and the person he now pitched

* *Livi* ibid. & *APPIAN*. p. 105 † *JUSTIN*. l. xxxi. c. 8. & *Liv*. ubi supra.

(M) We are told by *Livy*, that *Scipio Africanus* did not cross the *Hellepont* with his brother, but remained some days on the *European* shore, being detained there by religious duties. He was one of the *Salii*, that is, one of the priests of *Mars*, who every year after a solemn sacrifice carried through the city of *Rome* thole sacred shields, which *Numa* was supposed to have received from heaven. During this solemnity the *Salii*, though generals of armies, did not undertake any enterprize, or even stir from the place they were in. This was a troublesome superstition, but *Scipio* complied with it, and continued some days in *Europe*, while his brother and the *Roman* troops were in *Asia* (51). We shall have occasion to speak of this and other *Roman* festivals in the history of *Rome*.

(N) *Demetrius Scepsius*, as quoted by *Strabo* (52), tells us, that he, being then very young, happened to come to *Ilium* or *Troy* to visit the curiosities of the place, while *Scipio* was there; and adds, that the inhabitants were at that time so wretchedly poor, that they had not even tiles wherewithal to cover their houses, which were filled with filth and nastiness.

(51) *Liv*. l. xxxvii. c. 33. (52) *Strabo*, l. iii. p. 594.

upon

upon was one *Heraclides*, by birth a *Byzantine*, and of *Thracian* extraction. His instructions were to address himself in the first place to *Scipio Africanus*, to make his court to him with great assiduity, and when he found him disposed to hearken to his proposals, to assure him, but in private, that *Antiochus* was ready to restore him his son, whom he so tenderly loved, without ransom; that all the king of *Syria's* treasures were at his service, and that he was willing to share his dominions with him, and whatever else he had. The proposals which he was to make to the *Roman* council were, that *Antiochus* was ready to deliver up to them the cities of *Lampascus*, *Smyrna*, and *Alexandria*, and was not averse from evacuating such places in *Ionian* and *Æolis* as the *Romans* had demanded; and, lastly, that he would consent to pay half the expence which *Rome* had been at in bringing the war into *Asia*. With these instructions *Heraclides* set out for the *Roman* camp on the banks of the *Hellepont*; but was surprized not to find the eldest *Scipio* there, he having staid on the *European* shore to perform some religious ceremonies. *Heraclides* therefore prolonged his stay at *Abydos* under various pretences, till the arrival of *Publius*, and then he demanded audience, and being admitted into the council of war, spoke agreeable to his instructions².

THE ambassador thought his proposals so advantageous, *His proposals* that they could not be rejected; but the *Romans* judged *re-* otherwise, and gave him this final answer; that a peace *jected.* would not be granted to *Antiochus* upon any but the following conditions: 1. That since he had drawn the war upon himself, he would defray the whole expence of it: 2. That he should restore liberty in general to all the *Greek* cities in *Asia*: 3. That to prevent all future hostilities he should relinquish all *Asia* on this side mount *Taurus*.

Heraclides finding that the council would not comply with any of his demands, endeavoured, pursuant to his private instructions, to win over *Scipio Africanus* singly. He was very assiduous at his tent, and being always well received by him in regard of the kindness his master had shewn to his son, he at last disclosed his instructions to him, telling him that *Antiochus* was not only ready to restore him his son without ransom, but to share all his treasures with him, and even place him on the same throne. To these overtures *Scipio* returned the following answer; If the king of *Syria* restores me my son, it will be a personal obligation, which, as a fa-

² LIV. *ibid.* APPIAN. in *Syriac.* p. 106. POLYB. *legat.* 23. ther,

ther, I shall ever acknowledge with the deepest sense of gratitude; but he is not to expect any gratification from me as a servant of the public. As a good citizen I can neither receive any thing from an enemy, nor promise any thing to him. But let me give him a piece of advice, since that is all I can do in the condition to which he has reduced himself. He ought to have kept possession of *Lyfimachia*, which would have stopt us, or appeared on the banks of the *Hellepont*, to dispute our passage into *Asia*; in that case he would have perhaps obtained more favourable terms. But now that we have entered *Asia*, and are, as it were, masters both of the horse and his rider, all he has to do is to submit to whatever conditions we shall think fit to prescribe to him. As for the kindness he shews my son, all I can do is to pray the gods that he may never be in his situation, nor want that protection which he so generously gives the child. And if he would preserve himself from so great a misfortune, let him avoid coming to a pitched battle with the *Romans*. This advice is the strongest testimony I can give him, both of my esteem and gratitude^a.

THE ill success of this embassy sunk *Antiochus* into a deep melancholy. He thought that the *Romans* could not have prescribed him worse terms had they conquered him, and such a peace appeared to him as disadvantageous as the most calamitous war. He therefore turned all his thoughts from projects of peace to the necessary preparations for opposing the enemy, and preventing his further progress. He encamped near *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, and there assembled all his forces. On the other hand, the *Roman* army leaving *Troy*, advanced in six days to *Elæa* near the mouth of the *Caicus*. As this city was subject to the kings of *Pergamus*, *Eumenes* went immediately to wait on the *Scipios*, and then returning to *Pergamus*, sent from thence all manner of provisions for the army, which he soon joined with all his forces. While they were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Elæa*, *Scipio Africanus* falling sick was sent to that city, which *Antiochus* no sooner heard than he sent his son to him without ransom. A most noble instance of generosity in an enemy so lately provoked. *Scipio* received him with inexpressible joy, and after having embraced him a thousand times, he strictly charged the *Syrian*, who brought him, to return his most hearty thanks to *Antiochus*, and to tell him that he could no otherwise shew his gratitude at present, than by giving

^a LIV. l. xxxvi. xxxvii.

him one piece of advice, which was, that the king should by no means hazard a battle, till he was recovered, and returned to the camp ^b. Perhaps *Scipio*, thought that a delay for some days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more seriously than he had hitherto done; and incline him to conclude a solid peace. But however that be, the transports of joy, which *Scipio* felt on this occasion, gave a turn to his distemper, and quite cured him. But before he was in a condition to return to the camp, the consul appointed *Cn. Demitius* to be his lieutenant in the room of his brother, and marched against *Antiochus*, who was encamped at *Thyatira*, without him, not doubting but he should be able to conquer without sharing the glory of the victory with his brother. Although the superiority of *Antiochus's* forces, which were much more numerous than those of the *Romans*, might naturally induce him to venture a battle, yet the wisdom and authority of *Scipio*, whom he considered as his last refuge, in case any calamitous accident should befall him, prevailed over all other considerations. He therefore would not wait for the consul in the plains of *Thyatira*, but moved from thence, and leaving the river *Hermus* between him and the *Romans*, encamped near *Magnesia*, within reach of mount *Sipylus*. In order to prevent his being attacked in this new post, he dug a ditch round his camp six cubits deep, and twelve broad, which was guarded on the outside by a double row of pallisades, the second row being defended at proper distances by strong walls and towers to keep off the enemy. In the mean time the consul, leaving the banks of the *Caicus*, advanced by great marches towards *Thyatira*, where he supposed the king was still encamped. But being informed of the new situation of the *Syrian* army, he turned towards the *Hermus*, and posted himself at first within five miles of the enemy. While he was forming his camp a party of *Gauls* mixed with some *Scythians* appeared in sight of the *Romans*, and advanced in good order to attack them. The *Romans* repulsed them, and while they were endeavouring to repass the river, killed great numbers of them. After this skirmish both parties continued inactive for some days, till the consul passing the river posted himself within two miles and an half of the enemy's camp. While he was fortifying his new camp, three thousand *Syrians* attacked the workmen, but were soon obliged to retire with the loss of two hundred men partly killed,

^b POLYB. legat. 23. LIV. l. xxxvii. JUSTIN. l. iii. c. 7. APPIAN. p. 105. 106. AUREL. VICT. p. 609.

and partly taken. Both armies marched out of their camps every morning, and drew up in order of battle, but so near their trenches, that it was plain they had no mind to come to an engagement. At length the *Romans* marched into the plain, and challenged the *Syrians*, but *Antiochus* notwithstanding this challenge continued near his intrenchments. These delays tired out the consul's patience, who dreaded the arrival of his brother, being unwilling to share with him the glory of the victory. He therefore summoned a council of war in all haste, and proposed attacking the enemy's intrenchments: the winter, said he, approaches, and the season will soon force us either to discontinue the war till the next spring, or to spend the winter in our tents. Let us therefore march out immediately against these effeminate *Asiatics*, and attack them in their trenches, since they have not the courage to meet us in the field. The *Romans* never shewed so much contempt for an enemy as on this occasion; they were all to a man for forcing the *Syrian* camp, if they continued to decline a battle. Accordingly the next day the consul after viewing the situation of the enemy's camp, advanced to it in order of battle. On the other hand, the king thinking it would be shameful for him to decline an engagement, being at the head of an army far more numerous than that of the enemy, in a friend's country, and in the midst of his allies, resolved at all events to accept the challenge, and accordingly prepared for a decisive battle.

*The battle
of Mag-
nesia.*

THE *Roman* army consisted of four legions partly *Romans*, and partly *Latins*, each legion at this time containing five thousand five hundred men, and of seven thousand auxiliaries sent by the kings of *Pergamus* and *Macedon*; but of these two thousand were ordered to guard the camp during the action. The *Romans* were posted in the centre, and the *Latins* in the two wings, the left of which extended to the river. On the side of the right wing, to cover and support it, the consul posted the auxiliary troops of *Eumenes*, a small body of horse, and some *Trallians* and *Cretans* lightly armed. He did not think it necessary to strengthen in like manner the left wing, the river and banks, which were very steep, seeming a sufficient defence on that side. The sixteen elephants, which the *Romans* had, were placed behind the army by way of corps-de-reserve, the consul not thinking it proper to oppose them to those of the enemy, which were far more numerous, being in all fifty two; and besides excelled the

• LIV. & APPIAN. *ibid.*

Roman

Roman elephants in strength, height, and courage, the former being brought from *India* and the latter from *Africa*. As for the *Syrian* army, all the nations of the east seemed to be assembled to support the cause of *Antiochus*. But the main strength of it consisted in sixteen thousand foot, armed after the *Macedonian* manner, who composed the phalanx. This body faced every way, was armed with long pikes, and taught to fight in close order as the soldiers of *Alexander the Great* had formerly been. *Antiochus* did not draw up his phalanx as usual; but divided it into ten companies separated from each other, placing in the spaces between each of the companies an elephant loaded with a tower full of armed men. On the right of the phalanx was drawn up in a line part of the cavalry, viz. fifteen hundred *Asiatic Gauls*, three thousand horse armed cap-a-pee, and a thousand horse more, the flower of the *Median* cavalry. At some distance from these followed the cavalry of the king's household, richly cloathed, and wearing bucklers plated over with silver. In the same line twelve hundred *Scythians* on horseback, armed with bows and arrows, made a great figure, being all chosen men, and of an extraordinary size. The light-armed troops, to the number of three thousand, partly *Trallians*, and party *Cretans*, with ten thousand *Myssian* archers, and four thousand men more, partly *Cyrtæans* armed with slings, partly *Persians* armed with bows, and partly *Arabians* mounted on dromedaries closed the right wing, which was led on by the king in person, surrounded by a body of *Syrians* and *Lydians* well mounted, but not heavily armed. The left wing was commanded by *Seleucus* and *Antipater*, the former the king's son, and the latter his nephew, and disposed thus. Close to the phalanx were posted fifteen hundred *Galatians*, and 2000 *Cappadocians*, which king *Ariarathes* had sent to the assistance of his father-in-law. Next to these were placed two thousand seven hundred auxiliaries sent from different countries. These were followed by three thousand curassiers well mounted. And, lastly, in the flank of this wing marched two thousand horse lightly armed. At some distance were placed several small bodies of light-armed troops both foot and horse; among which were two thousand five hundred *Galatian* horse, some *Tarentines*, *Cretans*, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, &c. The phalanx which was in the centre, was commanded by three officers of distinction, viz. *Minio*, *Zeuxis*, and *Philip*. A vast number of chariots, armed with hooks and scythes, were drawn up before the first line, as were likewise a great many elephants carrying towers with several floors,

all filled with slingers and archers ; and besides many camels, animals then unknown to the *Roman* troops, mounted by *Arabians*, armed with swords six foot long, that the riders might from their backs reach the enemy. The *Romans* had never seen a more numerous army, nor one more finely adorned (O) ; and nevertheless they never shewed so great a contempt for an army as for this, which they were now going to attack.

ON the day of the battle the weather proved very favourable to the *Romans* ; for a thick fog rising in the morning, the day was almost turned into night, so that the *Syrian* commanders could not have all the corps under their command in view, on account of their great extent, and send them proper orders in time ; whereas the fog was not thick enough to prevent the *Roman* generals from seeing their several bodies at the greatest distance, as they took up but little ground. Besides the damp, which was occasioned by the fog, slackened the strings of the enemy's bows, so that the *Asiatics*, who used them, could shoot their darts and arrows but faintly. The whole dependance of *Antiochus* in the first attack was on his armed chariots, which were to cut their way into the *Roman* army. For this purpose they had long halberts fastened to their poles, and sharp hooks to their axle-trees ; the former were about the height of a man's head, and the latter almost swept the ground, and cut off the legs of all who stood in their way. But *Eumenes* undertook to render them useless, and even fatal to the enemy. This brave prince, putting himself at the head of the bow-men and slingers, ordered them to charge not in a body, but divided in platoons, and to aim only at the horses in the chariots. Accordingly, as soon

(O) *Florus* tells us (53), that *Antiochus* strengthened his army with elephants of a monstrous size, all covered with gold, silver, scarlet, and their own ivory. We read in the first book of the *Maccabees* (54), that he had an hundred and twenty elephants. And indeed when he fought with *Ptolemy* he had an hundred and two, and afterwards, as *Polybius* assures us, an hundred and fifty. But in this engagement *Livy* writes, that he had only fifty-four elephants, seventy-thousand foot, and upwards of twelve thousand horse. According to *Appian* he had in all but seventy thousand men. *Florus* most hyperbolically raises the number of his forces to three hundred thousand men ; and adds, that he had as many horses and iron chariots in the field that day. The *Romans* were between eight and twenty and thirty thousand men, horse and foot, whereof two thousand were left to guard the camp.

(53) *Flor. Hist. Rom. l. ii. c. 8,*

(54) 1 *Maccab. c. 8. v. 6.*

as the chariots moved, *Eumenes* advanced at the head of his men, who pouring on them from every quarter darts, stones, and javelins, and at the same time shouting as loud as they could, so frightened the horses, that they could no longer be kept in order, but scouring up and down, and turning against their own troops, fell on the *Arabians*, who supported them, which occasioned a great confusion in that quarter. Those in the *Syrian* army, who were at a distance, hearing the noise and outcries, and not knowing the cause of them, were struck with no small terror. After this advantage, the *Roman* cavalry advanced, and fell on those whom the chariots had put in disorder. The *Syrians*, being already intimidated, after a faint resistance gave way, and the *Romans* made a great slaughter of their men and horses, both being bore down with the weight of their heavy armour. *Eumenes* charged the left wing, in which *Seleucus* commanded, with such vigour, that he put it to flight, and the fugitives flying to the phalanx for protection, put that body likewise in disorder, which *Domitius* observing, advanced against it at the head of his legionaries, but could not break it till he ordered his men to attack the elephants, which, as we have observed above, were placed in the spaces between the companies. The *Romans* had learnt in their wars with *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal* not to fear those monsters, which were once so terrible to them. They attacked them therefore with great resolution, and driving them against the phalangites, put that body into disorder, by means of those very animals which had been posted there for its defence.

BUT in the mean time advice was brought that the left wing of the *Romans* was in great danger. *Antiochus*, who had observed that the flanks of the left wing were quite open and uncovered, the four squadrons which covered it, having joined the rest of the cavalry to fall upon the enemy's left wing, had charged it at the head of all his auxiliaries not only in front, but in flank. The *Roman* infantry, seeing themselves in imminent danger of being surrounded and hemmed in on all sides, fled in great disorder to their camp, which was guarded by two thousand men under the command of a legionary tribune called *Æmilius*. This man seeing the *Romans* flying towards him, marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and after having bitterly reproached them for their cowardice and ignominious flight, ordered his men to draw their swords, and cut in pieces such as should advance one step farther, or refuse to face about against the enemy. This order given so seasonably, and put

Y y 2

in

Antio-
chus.
defeated

in execution without mercy against some, had the desired effect. Those who were flying first halted, and then, being both reinforced and encouraged by *Æmilius*, returned under his conduct to wipe off the dishonour of their flight. At the same time *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, having left the right wing on his receiving advice that the left was in danger, arrived very seasonably with two hundred horse. *Antiochus* observing that the troops, which had fled, were returning to the battle, and that the enemy's right wing was ready to fall upon him, turned his horse about and fled. This served in a manner as a signal for the rest of the troops, for the whole Syrian army immediately turned their backs. *Eumenes* alone pursued them at the head of the cavalry, and made a most dreadful havock of the fugitives. The Romans walked over heaps of dead bodies, especially where the phalanx stood, marched up to the Syrian camp, attacked and plundered it. The riches they found in it are not to be described, but the taking of it cost the Romans a new battle, which proved more fatal to the Syrians than that in the field, for the Romans, having in spite of a most desperate resistance forced the intrenchments, gave no quarter, but put all to the sword without distinction. There fell this day in the battle, in the pursuit, and in the plunder of the camp fifty thousand foot, and four thousand horse, fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, and fifteen elephants. In the consular army there were but three hundred foot killed, and twenty five horse. *Eumenes* had only fifteen of his men killed, so that this victory, as we are told by the antients, seemed a prodigy to all nations both of the east and west ^d.

Antiochus retired to *Sardis* with as many of his forces, that had escaped the slaughter, as he could draw together. From *Sardis* he soon marched to rejoin his son *Seleucus*, who had fled to *Apamea*. As for the consul he took advantage of the king's defeat and flight, making himself master of all the neighbouring countries. Deputies hastened to him from all parts; the cities of *Thyatira*, *Magnesia*, *Trallis*, *Magnesia* in *Caria*, all *Lydia*, and *Ephesus* itself, though highly favoured by *Antiochus*, declared for the Romans. *Polyxenidas*, upon the news of the king's defeat, left the port of *Ephesus*, and sailed to *Patara*, where he landed with a very small guard, and returned by land into *Syria*. The consul took the road to *Sardis*, which opened its gates to him. As he stopped there, his brother *Africanus*, as soon as his health allowed him, came and joined him in that city, and congratulated

^c LIV. APPIAN, & JUSTIN. ubi supra.

him on the glory he had so lately acquired. But after all, the consul, we may say, had but a small part in the victory; for all the historians, who speak of the battle of *Magnesia*, ascribe the whole success of it to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* and *Attalus* his brother, without mentioning any valiant action or prudent order, by which the consul signalized himself on that occasion. However, he took the surname of *Asiaticus* as his brother had done that of *Africanus*.

Antiochus finding his affairs in a bad situation both by sea and land, and not daring to appear before the consular army in the field, sent *Antipater*, his brother's son, and *Zeuxis*, who had been governor of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, to sue for a peace. They were ordered to treat chiefly with the elder brother, of whose clemency and good nature *Antiochus* entertained a high opinion. Accordingly on their arrival at *Sardis*, where the consul then was with his brother, they addressed the latter, and were by him presented to the consul. Their speech was very submissive, and such as became a vanquished people. To you, O *Romans*, said they, we apply to know by what means we may appease the wrath of your republic. All the kings you have hitherto conquered have experienced your clemency after their defeat. Shall *Antiochus* then be the only prince on whom you will wreak your vengeance? No victory has given you so much reason to favour the vanquished as this. It assures you of the conquest of the universe. It even puts you upon a level with the immortal gods. Learn therefore to be like them, slow to punish, and ready to forgive^c.

HEREUPON a council was summoned, and after long debates the ambassadors were called in, and *Scipio Africanus*, being desired by the consul to acquaint the deputies with the resolutions of the assembly, is said to have expressed himself in the following terms: We are sensible that the victory, which we have lately gained, is owing to the gods; and therefore shall treat the vanquished with moderation, demanding little more of them now than we did at our first entering into *Asia*. *Antiochus* shall obtain a peace upon the following terms: That he gives up his pretensions to *Europe*, confines his dominions to *Asia* beyond mount *Taurus*, pays us fifteen thousand *Euboic* talents for the expences of the war, five hundred down, two thousand five hundred when the senate and people shall confirm the articles, and one thousand more every year for twelve years together. We also insist upon his satisfying king *Eumenes*, and his paying him the four hundred talents he

*Articles of
the peace
between
Antiochus
and the
Romans.*

^c APPIAN. in Syriac. III. POLYB. Legat. 4. LIV. l. xxxviii.

owes

owes him, and what remains due for the corn, which his father sent to the king of *Syria*. It is likewise the pleasure of the council, that you deliver up to us *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Mnesilochus* the *Acarnanian*, and *Philo* and *Eubulis* two *Chalcidians*; for these have been the authors of our divisions, the incendiaries who kindled the present war. Lastly, the king of *Syria* for a further proof of his sincerity shall give us twenty such hostages as we shall chuse, of whom *Antiochus* his youngest son shall be one †.

THE ambassadors of *Antiochus* had been ordered to refuse no terms, and therefore these were accepted, and the whole affair concluded. So that the *Syrian* ambassadors now prepared to set out for *Rome* to get the conditions of peace proposed by *Scipio* ratified there. In the mean time the consul dividing his army into three bodies, put it into winter-quarters; one part continued at *Magnesia*, another was sent to *Trallis*, and the third to *Ephesus*, where the *Scipios* took up their quarters. There they received a new embassy from *Antiochus* with the hostages he had promised, the *Roman* prisoners and deserters, and the strangers, which the consul had demanded, except *Hannibal*, who, after the king's defeat, had fled out of his dominions, and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, who, as soon as he heard that a treaty was on foot between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, had returned to *Ætolia*, where a war was likely to break out between that republic and *Rome*. *L. Aurelius Cotto* was sent with the ambassadors to *Rome*, to acquaint the senate with the particulars of the treaty. When they appeared before the conscript fathers. they spoke with great submission, and only desired them to ratify the articles which the *Scipios* had offered to their master. The senate, after examining them, ordered that a treaty of peace should be concluded with *Antiochus*, and the articles of it engraved on brass, and fixed up in the capitol. They only added one clause, which was, that the *Syrians* should change every year all their hostages, except the son of king *Antiochus*, who should continue at *Rome*, as long as the republic thought fit. The peace being thus ratified, and all *Asia*, on this side of mount *Taurus*, delivered into the hands of the *Romans*, the *Greek* cities were by them restored to their liberty, the provinces of *Caria* and *Lydia* given to the *Rhodians*, and all the rest that had belonged to *Antiochus* bestowed upon *Eumenes* ‡.

† POLYB. legat. 24. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 9. LIV. l. xxxvii. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 8. APPIAN. ibid. § APPIAN. & LIV. ubi supra

IN the mean time the consulship of *Scipio* being expired, *Cn. Manlius Vulso* was sent into *Asia*, to succeed him in the command of the army, and with him ten commissioners to regulate affairs there. *Manlius* hearing, on his arrival, that the city of *Perga* (P) was still under the dominion of *Antiochus*, contrary to the treaty of peace, advanced with his troops to that place, being desirous to pick a new quarrel with *Antiochus*; but the governor of the city shewing himself ready to deliver it up to the *Romans*, as soon as he received proper orders from his court, thirty days were allowed him for that purpose, and the city was given up at the time appointed. From *Perga* *Manlius* returned to *Apamea*, where the ten commissioners and king *Eumenes* then were; and they all together put the last hand to the treaty, which was brought from *Rome*; with the additions and alterations which the senate had, after the departure of the ambassadors, thought fit to make in it (Q). Nothing now remained but to ratify the treaty

(P) The city of *Perga* stood on the banks of the *Cestrius*, and still retains in some degree its antient-name, being called by the inhabitants *Pirgi*. The river *Cestrius* or *Cestrus* had its spring on mount *Taurus*, towards the confines of *Isauria*. It washed *Pisidia* and *Pamphylia*, and discharged itself into the *Attalic* gulph, or the gulph of *Sattalia*.

(Q) As this is a very material part of history, we shall set down the treaty at full length, with the alterations and additions which the senate thought fit to make in it, such as it has been transmitted to us by the *Greek* and *Latin* historians. It was couched in the following terms: "Peace and friendship shall be established between the *Roman* people and *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, on the following conditions. I. The king shall not suffer any army of any enemy to the *Roman* people, or their allies, to pass through his territories; neither shall *Rome*, or her allies, suffer any army to pass through their territories to make war on *Antiochus*. II. The king of *Syria* shall have no right to extend his conquests to the islands near *Asia*; and he shall renounce all his pretensions to *Europe*. III. *Antiochus* shall withdraw his troops from all the cities, towns, and castles on this side of mount *Taurus*, as far as to the river *Halys*, and out of all the plain which separates *Pamphylia* from *Lycia* on one side, and from *Lycaonia* on the other. IV. When the *Syrian* troops evacuate any place, they shall not carry the machines of war with them; and if they have done so in any case, they shall restore them. V. *Antiochus* shall not receive or harbour in his dominions any fugitive of the kingdom of *Eumenes*. VI. The inhabitants of the cities given up by the king of *Syria* shall not continue in *Syria*, but repair to *Apamea*, on a day appointed, to be sent home to their native

treaty by religious ceremonies, and to begin to put it in execution. The proconsul took the usual oath of the *Romans*, that

“ native countries. VII. But the *Syrians*, who have a mind to
 “ continue in the cities subject to *Rome*, or to the allies of *Rome*,
 “ shall be suffered to do so without molestation. VIII. *Antiochus*
 “ shall, if it be in his power, deliver up into the hands of the
 “ proconsul, *Hannibal*, the *Carthaginian* and son of *Hamilcar*,
 “ *Mnesilochus* the *Acarnanian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Eubulis* and *Philo*,
 “ two *Chalcidians*, and all persons who have enjoyed any mag-
 “ gistracy in *Ætolia*. IX. The king of *Syria* shall deliver up all
 “ his elephants to the *Romans*, and train up no more for war:
 “ X. He shall put the *Romans* in possession of all his armed gal-
 “ lies; shall have no more than ten ships at sea, which shall only
 “ be of thirty oars; and shall not sail beyond the promontories
 “ of *Calycadnus* and *Sarpedon*, unless it be to bring to *Rome* money,
 “ ambassadors, or hostages. XI. *Antiochus* shall not raise merce-
 “ naries in the countries subject to *Rome*, or receive the volunteers
 “ who shall offer to serve him. XII. The houses and other edi-
 “ fices which were built before this treaty by the *Rhodians*, and
 “ other allies of *Rome*, in the *Syrian* territories, shall still belong to
 “ the *Rhodians*, or those other allies who built them. XIII. Both
 “ parties shall be at liberty to demand the money that shall be re-
 “ spectively due, and to demand the restitution of any thing that
 “ has been taken from them. XIV. Those to whom *Antiochus* has
 “ given the possession of any cities, shall evacuate them, and put
 “ them into the hands of their old possessors. XV. *Antiochus*
 “ shall pay the *Romans* for twelve years the annual sum of a thou-
 “ sand talents (*that is*, 258,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*) of the purest silver,
 “ such as that of *Athens*, and a hundred and forty thousand modii
 “ (35,000 *English* bushels) of the best wheat. XVI. He shall pay
 “ king *Eumenes*, in the space of five years, three hundred and fifty
 “ talents, and an hundred and twenty seven talents more, by way
 “ of satisfaction for the corn he received from *Attalus*. XVII.
 “ *Antiochus* shall put into the hands of the *Romans* twenty hos-
 “ tages, of which his son *Antiochus* shall be one; shall exchange
 “ them all, except his son *Antiochus*, every three years; and these
 “ hostages shall all be between eighteen and forty five years of
 “ age. XVIII. If he is defective in the sums he is to pay an-
 “ nually, or brings any bad money, he shall make satisfaction
 “ the next year. XIX. If any of the allies make war upon *Antiochus*,
 “ he shall have a right to defend himself; but he shall not
 “ keep any of their cities to himself, or take them into friendship,
 “ or draw them over to his party by corruption. The dispute
 “ shall be determined by pitched battles. XX. If any party
 “ chuses to add any further articles to these, it may be done by
 “ mutual consent (55). ”

(55) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 112. *Polyb. legat.* 35. *Liv. l.* xxxviii.
 e. 32. Mell

that is, struck a sower on the head with flint, saying, *If I break my word, may Jupiter strike me as I strike this victim.* Then Q. *Minucius Thermus*, one of the ten commissioners, and L. *Manlius*, were dispatched to the court of Syria, where they made *Antiochus* swear, That he would inviolably observe all the articles of the treaty. The Syrian fleet was then in the port of *Patara*, whither *Fulvius Labeo* repaired, on board the Roman galleys, and burnt, according to the conventions, all *Antiochus's* ships, choosing rather to give this instance of severity to all the maritime nations, than to apply the navy of the conquered king to their own use. They affected to shew the same disinterestedness with regard to the king of Syria's elephants; for they made a present of them to the king of *Pergamus*. Thus ended the war with *Antiochus*, which cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed more than any other to the aggrandizing of their republic; but, at the same time, this conquest proved, in a manner, fatal to Rome; for, from this period, the Roman writers date the depravity and corruption of manners, which ended at last in the total destruction of the republican state. The Romans, who served in Asia, brought from thence great wealth, and introduced into Rome a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures. Luxury, says a Roman poet, entered triumphant into Rome with the pompous spoils of Asia, and, dragging after it all manner of vices, made greater havock in the city than the greatest armies could have done; and thus revenged the conquered world^h.

As for the unhappy *Antiochus*, he did not long survive his fall. Being greatly puzzled how to raise the sum which he

Death of
Antiochus.

^h JUVEN. l. ii. satyr. 6.

Most of the copies of *Livy*, instead of the river *Halys*, mentioned in the third article, have the river *Tanais*; which must certainly be a mistake, since the *Tanais* divides Asia from Europe, and falls into the *Palus Mæotis*, and neither the Romans nor *Antiochus* had at that time any intercourse with the nations in that neighbourhood, which lay at a great distance from the provinces of Asia Minor; whereas the *Halys* divided Asia Minor into two parts; and *Antiochus* was not only to retire beyond mount *Taurus*, but to withdraw his troops from all the places lying between that mountain and the river *Halys*, which was on this side of it. The promontory *Calycadnus*, spoke of in the tenth article, stood at the mouth of a river in Cilicia bearing the same name, and near it was the promontory of *Sarpedon*. The river is now known to the Italians by the name of *Fiume del Ferro*. The promontory of *Calycadnus* is the same with *Strabo's* cape *Zephyrium*.

treaty by religious ceremonies, and to begin to put it in execution. The proconsul took the usual oath of the *Romans*, that

“ native countries. VII. But the *Syrians*, who have a mind to
 “ continue in the cities subject to *Rome*, or to the allies of *Rome*,
 “ shall be suffered to do so without molestation. VIII. *Antiochus*
 “ shall, if it be in his power, deliver up into the hands of the
 “ proconsul, *Hannibal*, the *Cartaginian* and son of *Hamilcar*,
 “ *Mnesilochus* the *Acaranian*, *Theas* the *Ætolian*, *Eubolis* and *Pbi-*
 “ *lo*, two *Chalcidians*, and all persons who have enjoyed any ma-
 “ gistracy in *Ætolia*. IX. The king of *Syria* shall deliver up all
 “ his elephants to the *Romans*, and train up no more for war:
 “ X. He shall put the *Romans* in possession of all his armed gal-
 “ lies; shall have no more than ten ships at sea, which shall only
 “ be of thirty oars; and shall not sail beyond the promontories
 “ of *Calycadus* and *Sarpedon*, unless it be to bring to *Rome* money,
 “ ambassadors, or hostages. XI. *Antiochus* shall not raise merce-
 “ naries in the countries subject to *Rome*, or receive the volunteers
 “ who shall offer to serve him. XII. The houses and other edi-
 “ fices which were built before this treaty by the *Rhodians*, and
 “ other allies of *Rome*, in the *Syrian* territories, shall still belong to
 “ the *Rhodians*, or those other allies who built them. XIII. Both
 “ parties shall be at liberty to demand the money that shall be re-
 “ spectively due, and to demand the restitution of any thing that
 “ has been taken from them. XIV. Those to whom *Antiochus* has
 “ given the possession of any cities, shall evacuate them, and put
 “ them into the hands of their old possessors. XV. *Antiochus*
 “ shall pay the *Romans* for twelve years the annual sum of a thou-
 “ sand talents (*that is*, 258,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.*) of the purest silver,
 “ such as that of *Athens*, and a hundred and forty thousand modii
 “ (35,000 *English* bushels) of the best wheat. XVI. He shall pay
 “ king *Eumenes*, in the space of five years, three hundred and fifty
 “ talents, and an hundred and twenty seven talents more, by way
 “ of satisfaction for the corn he received from *Attalus*. XVII.
 “ *Antiochus* shall put into the hands of the *Romans* twenty hos-
 “ tages, of which his son *Antiochus* shall be one; shall exchange
 “ them all, except his son *Antiochus*, every three years; and these
 “ hostages shall all be between eighteen and forty five years of
 “ age. XVIII. If he is defective in the sums he is to pay an-
 “ nually, or brings any bad money, he shall make satisfaction
 “ the next year. XIX. If any of the allies make war upon *An-*
 “ *tiochus*, he shall have a right to defend himself; but he shall not
 “ keep any of their cities to himself, or take them into friendship,
 “ or draw them over to his party by corruption. The dispute
 “ shall be determined by pitched battles. XX. If any party
 “ chuses to add any further articles to these, it may be done by
 “ mutual consent (55).”

(55) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 112. *Polyb. legat.* 35. *Liv. l.* xxxviii.
 e. 32. Moss

that is, struck a sown on the head with flint, saying, *If I break my word, may Jupiter strike me as I strike this victim.* Then Q. Minucius Thermus, one of the ten commissioners, and L. Manlius, were dispatched to the court of Syria, where they made Antiochus swear, That he would inviolably observe all the articles of the treaty. The Syrian fleet was then in the port of Patara, whither Fulvius Labeo repaired, on board the Roman gallies, and burnt, according to the conventions, all Antiochus's ships, choosing rather to give this instance of severity to all the maritime nations, than to apply the navy of the conquered king to their own use. They affected to shew the same disinterestedness with regard to the king of Syria's elephants; for they made a present of them to the king of Pergamus. Thus ended the war with Antiochus, which cost the Romans but little blood, and yet contributed more than any other to the aggrandizing of their republic; but, at the same time, this conquest proved, in a manner, fatal to Rome; for, from this period, the Roman writers date the depravity and corruption of manners, which ended at last in the total destruction of the republican state. The Romans, who served in Asia, brought from thence great wealth, and introduced into Rome a taste and love for luxury and effeminate pleasures. Luxury, says a Roman poet, entered triumphant into Rome with the pompous spoils of Asia, and, dragging after it all manner of vices, made greater havock in the city than the greatest armies could have done; and thus revenged the conquered world^h.

As for the unhappy Antiochus, he did not long survive his *Death of* fall. Being greatly puzzled how to raise the sum which he *Antiochus.*

^h JUVEN. l. ii. satyr. 6.

Most of the copies of Livy, instead of the river Halys, mentioned in the third article, have the river Tanais; which must certainly be a mistake, since the Tanais divides Asia from Europe, and falls into the Palus Mæotis, and neither the Romans nor Antiochus had at that time any intercourse with the nations in that neighbourhood, which lay at a great distance from the provinces of Asia Minor; whereas the Halys divided Asia Minor into two parts; and Antiochus was not only to retire beyond mount Taurus, but to withdraw his troops from all the places lying between that mountain and the river Halys, which was on this side of it. The promontory Calycadnus, spoke of in the tenth article, stood at the mouth of a river in Cilicia bearing the same name, and near it was the promontory of Sarpedon. The river is now known to the Italians by the name of Fiume del Ferro. The promontory of Calycadnus is the same with Strabo's cape Zephyrium.

was to pay the *Romans*, he made a progress through the eastern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him, leaving the regency of *Syria* to his son *Seleucus*, whom he had declared his successor. Being arrived in the province of *Elemais*, he was informed, that a very considerable treasure was lodged in the temple of *Jupiter Belus*. This was a strong temptation to a prince, who had not much regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly upon a false pretence, that the inhabitants of that province had taken up arms against him, he entered the temple in the dead of the night, and seized on all the riches, which had been religiously kept there during a long series of years. The populace, highly exasperated at this sacrilege, rising up in arms, slew him, and all that were with him. This is the account of his death which *St. Jerom* gives us, upon the testimony of *Strabo*¹. But *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that this unfortunate prince, after his retreat beyond mount *Taurus*, gave himself up to all manner of debauchery, and was killed at an entertainment by one of his guests, whom he had struck and abused. The difference of these accounts has made the most judicious among the *Greek* and *Latin* historians pass over his death in silence. He died in the thirty seventh year of his reign, and fifty second of his age, and is highly commended by most of the antient historians for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which he is said to have enacted, giving his subjects permission, and even commanding them, not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws, shews that he had an extraordinary regard for justice². Till the fiftieth year of his age he behaved on all occasions with such courage and prudence, as crowned with success all his enterprizes, and gained him the title of *the Great*; but, after that age, as he declined in the wisdom of his conduct, as well as in his application to business, all his affairs were proportionably unsuccessful. His conduct in the war with the *Romans*, the contempt in which he held the wise counsels of *Hannibal*, and the ignominious peace which he was forced to accept, drowned all the glory of his former expeditions. The prophet *Daniel* had foretold both his great exploits and misfortunes, and his prophecies were fully accomplished, as the reader will find in our notes (R).

HE

¹ *HIERON.* in *Daniel.* c. xi.
i'ustr.

² *AUREL. VICTOR.* de viris

(R) The prophecies of *Daniel*, from the tenth verse of the eleventh chapter to the nineteenth inclusive, relate to the actions of this

HE was succeeded by *Seleucus* surnamed *Philopator*, or, as *Seleucus Josephus* styles him, *Soter*¹, which indeed was the surname of *Philopator*.

¹ JOSEPH. *Antiq.* l. xii. c. 4.

his
Year of
the Flood,
2812.

Before
Christ,
187.

this prince, and were all fully accomplished. But his sons, says the prophet, speaking of the king of Syria, or the king of the north, shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces; and one (*Antiochus the Great*) shall certainly come and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress. This king of the north was *Seleucus Callinicus*, who left behind him two sons, *Seleucus Ceraunus* and *Antiochus*, afterwards surnamed *the Great*. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by *Antiochus* his brother. The latter, after having quelled the troubles of his kingdom, waged war with *Ptolemy Philopator* king of the south, that is, of Egypt, dispossessed him of *Cæle-Syria*, which was delivered to him by *Theodotus* governor of that province, defeated *Ptolemy's* generals in the narrow passes near *Berytus*, and won part of *Phœnicie*, advancing as far as the fortress, or, as we read in the Hebrew, as far as the fortresses, that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. The victory gained by *Ptolemy* over *Antiochus* is plainly pointed out in the following lines: *And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he shall set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall be given into his hand. Ptolemy Philopator* was an indolent effeminate prince; his subjects were forced to drag him, as it were, into the field, to repulse the enemy, who was marching into his country. At last he put himself at the head of the army, and by the valour and conduct of his generals, gained a signal victory over *Antiochus* at *Raphia*. There a great multitude, that is, the great army which *Antiochus* led into the field, was given into his hands, and *Ptolemy* did cast down, that is, slew many thousands of them, and put the rest to flight. And when he has taken away the multitude his heart shall be lifted up, &c. but he shall not be strengthened by it. *Antiochus* lost upwards of ten thousand foot, and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. *Philopator*, after this victory, hastened back into Egypt, and there gave himself up to sloth and idleness, without taking the advantages which it gave him; and therefore was not strengthened by it. For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches. *Antiochus*, having ended the war which he had waged with the nations beyond the *Euphrates*, raised a mighty army in those provinces, and, fourteen years after the ending of the former war, returned against Egypt during the minority of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, defeated *Scopas* near *Paneas*, and regained the whole country which *Philopator* had reduced after the

V. 2 2 2

victory

his son *Demetrius*. This prince reigned eleven years, and some months ; but made a very poor figure, by reason of the low

victory gained at *Raphia*. *And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south.* This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of *Syria* and *Macedon* against the infant king of *Egypt*, by the conspiracy of *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* for the regency, and by that of *Scopas* who wanted to dispossess him of his dominions, and seize them for himself. *Also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision, but they shall fall.* Several apostate *Jews*, to ingratiate themselves with the king of *Egypt*, complied with every thing he required of them, in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law. *But they fell ;* for when *Antiochus* got again possession of *Judæa* and *Jerusalem*, he either cut off, or drove out of the country, all the partisans of *Ptolemy*. *So the king of the north shall come and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities ; and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people ; neither shall there be any strength to withstand.* — *But he that cometh against him, shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him ; and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed.* *Antiochus*, after having defeated the *Egyptian* army at *Paneas*, besieged and took, first *Sidon*, then *Gaza*, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, notwithstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops, which the king of *Egypt* sent against him, under the command of his best generals. *He did according to his own will in Cæle-Syria and Palestine*, and, pursuing his conquests, entered *Judæa*, that glorious land, and there established his authority, by driving out of the castle of *Jerusalem* the garison which *Scopas* had left there ; but that garison having made such resistance, as obliged *Antiochus* to send for the rest of his army to reduce it, and the siege continuing some time, the country was destroyed and consumed by the stay the army was forced to make in it, and the city of *Jerusalem* suffered greatly, as appears from the decree which *Antiochus* afterwards enacted in favour of the *Jews*, granting them leave to repair their demolished city, and raise it from the ruinous condition to which it was reduced. This decree was directed to one *Ptolemy*, who seems to have been governor of those provinces at that time, and is still extant in *Josephus* (56). *He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him : thus shall he do, and he shall give him the daughter of women corrupting her ; but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him.* *St. Jerom* tells us (57), that *Antiochus* gave his daughter in marriage to *Ptolemy*, corrupting her with bad principles, and instructing her how she should betray her husband, and put him in possession of the kingdom ; but he was not successful in his design, for

(56) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. Danielis.*

(57) *Hieronym. in c. xi.*

low state to which the Syrian empire had been reduced by the Romans, and the exorbitant sum of a thousand talents he was obliged to pay annually, by virtue of the treaty of peace between the king his father and that republic. It was under this prince that the famous accident happened concerning *Heliodorus*, which is mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees*^m. The city of *Jerusalem* enjoyed, at that time, a profound tranquillity, *Onias* the high-priest causing the laws of God to be observed, and prompting even kings and idolatrous princes, by his exemplary piety, to have the holy place in the highest veneration, and to honour it with rich donations. *Seleucus* supplied, out of his private revenues, whatever was necessary for the pomp and magnificence of the solemn sacrifices, notwithstanding the difficulties he laboured under, by reason of the heavy tribute he was obliged to pay annually to *Rome*; but this scene was all on a sudden changed, and great disturbances raised in the city by one *Simon* of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and chief governor or protector of the

^m 2 MACCAB. iii. iv.

He was no sooner married to *Ptolemy*, but she forsook her father's interest, and engaged in that of her husband; and hence it is that we find her joined with him in an embassy which was sent from *Egypt* to *Rome*, congratulating the Romans on the victory which *Acilius* had gained over her father at *Thermopylæ* (58). *After this shall he turn his face to the isles, and shall take many; but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach, which Antiochus had offered him, to cease: without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him; for after having put an end to the war in Cæle-Syria and Palestine, he sent his two sons with his army, by land, to Sardis, while he himself, with a great fleet, sailed to the Ægean sea, where he reduced several islands, and extended his empire on that side; but the prince of the people to whom he had offered reproach by that invasion, that is, Lucius Scipio the Roman consul, made the reproach turn upon him, by defeating him in the battle of Magnesia, and driving him out of all Asia Minor. Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found. Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to the fort of his own land, that is, to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and strongest place in it. From thence going into the eastern provinces to levy money, wherewithal to pay the Romans, he was slain, so that he returned not into Syria, nor was afterwards found there. These are, as it were, the out-lines of Antiochus's picture, and as they resemble none but him, we cannot imagine that they were drawn undesignedly, or at random.*

(58) *Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 3.*

temple.

temple. This man falling out with *Onias*, to be revenged upon him for opposing his unjust enterprizes, fled from *Jerusalem*, and went to *Apollonius*, who was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* for *Seleucus*, and told him, that there were immense treasures laid up in the temple, which were not designed for the sacrifices, but squandered away by the priests, and therefore might be better lodged in the king's coffers. Hereupon *Apollonius* immediately gave notice of what he had heard to the king, who sent *Heliodorus* his treasurer to *Jerusalem*, with orders to seize on the treasures, and bring them to *Antioch*. *Heliodorus*, on his arrival at *Jerusalem*, acquainted the high-priest, who had received him with great demonstrations of respect and esteem, with the motive of his journey, and asked him, Whether the information which had been given to the king was true? *Onias* told him, That there was indeed some money lodged in the temple, but that it was only deposited there in trust, being allotted for the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not, by any means, dispose of it in wrong of those to whom it belonged; that the whole amounted to no more than four hundred talents of silver, and two hundred of gold, and was, in great part, the private property of *Hyrcanus*, a man of great honour and probity; and lastly, that such was the holiness of the place, revered throughout the whole world, that no man, ought to lay hands on what was deposited there. But *Heliodorus* alledging the positive orders he had received from his master, told the high-priest in plain terms, that he must seize the money, whatever might be the consequences of such a seizure, and carry it to the king at *Antioch*. When *Heliodorus*, on the day appointed, came to the temple, with a design to execute his commission, the whole city was seized with dread. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal robes, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; and the people, covered with sackcloth, flocked to the temple, and jointly with the priests besought the Almighty, not to suffer so holy a place to be violated and exposed to contempt. But, in the mean time, *Heliodorus*, attended by his guards, was got to the gates of the treasury, and preparing to break it open, when the Lord of spirits revealed his power by most sensible marks, striking all those, who dared to obey *Heliodorus*, with such terror as deprived them of their senses; for there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which, rushing upon *Heliodorus*, struck him several times with his fore-feet. His rider had a terrible aspect, and his weapons seemed to be of gold. At the same time appeared two young men, whose beauty dazzled the eye. These, standing on each side of *Heliodorus*, scourged

ged him incessantly with their whips in a most violent manner. *Heliodorus* fell to the ground speechless, and without the least symptoms of life, and being in this condition put into a litter, was by his guards carried off, while the temple, which before resounded with lamentations, now echoed with the joyful shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty for having thus displayed his power in defence of the sanctuary. Some of *Heliodorus's* friends besought the high-priest to invoke God in his favour; whereupon he offered a sacrifice for his health, and while he was praying, the two young men above-mentioned appearing to *Heliodorus*, spoke to him thus: Return thanks to *Onias* the high-priest, since, for his sake, the Lord has granted you life; and since you have been scourged from heaven, declare to all men the mighty power of God. Having spoke these words, they disappeared. *Heliodorus* offered up sacrifices, made solemn vows to him who had saved his life, and returning thanks to *Onias*, departed from *Jerusalem*, declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. On his return to court, the king, persisting still in his former resolution of plundering the temple, asked him, Who, in his opinion, was the most proper person for that attempt? *Heliodorus* replied, That if he had any enemy or traitor, he might send him, since that was the most expeditious way of getting rid of him, He, who dwells in heaven, being present in that place, and protecting it against such as come to profane it. *Josephus*, who also relates this event, instead of *Heliodorus*, names *Apollonius*, who, as we have hinted above, was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; and with *Josephus* agree the *Fasti Siculi*. Tho' the hand of God had appeared on this occasion in a very miraculous manner, yet *Simon* did not lay aside his animosity against *Onias*, but carried it so far as to murder several of those who favoured the high-priest, being backed therein and encouraged by *Apollonius*. Hereupon *Onias* took a journey to *Antioch*, to complain to the king of these violences; but he had not been long there ere *Seleucus* died. The epitomizer of *Jason of Cyrenia* tells us, that *Seleucus* was dead before *Onias* reached *Antioch*; but *Eusebius* says, that he found him alive, and prevailed upon him to banish the perfidious *Simon*ⁿ. But, be that as it will, heaven did not long defer punishing *Seleucus* for his sacrilegious attempt upon the temple, by that very hand which he had employed in it. We have observed above, that when *Antiochus the Great*, the father of *Seleucus*,

ⁿ 2 MACCAB. iv. EUSEB. in Chron.

Seleucus
poisoned.
Year of
the Flood
2823.
Before
Christ
176.

made peace with the *Romans*, after the famous battle of *Magnesia*, among other hostages that were then given for the observance of the articles, one was *Antiochus* the king's son, and younger brother to *Seleucus*. This prince had been now thirteen years at *Rome*, was twenty seven years of age, and *Seleucus* was desirous of having him home, and sending to *Rome*, by way of exchange, his own son *Demetrius*, who was but ten years old. Some authors are of opinion^o, that *Seleucus* in this had no other view but to give his son a *Roman* education. Others conjecture, that he wanted *Antiochus*, to employ him in an expedition against *Egypt* during the minority of *Philometor*^p; but what prompted him to send for *Antiochus* is not recorded by any authentic history of those times. The affair was warmly debated in the senate at *Rome*; but at length the exchange was accepted, and *Antiochus* set out for *Asia*, about the same time that the young *Demetrius* set out for *Rome*. During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, *Heliodorus* thinking this a fair opportunity of seizing the throne, by cutting off *Seleucus*, accordingly poisoned him, and placed the crown on his own head. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of *Daniel*, who, speaking of the death of *Antiochus the Great*, *Then shall stand up*, says he, *in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom; but within few years he shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle*. These words evidently denote the short and obscure reign of *Seleucus*, and the kind of death which befel him; for he reigned only eleven years, and his death was neither *in anger* nor *in battle*; that is, neither in war abroad, nor in rebellion at home, but by the treachery of one of his own friends. The prophet calls him a *raiser of taxes*, or, as we read in the *Hebrew* text, a *collector of taxes*; and such he was during the whole time of his reign, being obliged to pay the *Romans*, agreeable to the articles of peace between them and his father, a thousand talents annually; and the last of these twelve years was the last of his life. He is said to have once raised a considerable army with a design to assist *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* against *Eumenes*; but when he was ready to pass mount *Taurus*, dreading the vengeance of the *Roman* people, he returned home, and disbanded his troops^r. *Josephus* tells us^s, that he employed *Hyrchanus* the son of *Joseph*, and nephew to *Tobias*, to gather the taxes on the east side of the *Jordan*, where *Hyrchanus* on that occasion built a strong castle of white

^o SALIAN. ad Ann. Mund. 3878 ^p VAILLANT. in hist. reg. Syr. ^r DIOBOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 302. ^s JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4, 5.

marble not far from the land of *Heshbon*; the same author adds, that *Seleucus* appointed him governor of all that country, which he held the seven last years of that prince's reign, living all the time in war with the *Arabians*, and gaining signal victories over them.

It is manifest from the second book of the *Maccabees*, and also from *Josephus*¹, that *Seleucus* had been in possession of *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, some time before his death. For *Apollonius* was governor of those provinces for *Seleucus*, *Heliodorus*, was sent by him to plunder the temple, and *Onias*, when oppressed by *Simon*, had recourse to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, and not to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. But by what means, or on what occasion those provinces became subject to *Seleucus*, is what we find no where recorded. After the battle of *Paneas*, *Antiochus*, as we have related above, made himself master of all *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*; but when *Ptolemy Epiphanes* married his daughter, he agreed to restore them to him by way of dowry. And if they were restored, how came *Seleucus* to be possessed of them a-new? *Polybius*² seems to insinuate, that this agreement was never executed; for that author tells us, that the above-mentioned provinces continued subject to the king of *Syria* ever after the battle of *Paneas*; and adds, that *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who succeeded *Seleucus*, in the answer he gave to the ambassadors, who came from *Greece*, to compose the differences that arose between him and *Ptolemy Philometor*, denied that *Antiochus* had ever agreed to deliver up *Cæle-Syria* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* on the marriage of his daughter. The authority of *Polybius* would prompt us to believe that *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, notwithstanding the above-mentioned agreement, had been retained by the *Syrian* kings, if the contrary were not plain from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewise from *Josephus*³, who tells us, that *Hyrchanus* and all the nobles of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, when news was brought them of the birth of *Philometor*, flocked to *Alexandria* to congratulate on that occasion king *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* his queen, which they certainly would not have done had those provinces been subject to the king of *Syria*. *Diodorus Siculus*⁴ tells us, that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* raised a powerful army with a design to make war upon *Seleucus*, but was prevented by death from putting his design in

¹ 2 MACCAB. C. 3, 4.

² POLYB. legat. 72. p. 893.

³ JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. Valefii. p. 294, 297.

⁴ DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt.

execution. Now it is not unlikely that *Seleucus*, being provoked thus by *Epiphanes*, taking advantage of the minority of his son *Philometor*, pursued the war, which his father was ready to begin, and seized on those provinces. For it is certain from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewise from *Josephus*, that *Seleucus* was in possession of those provinces, when he died. But to resume the thread of our history.

Antiochus
Epipha-
nes.

His cha-
racter.

Antiochus, brother of *Seleucus*, being arrived at *Athens* on his return from *Rome*, received there the news of his brother's death, and was at the same time told that *Heliodorus* had seized the crown, and was supported by a strong party; but that another was forming in favour of *Ptolemy*, who claimed the kingdom of *Syria* in right of his mother, the deceased king's sister. Hereupon *Antiochus* had recourse to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, and to *Attalus* that king's brother, who conducted him into *Syria* at the head of a powerful army, drove out the usurper, and seated him on the throne¹. As this king proved a cruel persecutor of the *Jews*, the prophet *Daniel*² foretold every thing that was to befall him. He expresses himself with relation to his accession to the crown in the following words³: *And in his (Seleucus's) estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* It is said here, that to him they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; and truly he did not come to the crown either by right of birth, since his brother *Seleucus* had left behind him a son, who was his lawful heir; nor by the election of the people; but by the powerful assistance of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, whom he gained by flattering speeches, and great promises. On his being settled on the throne he assumed the surname of *Epiphanes*, that is, *the illustrious*, which title, as will soon appear, was never worse applied. The whole series of his life shews, that the epithet of *vile*, or, more agreeable to the original, *despicable*, given him by the holy prophet, suits better with his character. *Polybius*^b, *Philarchus*^c, *Livy*^d, and *Diodorus Siculus*^e, all heathen writers, and the two first his contemporaries, tell us that he frequently used to go out of his palace, attended only by two or three of his domestics, and ramble about the streets of *Antioch*; that he

¹ APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116, 117.

² DANIEL. c. xi. xii.

³ DANIEL. c. xi. v. 21.

^b Apud Athenæum. l. v. p. 193.

^c A-

pud eundem, l. x. p. 438.

^d LIV. l. xli.

^e DIODOR. SICUL. in Excerpt. Valefii. p. 304.

spent whole days in the shops of goldsmiths and engravers, disputing with them about the mysteries of their trades, which he ridiculously pretended to understand as well as they; that he was not ashamed to stoop so low as to converse with the very dregs of the people, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places, to which they resorted, drinking and carousing with them, though he had never seen them before; that when he heard of any young rakes met together on a party of pleasure, he never failed to intrude himself, and join in all their wanton frolics, without any regard to common decency, or his royal character; that sometimes divesting himself of his royal robes, and putting on a *Roman* gown, he ran from street to street, as he had seen done in the elections of magistrates at *Rome*, taking some by the hand, embracing others, and begging all he met to favour him with their votes; for sometimes he set up for ædile, at other times for tribune, or some such employment; having thus got himself elected, he used to call for the curule chair, and sitting down in it, decide petty suits relating to contracts, bargains and sales made in the market, with as much gravity and attention, as if they had been matters of the highest concern. We are likewise told^f, that he was much given to drunkenness; that he squandered away great part of his revenues in riotous excesses, and that when intoxicated with liquor, he scowled up and down the streets, throwing money by handfuls among the populace, and crying out, Let him take it to whom fortune gives it. At other times he appeared in a *Roman* gown with a garland of roses on his head, and in that garb walked about the streets quite unaccompanied. If any one offered to follow him, they were sure to be well pelted with stones, which he carried under his gown for that purpose. He took pleasure in going into the public baths among the common people, where he exposed himself by his indecent and ridiculous behaviour. This odd and extravagant conduct made his subjects look upon him as a madman; whence instead of *Epiphanes* or *the Illustrious*, they used to stile him *Epimanes*, that is, *the Madman*^g. *S. Jerome* tells us, that he was a most lewd prince, and did not even scruple to gratify his lust publicly, and in the sight of the people^h. From what we have related, we leave our readers to judge, whether he best deserved the title of *Illustrious*, which he assumed, or that of the *Vile* and *Contemptible*, which the prophet *Daniel* gave him.

^f *ATHEN.* l. x. p. 438.
c. 11. p. 37.

^g *Idem* *ibid.*

^h *HIERON.* in *Dan.*

SCARCE was *Antiochus* seated on the throne, when the brother of the high-priest *Onias*, whose name was *Jesus*, which he afterwards changed into that of *Jason*, being ambitious of the high-priesthood, to which was annexed, in those times, the regal power, applied to the king for it, and by an offer of three hundred and sixty talents, besides eighty more which he promised on another account, prevailed upon *Antiochus* to displace the righteous *Onias*, and advance him to that dignity. Nor was this all; as *Onias* was universally revered for his exemplary piety and strict justice, *Jason* well knew that his authority would be of no weight so long as his brother continued at *Jerusalem*; the intruder therefore procured from the king an order for his removal from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, and his confinement to that place. As the public treasury was quite empty when *Antiochus* came to the crown, by reason of the heavy tribute paid to the *Romans* the twelve foregoing years, *Jason* found the king disposed to grant any thing for ready money; and therefore proposed to advance an hundred and fifty talents more, on condition that the king would empower him to make as many of the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* freemen of *Antioch* as he should think fit, and give him leave to erect at *Jerusalem* a gymnasium, or place of exercise, and an ephebeum, or a place for the training up of youth after the Greek manner. The king complied as readily with these proposals, as he had done with the former; and by this means *Jason*, on his return to *Jerusalem*, drew over many of his countrymen from the party of *Onias*. For the *Jews* were at that time, generally speaking, mighty fond of the Greek fashions; whence they began to be reconciled to *Jason*, when they found him bent upon introducing the Greek customs among them. Besides, the freedom of *Antioch*, which he could grant to whom he pleased, was attended with many valuable privileges under the *Syro-Macedonian* kings; whence many, in hopes of having it conferred upon them, espoused the party of *Jason* with great animosity; so that under his detestable reign the manners of the *Jews* were totally corrupted, and the customs of the *Gentiles* introduced among them. They were ashamed of their circumcision, which was the distinguishing mark of the people of God. They built amphitheatres in *Jerusalem* for profane shews, and places for the most infamous debaucheries. The priests themselves were not ashamed to leave their sacred function, and run to the public sports, in which they often became actors¹.

¹ 2 MACCAB. C. IV. 10, 11, 12. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. II. C. 6.

IN *Egypt*, ever since the death of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, *Cleopatra* his widow, sister to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had taken upon her the government of the kingdom, and the tuition of her infant son, and had conducted herself with great care and prudence. But she dying this year, the management of affairs fell into the hands of *Lennaus*, an *Egyptian* nobleman of great distinction, and *Eulæus* an eunuch, who was appointed to superintend the king's education. These no sooner entered on the administration, but they demanded *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine* of *Antiochus*; a demand, which soon occasioned a war between the two crowns. As *Cleopatra* was mother to one, and sister to the other of these two kings, she had prevented them so long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not shew so much regard for *Antiochus*, nor scruple to demand what they took to be their sovereign's right. It must be owned, that the kings of *Egypt* had always possessed these provinces ever since the first *Ptolemy*, till the time that *Antiochus the Great* wrested them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and left them to *Seleucus* his son, with no other right than that of conquest. The *Egyptians*, to make good their claim, argued, that in the last division of the empire between the four successors of *Alexander*, after the famous battle of *Ipsus*, these provinces had been assigned to *Ptolemy*; that he and his successors had held them ever since that partition, till *Antiochus the Great* made himself master of them after the battle of *Paneas*, and that *Antiochus* had stipulated on the marrying of his daughter to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and made it the main article in the marriage-contract; to restore to him those provinces by way of dowry. *Antiochus* denied both these particulars, and pretended, that in the general division, which had been made of *Alexander's* empire, all *Syria*, including *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, had been allotted to *Seleucus Nicator*, and therefore belonged to him as his lawful heir in the *Syrian* empire. As to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the *Egyptians* demanded the restitution of those provinces, he maintained, that there was no such article in that agreement. Having thus laid down their respective claims without coming to any conclusion, the decision of the controversy was at last referred to the sword *.

IN the mean time the king of *Egypt* being declared of age, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the solemnity

* *HIERONYMUS* in *Dan.* & *Polyb. legat.* 82. p. 308. *legat.* & 72. p. 893.

of his coronation, as was usual among the *Egyptians*. On this occasion *Antiochus* sent *Apollonius*, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador to assist at the solemnity, and congratulate the young king in his name on his taking the administration into his own hands. This in outward appearance was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was to discover the designs of the court, and the measures they were taking with regard to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Palestine*. And accordingly being informed on the return of *Apollonius*, that war was intended against him, he immediately imbarqued for *Joppa* to visit the frontiers towards *Egypt*, and put them in a state of defence against any attempts, which the *Egyptians* might make on that side. In this progress he took *Jerusalem* in his way, and was received there by *Jason* with all the marks of honour which the basest flattery could dictate, and that blind people were profuse of their acclamations to an idolatrous prince, whose tyranny they were soon to experience. From *Jerusalem* he went into *Phœnice*, and having settled all things in the places he passed through, he returned to *Antioch*¹. The next year *Jason* sent his brother *Menelaus* to *Antioch* to pay the tribute to the king, and negotiate some other affairs in his name. But *Menelaus* in the audience which he had, instead of pursuing his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office by offering three hundred talents more than *Jason* had given for it. *Menelaus*, on his return to *Jerusalem*, was opposed by his brother, and even obliged to quit the city; but having recourse to *Antiochus*, and promising to embrace his religion and the worship of the *Greeks*, he so far gained the king's favour, that he was sent back with such a power as *Jason* could not resist; who thereupon left *Jerusalem*, and retired into the country of the *Ammonites*. Upon his flight *Menelaus* took possession of the high-priesthood, and made good his promise to *Antiochus*, by apostatizing from the law of *Moses* to the superstition of the *Greeks*, and seducing as many of his countrymen as he could. Having thus taken possession of the high-priesthood, he neglected paying the money he had promised, and was on that account summoned to appear before the king at *Antioch*. But before he reached that city, *Antiochus* was gone from thence to quell an insurrection at *Mal-lus* and *Tarsus*, two cities of *Cilicia*. For the revenues of these two cities having been allotted to *Antiochis*, one of the king's concubines, for her maintainance, the inhabitants out

¹ 2 MACCAB. iv. 21.

of indignation, or perhaps because *Antiochis* exacted upon them, rose up in arms, and committed great disorders. *Antiochus* therefore hastened thither in person to appease the sedition, leaving the government of *Antioch*, during his absence, to *Andronicus*, one of the chief men of his court. In the mean time *Menelaus*, by selling many of the gold vessels of the temple, at *Tyre* and in the neighbouring cities, raised a sufficient sum, not only to pay the king, but to bribe *Andronicus* and the other courtiers to reinstate him in the king's favour. *Onias*, who was then confined to *Antioch*, could not help reproving the apostate for the sacrilege he had been guilty of in plundering the temple of the sacred vessels; which *Menelaus* not being able to brook, applied to *Andronicus*, and by promising a large sum of money engaged him to dispatch *Onias*, who upon intelligence of what was plotting against him, took sanctuary in the asylum at *Daphne*. But *Andronicus*, having by fair promises prevailed upon him to quit the asylum, treacherously slew him, and thereby earned the money which the impious *Menelaus* had promised him. His death was universally regretted by the *Greeks*, as well as the *Jews* of *Antioch*, who therefore joined in petitioning the king to take cognizance of the murder which had been committed in his absence. *Antiochus*, wicked as he was, had a great esteem and even veneration, for *Onias*; and therefore, to gratify his own resentment, as well as that of the *Antiochians*, who had presented him the petition, caused *Andronicus*, after he had been convicted of the crime laid to his charge, to be conducted with infamy to the place where the murder had been committed, and there put to death in such manner as his crime deserved^m. Upon the authority of the second book of the *Maccabees*, we have rejected the testimony of *Josephus*, who tells usⁿ, that *Jason* was not created high-priest till after the death of *Onias*. Nay in this *Josephus* contradicts himself; for in his small treatise of the *Maccabees* he relates this affair agreeable to the history we have followed. *Antiochus*, says he in that treatise, abrogating the high-priesthood of *Onias*, put his brother *Jason* in his room, who promised to pay him a yearly tribute of three thousand six hundred and sixty talents; when he was in possession of the high-priesthood, he led the nation, estranged from their ancient manners and institutions, into all sorts of iniquity; and not only established a gymnasium in the fortress

^m 2 MACCAB. iv. 32, 33, 34, & seq.
c. 6.

ⁿ JOSEPH. Antiq. l. ii.

of our country, but introduced a total neglect of the temple. Thus far *Josephus*, agreeable to the history of the *Maccabees* in every particular, save the annual tribute, which he increases, if the copy is not corrupted, beyond all measure.

Epiphanes
sends an
embassy to
Rome.

Antiochus having ever since the return of *Apollonius* from the *Egyptian* court been making the necessary preparations for the war, which he saw himself threatened with by *Ptolemy* on account of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, and finding himself in a condition to begin it; resolved to defer it no longer, but to carry it into the enemy's country instead of waiting for it in his own. He imagined that as *Ptolemy* was then but sixteen years of age, and governed intirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. Besides, the *Romans*, under whose protection the *Egyptians* had put themselves, were not at leisure to afford them any assistance, by reason of the war which they had on their hands with *Perses* king of *Macedon*; thinking therefore that he could not have a more favourable conjuncture for putting an end to the quarrel, he resolved forthwith to begin the war. However, to keep as fair with the *Romans* as the case would admit, he sent an embassy to *Rome* to pay the arrears of the tribute that was due to the republic, and at the same time to lay before the senate the right he had to the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, then in his possession, and to justify the war which he was obliged to engage in to maintain them. *Apollonius*, who was at the head of the embassy, carried with him besides the tribute, considerable presents for the republic. When the *Syrians* arrived at *Rome*, and were introduced to the senate, their speech consisted chiefly of apologies in the name of the king their master, for having so long delayed satisfying the *Romans*. For *Seleucus* had neglected to pay this debt, and *Antiochus* his successor had not yet been in a condition to discharge it. After *Apollonius* had paid down the whole sum, he offered, as a free gift, several vases of gold, which weighed five hundred pounds, returned the republic thanks for the excellent education their king had received at *Rome*, and the marks of honour that were paid him during his abode there, and concluded with laying before the senate his claim to *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, and demanding that the alliance between *Rome* and *Syria* might be renewed. The senate received the envoys very graciously, defrayed their expences, and made

° LIV. l. xlii. c. 29. POLYB. legat. 71. p. 892. JUSTIN, l. xxxiv. c. 2. DIODOR. SICUL. legat 18. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6. HIERONYM. in DAN. c. 11.

them presents of a considerable value. The prætor *Attilius* was ordered to draw up the act of confederacy upon the same foot on which it had been made with *Antiochus the Great*. The money which the ambassadors delivered was put into the hands of the quæstors, and the gold vessels consigned to the censors, who offered them to such of the gods as they thought fit. As for the king's claim to the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, the senate put off the discussing of that point to a more proper season, returning no answer on that head ².

BEFORE the ambassadors returned from *Rome*, *Antiochus*, putting himself at the head of his army, had marched towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. There he was met by the forces of *Ptolemy* between mount *Casius* and *Pelusium*. Hereupon an engagement ensued, in which the *Egyptians* were routed at the very first onset. *Antiochus*, taking advantage of this victory, fortified the frontiers of his dominions so well on that side, that they served ever after as a barrier to check the utmost efforts of the *Egyptians* attempting to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into *Egypt*, after which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to *Tyre*, and put his army into winter-quarters ³.

DURING his stay at *Tyre*, three deputies from the sanhedrim of *Jerusalem* waited upon him to complain of *Menelaus*, whom they convicted, in the king's presence, of impiety, sacrilege, and many violences and disorders. Hereupon the king resolved to put him to death; but *Menelaus*, having bribed *Ptolemy Macron* (S), one of the king's ministers, with a large

Invades Egypt.

² LIV. POLYB. JUSTIN. *ibid.* ³ HIERONYM. LIV. POLYB. *ibid.*

(S) This *Ptolemy Macron* having been formerly governor of the island of *Cyprus* under king *Ptolemy Philometor*, had during his minority kept in his own hands all the revenues of that island; and could never be prevailed upon to deliver them up to the ministers, notwithstanding their earnest call for them. But as soon as the king was declared to be out of his minority, he brought the whole sum to *Alexandria*, and paid it into the royal treasury. As it was a supply very much wanted at that time to answer the exigences of the government, he was highly commended for his conduct. But afterwards exasperated at some ill treatment he met with from the ministers, or because he was not rewarded for so important a service according to his expectation, he revolted from *Ptolemy*, went over to *Antiochus*, and delivered up to him the island of *Cyprus*. The king received him with great favour, took him into the number of his principal friends, and appointed him governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, sending *Crates*, who had commanded in the castle of *Je-*

*His second
expedition
into E-
gypt.*

large sum of money, not only escaped the sentence which was ready to be pronounced against him, but prevailed upon the king to put the three deputies to death, as if they had accused him unjustly, which was such a bare-faced piece of oppression and injustice, that the *Tyrians*, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, caused them to be honourably interred ^r.

Antiochus having spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into *Egypt*, as soon as the season allowed him to take the field, marched to the frontiers of that country, where he gained a second victory over the forces of *Ptolemy*, took *Pelusium*, and led his army in to the very heart of the kingdom. In this last overthrow it was in his power to have cut off all the *Egyptians* to a man; but instead of pursuing this advantage, he took care to put a stop to the slaughter, riding about the field in person, and forbidding his men to put any more to death. This clemency gained him the hearts of the *Egyptians* so far, that when he advanced up into the country, all the inhabitants voluntarily submitted to him; by which means he made himself master of *Memphis* and all the rest of *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*, which held out against him ^r. In this second invasion *Philopator* fell into the hands of the conqueror; but whether he was taken prisoner, or surrendered himself to him of his own accord, is uncertain. The latter seems to some most likely; for *Antiochus* entertained him very kindly, allowed him his liberty, kept him at his own table, and carrying him with him to *Memphis*, affected to be extremely careful of the interest of the young king, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him. But when he once saw himself in possession of the country, he seized all that was valuable for himself, pillaged the cities, and caused such desolations as are not to be expressed, enriching himself and his army with the spoils of the plundered people. *Philometor* all this time made a pitiful figure; in the field he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shewn himself to those who fought for him. Af-

^r 2 MACCAB. iv. 45-50. ^r 1 MACCAB. i. 17, 18. & 2. MACCAB. v. 1. HIERONYM. in Dan. xi. 24, 25. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valefii p. 311.

Jerusalem under *Softratus*, to be governor of *Cyprus* in his stead (59). Great mention is made of *Ptolemy Macron* in the books of the *Maccabees*.

(59) Valefii. excerpt. ex. Polyb. p. 126.

terward he submitted to *Antiochus* in a most abject manner, suffering himself to be deprived of so large a kingdom, without making one single effort to preserve it. This, however, was not so much owing to his want of courage, and natural capacity, for he afterwards gave many instances of both, as to the effeminate education he had received under *Eulæus* his governor. For that eunuch, who was also his prime minister, had taken care, by corrupting him with all manner of luxury, to make him as unfit for business as he was able, that when the young prince was grown up, he might be as necessary to him, and consequently have the same power in the kingdom, as he had during his minority ¹.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus employed in *Egypt*, a false report of his death prevailing all over *Palestine*, *Jason* thought this a proper opportunity to recover his station at *Jerusalem*, and therefore marched thither with above a thousand men; and, having by the assistance of the party he had in the city made himself master of it, and obliged *Menelaus* to retire into the citadel, practised all sorts of cruelties on his fellow citizens, unmercifully putting to death all those who fell into his hands, and whom he considered as enemies ². When advice of this was brought to *Antiochus* in *Egypt*, he concluded, that the *Jews* had made a general insurrection, and therefore marched with all haste out of *Egypt* into *Judæa* to quell it. What *Takes Je-* most provoked him was his being told, that the inhabitants of *Jerusalem* upon a false report of his death had made great re- *and pro-* joicings. He therefore in a great rage laid siege to the city, *faned the* took it by storm, and in three days time slew forty thousand *temple.* of the inhabitants, and taking as many prisoners sold them for slaves to the neighbouring nations. Nor did he stop here, but entering forcibly into the temple and the most sacred places, polluted with his presence the holy of holies itself, whither the wicked *Menelaus* led him. And to offer the greater indignity to that sacred place, he sacrificed a sow on the altar of burnt-offerings, and having caused part of it to be boiled, he ordered the temple to be sprinkled all over with the water in which it had been boiled, that he might thereby utterly defile it (T). After this adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried

¹ 1 MACCAB. i. 19 JUSTIN. l xxxv c. 2. ² 1 MACCAB. i. 20---25. 2 MACCAB. v. vi. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

(T) This circumstance is mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus* in the following words: "*Antiochus Epiphanes*, having overcome the *Jews*, entered the holy oracle of God, to which the priests only

carried away the altar of incense, the shew-bread table, the candlestick of seven branches belonging to the sanctuary, which were all of gold, and several other vessels, utensils and gifts of kings likewise of gold, to the value of eighteen hundred talents. To complete the calamity of the *Jews*, *Antiochus* on his departure from *Jerusalem* appointed governor of *Judæa* one *Philip* a *Phrygian*, who was a man of a most cruel and inhuman temper, and *Andronicus*, another of the like disposition, governor of *Samaria*, and left *Menelaus*, the most wicked of the three, in the office of high-priest.

In the mean time the *Alexandrians*, seeing *Philometor* in the hands of *Antiochus*, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom as he pleased, looked upon him as lost to them; and

“ had access. There he found the statue of a man with a long
 “ beard, holding a book in his hand, and sitting upon an ass;
 “ which he took to be *Moses*, who built *Jerusalem*, founded the
 “ nation, and established those laws which are hated by all nations.
 “ But he desiring to take away what all nations abhorred, did his
 “ utmost to abrogate the laws. Therefore he sacrificed a great
 “ sow to the founder, on the altar of God, which stood in the o-
 “ pen air, and poured blood both upon the statue and the altar,
 “ and boiling the flesh commanded the holy books containing their
 “ laws to be sprinkled with the water; the immortal taper, as
 “ they term it, which always burnt in the temple, he commanded
 “ to be put out, and compelled the chief-priest and other *Jews* to
 “ eat hog’s flesh”. Thus far *Diodorus Siculus* (60), who in this particular agrees with *Josephus*. This author tells us, that *Antiochus*, after he had made himself master of the city, sacrificed a sow upon the altar, and caused the temple to be sprinkled with the water, in which it had been boiled (61). And here we cannot help observing, that *Josephus* in his account of *Antiochus*’s taking the city of *Jerusalem*, not only contradicts all the antients, but even himself. For *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Timagenes*, *Apollodorus*, *Nicolaus Damascenus*, &c. tell us, that *Antiochus* took *Jerusalem* by storm after he had lain a considerable time before it; and *Josephus* in his history of the *Jewish* war (62), writes in express terms, that *Antiochus* took the city by force, and represents him as enraged by what he had suffered in the siege; and in another place (63), he speaks of those who were slain in the siege fighting against *Antiochus* in defence of the place. But for all this, in his antiquities he tells us, that *Antiochus* entered the city without force, those of his party within opening the gates to him. But this is not the only place where that writer is inconsistent with himself.

(60) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxiv. apud. Photium cod. 244.*

Joseph. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 16.

l. c. 1.

(61)

(62) *Joseph. de bell. Judaic. l.*

(63) *Idem ibid. l. vi. c. 11.*

therefore placed his younger brother on the throne, giving him the name of *Euergetes*, which was afterwards changed into that of *Physcon* or *great-bellied*, his luxury and gluttony having made him remarkably corpulent, and by this name he is most commonly mentioned in history. On his ascending the throne, *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were appointed his chief ministers, and to them was committed the care of restoring, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition ^w.

Antiochus being informed of what was transacting in *Egypt*, took occasion from thence to return a third time into that country upon the specious pretence of restoring the deposed king; but in reality to make himself master of the kingdom. Having therefore defeated the *Alexandrians* in a sea-fight near *Pelufium*, he again entered that unhappy country at the head of a powerful army, and advanced directly to *Alexandria* with a design to besiege it. Whereupon the young king, consulting with his two ministers, agreed to summon a council composed of all the chief officers of the army, and to deliberate with them on the most proper means to extricate himself out of his present difficulties. After long debates in the council they came at last to this resolution; that as their affairs were in a very bad situation, it was absolutely necessary for them to make up matters with *Antiochus*, and that for this purpose the ambassadors, who were then at *Alexandria*, from several of the *Greek* states to the *Egyptian* court, should be desired to interpose their mediation. The ambassadors readily complied with the king's request, and being accompanied by two ambassadors from *Ptolemy* forthwith sailed up the *Nile* to wait on *Antiochus* with proposals of peace. *Antiochus* received them in his camp very kindly, and having given them the first day a noble entertainment, appointed the next to hear their proposals. The *Achæans* spoke the first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All agreed in ascribing the calamities of the war to the ill conduct of *Eulæus*, and the minority of *Ptolemy Philometor*, made artful apologies in favour of the young king, and did all that lay in their power to soften *Antiochus*, and bring him to terms of peace with his nephew, laying great stress on their affinity. *Antiochus* in his answer to them acknowledged all to be true that they had said, as to the origin and cause of the war, and then took the opportunity of laying before them his title to the provinces of *Cæle-Syria*, and *Palestine*, exhibiting the various reasons

*His third
expedition
into E-
gypt.*

^w PORPHYRIUS in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIGER. p. 60. & 68. POLYB. legat. 81. p. 907. LIV. l. xliv. c. 19.

which

The Egyptians apply to the Roman senate.

which we have already taken notice of, and producing some authentic instruments in proof of all that he alledged, which were judged so strong, that all there present were of opinion that he had the best right to those provinces. As for the proposals of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which, he said, he would readily enter into with them, when two persons then absent, whom he named, should be with him, without whom, he told them, he would not take a single step in so important a negotiation. Having returned this answer, he raised his camp, went to *Naucratis*, and from thence marched to *Alexandria*, which city he closely besieged. In this extremity *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Cleopatra* his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to *Rome*, representing their case, and imploring the assistance of that powerful republic. The ambassadors being, soon after their arrival at *Rome*, introduced to the senate, appeared there dressed in the deepest mourning, and carrying olive-branches in their hands. After they had fallen prostrate before the conscript fathers, they expressed themselves in the following terms: *Egypt*, said they, which you have protected, and whose kings have been under your tuition, is now upon the very brink of ruin. *Alexandria* is besieged; and, to complete our misfortunes, the enemy, who threatens us, has found favour here. *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, who has been brought up here as your hostage, is the scourge which the gods have brought upon us. If therefore *Egypt* has deserved your compassion, as she has always been faithful to you, ward off the blow that threatens her with destruction. Nothing is more easy to you than to fix on the head of our sovereign, and your friend and ally, a crown which an ambitious uncle would bereave him of. *Antiochus* reveres your authority, and pays a deference to your orders; one word from you will put an end to his unjust conquests and our fears. How glorious will it be for *Rome* to restore, with one word, tranquillity to *Egypt*! On the contrary, what a reflection would it be on your republic, if our sovereign should be forced to fly hither for refuge against an invasion, which you might with so much ease have prevented! The danger is imminent, and the least dilatoriness in your deliberations will make the disease incurable*. Both compassion and policy inclined the senate to favour the suppliants. They plainly saw, that it would be dangerous to suffer *Antiochus* to grow so powerful as the uniting the crown of

* POLYB. legat. 90. p. 915. & legat. 84. p. 909. LIV. l. xlv. c. 19. JUSTIN, l. xxxiv. 2.

Egypt to that of *Syria* would make him. The senate therefore resolved to send without delay an embassy into *Egypt* to put an end to the war. The persons appointed for this important negotiation were *Caius Popilius Lænas*, *Caius Decimius*, and *Caius Hostilius*, their instructions were, that they should first wait on *Antiochus*, and afterwards on *Ptolemy*, should order them in the name of the senate to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war; which if either of them should refuse to do, they were to let him know, that the *Romans* would no longer look upon him as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution was taken in the senate they set out together with the *Egyptian* ambassadors from *Rome* † (U).

IN the mean time ambassadors arrived in *Egypt* from *Rhodes*, sent by that republic on purpose to make up matters between the contending parties. These landing at *Alexandria* went from thence, after having received the proper instructions from the ministers of that court, to the camp of *Antiochus* before the town, and used their utmost endeavours to make a thorough reconciliation between him and his nephew, insisting on the long friendship and alliance which had subsisted between them and both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themselves under on this account to use their best offices, in order to settle a good understanding between them. But while they were making long harangues on these topics, *Antiochus* interrupting them, declared in few words, that there was no occasion for long speeches on that subject, that the kingdom belonged to *Philometor* the elder brother, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship, and that if they would restore the crown to him, the war would be ended at once. Thus he spoke, but harboured very different designs in his heart. The resistance he met with at *Alexandria*, which city he plainly

† LIV. I. xliv. c. 9. POLYB. legat. 90. p. 915.

(U) The time of the departure of the ambassadors from *Rome* is thus expressed in an antient diary, which *Pigbius* has inserted in the second volume of his annals (64). The third day before the nones of *April*, C. *Popilius Lænas*, C. *Decimius*, and C. *Hostilius*, are sent ambassadors to the kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* to put an end to the war between them. The ambassadors early in the morning, attended by a troop of their clients and relations, sacrificed in the temple of *Castor* to the household gods of the *Roman* people a bull, and thus concluded their sacrifices.

(64) Vide *Pighii Annal. ad Annam urbis* 585.

fav

saw he should never be able to master, had made him change his plan, and conclude, that the surest way to compass his design was to keep up an animosity between the two brothers, and engage them in a war against each other, which as it would soon exhaust the kingdom, would give him a fair opportunity of overpowering both, and seizing the whole for himself. With this view he raised the siege of *Alexandria*, marched towards *Memphis*, and there put *Philometor* in possession of the whole kingdom, except *Pelusium*, which he retained, that he might re-enter *Egypt*, having the key of that country in his hands, the instant matters were ripe for his purpose. Having thus settled things agreeable to his new scheme, he returned to *Antioch* ^a.

Philometor being roused at length from the deep lethargy into which his indolence and effeminacy had plunged him, had penetration enough to see into *Antiochus's* design. His keeping of *Pelusium* was a sufficient indication to him, that he held this gate of *Egypt* with no other view but to invade the country, when his brother and he should have wasted their strength by their domestic broils, and not be in a condition to make head against him; in which case they would both fall victims to his unbounded ambition. The instant therefore that *Antiochus* left *Egypt* he sent to his brother, intreating him to lay aside all animosity, and make a thorough reconciliation, lest *Antiochus* taking advantage of their domestic feuds, should dispossess them both of the kingdom. *Ptolemy Physcon* readily embraced the proposal, and by the mediation of *Cleopatra*, who was sister to both, an agreement was made upon terms, that the two brothers should reign jointly. After this *Philometor* returned to *Alexandria*, and *Egypt* was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly of the *Alexandrians*, who had greatly suffered by the war ^a. But the two brothers, not doubting but *Antiochus* would soon invade the kingdom anew, sent ambassadors into *Greece* to hire there some auxiliaries (W), which indeed

^a LIV. l. xlv. c. ii. ^a LIV. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIGER. p. 60. & in EUSEB Chron. p. 68. POLYB. legat. 89 p. 912.

(W) These ambassadors were sent into *Achaia*, desiring, in the two kings names, only a thousand foot under the command of *Lycortas*, and two hundred horse under the conduct of his son *Polybius* the historian. The assembly of the *Achaëans* was then sitting at *Corinth*, and *Callicrates*, who presided in it, opposed the request of

deed was a very prudent step; for *Antiochus* hearing of the reconciliation of the two brothers, and finding his fine scheme thereby intirely defeated, fell into a great rage, and resolved to pull off the mask, and employ the whole force of his kingdom against both. Accordingly early in the spring he sent his fleet to *Cyprus* to secure that island, and at the same time marched in person by land at the head of a powerful army to reduce the kingdom of *Egypt*, and seize it for himself, without pretending, as he had done before, to espouse the cause, and support the interest, of one of his nephews. On his arrival at *Rhinocorura* he was met by ambassadors from *Philometor*, who after having complimented him in

His fourth expedition into Egypt.

of the ambassadors, pretending that it was not for the interest of the *Achæan* confederacy to concern themselves with foreign affairs; but that they ought to keep their troops at home, that they might be in a readiness to assist the *Romans* against *Perfes*. *Lycortas* and *Polybius* answered *Callicrates*, and in their answer observed, that *Polybius*, having waited on the *Roman* consul *Marcus*, who commanded the army in *Macedon*, and offered him the succours which the *Achæans* had agreed to send him, the consul had thanked him, and at the same time told him, that since he had got footing in *Macedon*, he should not want any foreign aid; and hence they concluded, that the *Achæans* ought not, on that pretence, to refuse the kings of *Egypt* the succours they required. They added, that as the *Achæan* republic could, without the least inconvenience, raise thirty or forty thousand men, so small a number, as was desired by the princes, could not lessen their strength; that they ought to seize this opportunity of assisting them; that it would be a monstrous piece of ingratitude to requite in this manner the many favours which they had received from the kings of *Egypt*; and that their refusal, on this occasion, would even be an infringement of the treaties concluded between them and that crown. This speech moved the members of the assembly, who were all for sending immediately to the kings the succours they required; which *Callicrates* observing, dismissed the assembly, pretending that it was not lawful to debate on an affair of this nature in a general meeting. It was therefore referred to a particular assembly, that was soon after held at *Sicyon*. In this all the members were of the same opinion with *Lycortas* and *Polybius*, when *Callicrates* produced a forged letter from *Marcus* the *Roman* consul, wherein he exhorted the *Achæans* to interpose their mediation, and use their good offices, in order to put an end to the war between the *Ptolemies* and *Antiochus*. This letter, which no one suspected to be forged, determined the *Achæan* confederates to send an embassy only to the contending princes (65).

(65) *Polyb. legat.* 89 — 91.

their master's name, and told him that their sovereign owed his restoration to his good offices, conjured him not to destroy his own work, but to suffer him peaceably to enjoy the crown, which he wore by his favour. But *Antiochus*, now throwing off the mask, and laying aside those tender and affectionate expressions which he had hitherto made shew of, returned the ambassadors this haughty answer; that he would not grant peace to either of the brothers, but upon condition that the island of *Cyprus*, the city of *Pelusium*, with all the lands on that branch of the *Nile* on which it stood, and the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Palestine*, were delivered up to him for ever. Having thus declared his real design, he fixed a day for their returning him an answer to his demand, which not being satisfactory, he entered *Egypt* in an hostile manner, and, having reduced the whole country as far as *Memphis*, received there the submission of most of the other cities and provinces. From *Memphis* he marched to *Alexandria*, with a design to besiege that city, the reduction of which would have made him absolute master of all *Egypt*. And this he would, without all doubt, have accomplished, had not the *Roman* ambassadors put a stop to his further progress, and dashed at once all the designs which he had been so long carrying on, in order to possess himself of that country^b.

The Roman ambassadors oblige him to quit E-SYP:

THE ambassadors came up with him at *Eleufina*, a village but four miles distant from *Alexandria*, and *Popilius* accosted him with an air of gravity proper to gain himself respect. As the king was intimately acquainted with *Popilius*, and had contracted great familiarity with him, while he was an hostage at *Rome*, as he drew near him, he offered him his hand, which was an uncommon mark of familiarity and distinction from so great a prince. But *Popilius*, disdaining this kind reception, told him, that the public interest of his country must take place of private friendship, and that he would not join hands with him till he had first read to him the decree of the senate, with which he was sent. I shall judge, said he, by your submission or refusal, whether you ought to be treated as a friend or an enemy. If you obey, I shall receive all marks of your friendship with joy. These words were very shocking to a victorious and powerful king at the head of a numerous army. However, *Antiochus* took the decree which *Popilius* offered him, and, after having read it, told him that he would advise with his council about it, and return him an answer in a short time. But the proud republican insisting on an immediate answer, drew a circle round him in the sand

^b LIV. & JUSTIN. ubi supra.

with a rod, which he held in his hand, and, raising his voice, You shall not go out of this circle, said he, till you either accept or reject the proposal I have made to you. I expect you will pay me the respect that is due to the authority of the *Roman* people and senate. The king, struck with this strange and peremptory way of proceeding, hesitated a moment, and then gave this answer, which would better have become a slave than a great king. Then I must satisfy you, *Popilius*, I will do what your republic expects from me. He had no sooner spoke than all the three ambassadors offered him their hands at once, and *Popilius* behaved thenceforth according to his former friendship with him. The *Roman* ambassadors, after *Antiochus* had left *Egypt*, returned to *Alexandria*, and, having there put the last hand to the treaty of peace and reconciliation between the two brothers, sailed to *Cyprus*, which *Antiochus* had conquered, obliged him to withdraw his troops from that island, and then returned to *Rome* to acquaint the senate with the success of their negotiations. They were soon followed by ambassadors from *Antiochus*, and the two *Ptolemies*. The former being introduced to the senate, made the following speech, which sufficiently shewed what a mean-spirited prince *Antiochus* was: Though *Popilius*, said they, communicated your pleasure to the king our master at a time when all *Egypt* was ready to sink under his arms; yet he preferred obedience to victory. He thought himself as indispensibly obliged to submit to the decisions of *Rome*, as to fulfil the will of the immortal gods. To this fulsome speech the senate returned the following answer; *Antiochus* did wisely in putting our orders in execution. The senate and people of *Rome* are satisfied with his conduct. After the *Syrian* ambassadors those from *Egypt* were introduced; they addressed the senate in the like extravagant strain; To you, conscript fathers, said they, we owe the deliverance of *Egypt*, and the concord that now reigns among us. The departure of *Antiochus*, and the union between the two rival princes by you brought to a happy issue, have secured our liberty, and restored peace to the kingdom. A double benefit! for which the kings and people of *Egypt* are as much indebted to you, as children to their parents, or mortals to the immortal gods. The senate answered in a few words, *Rome*, said they, shares your happiness, and is pleased with

• POLYB. legat. 92. p. 916. LIV. l. xlv. c. 11, 12. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 3. APPIAN. in Syriac. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4. VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. i. c. 10. PLUT. in apophtheg. c. 32. HIERONYM. in DAN. xi. 27.

your gratitude. *Egypt* may always depend on her protection. After these compliments were paid, the prætor was ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents ^d.

Vents his
rage upon
Jerusalem.

Antiochus, on his return from *Egypt*, being highly provoked to see himself thus obliged to quit a kingdom, which he looked upon as his own, vented his rage upon the unhappy city of *Jerusalem*, which had no ways offended him. On his march through *Palestine* he detached twenty two thousand men under the conduct of *Apollonius*, with orders utterly to destroy the place. *Apollonius*, arriving at *Jerusalem*, carefully concealed his orders, and behaved in a friendly manner till the next sabbath, when, seeing all the people assembled in their synagogues to perform the religious duties of the day, he thought that the most proper time for putting his bloody commission in execution. Accordingly he let loose all his troops upon the unarmed and defenceless multitude, ordering them to put all the men to the sword, and seize the women and children, who, by the king's orders, were to be sold for slaves. This barbarous command was executed with the utmost rigor and cruelty; the soldiers inhumanly butchered all the men they could meet with; insomuch, that the very channels in the streets flowed with blood. They afterwards plundered the city, and set it on fire in several places, pulled down the houses, demolished the walls, and built with the ruins, which the fire had spared, a fortress on the top of one of the hills of the city of *David*, over-against the temple, which it commanded. This fortress they made their place of arms to keep the whole nation in awe, stored it with all manner of provisions, and laid up in it all the spoils which they had taken in the plunder of the city. From hence the garison used to sally out upon those who came to worship the true God in the temple, sprinkling the sanctuary with blood, and defiling it with all manner of pollutions, which their malice and hatred to the *Jewish* nation could suggest. The temple was therefore deserted, and a stop put to the daily sacrifices, none of the true servants of God daring to go thither to worship ^e. But the desolations he caused in *Judæa*, the cruel persecution which he stirred up against the true believers, and the bloody war which he carried on against the people of God, with the generous resistance made first by *Mattathias*, and afterwards by his son, the brave *Judas Maccabæus*, we shall de-

^d LIV. l. xlv. POLYB. legat. 92. VAL. MAX: l. vi. c. 4.
^e POLYB. ibid. I MACCAB. i. 29, 40. 2 MACCAB. v. 24, 25, 26 JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. & in præfat. ad histor. de Bell. Judaic. & l. i. c. 1. & l. vi. c. 11. ejusdem histor.

describe at length in the history of the *Jews*, as in a more proper place.

AFTER several of *Antiochus's* generals had been defeated, and the armies they commanded cut to pieces by *Judas Maccabæus*, the king of *Syria* sent at length *Lysias*, one of the greatest lords of his court, to complete the abolition of the law of God, and the destruction of its few defenders. The *Syrian* army designed for this purpose consisted of sixty thousand men ; and these preparations alarmed *Tiberius Gracchus*, whom the *Roman* senate had sent to visit all the kings, republics, and free cities in the east. He immediately flew to *Antioch* to watch the steps, and examine the designs of the king, whom he soon found to be no ways a formidable enemy. During the stay of *Gracchus* at *Antioch*, *Antiochus* hearing that *Paulus Æmilius* the *Roman* general, after having conquered *Perses* king of *Macedon*, and subdued that kingdom, had celebrated games at *Amphipolis* on the river *Strymon*, caused the same to be exhibited at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, having first sent emissaries into all parts to invite spectators, and to bring, at an immense expence, the best actors and most skilful workmen in *Europe* and *Asia*. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp and magnificence, and were by far the finest that had ever been in *Syria* (X). The
part

(X) *Polybius* gives us the following account of the solemn procession which preceded the sports. In the first place marched five thousand men, all in the flower of their age, and in the attire of *Roman* soldiers ; these were followed by the like number of young men in the *Myrian* dress ; next to them came three thousand *Cilicians* in light armour, with crowns of gold on their heads ; then came three thousand *Thracians*, five thousand *Galatians*, many of them having silver shields, two hundred and forty couple of gladiators, a thousand young men mounted on *Nicean* horses, three thousand riding other horses, most of them with gold trappings, and gold crowns. These were succeeded by a thousand of the king's friends all on horseback with most costly trappings ; four thousand choice horsemen, all in purple robes interwoven with gold ; a hundred chariots drawn by six horses abreast, and forty two by four horses ; eight hundred youths with crowns of gold, walking before the statues of the *Syrian* and *Greek* deities and heroes, which were carried by men in most rich and costly robes, and attended by a thousand pages, all belonging to *Dionysius* the king's secretary, and each of them carrying a silver vessel, weighing a thousand drachmas ; the king's pages, to the number of six hundred, carrying vessels of gold, two hundred women on foot, with chalices of gold full of sweet-smelling waters to sprinkle the spectators.

The

part the king there acted during the whole time, answered in every respect the character which *Daniel* had given of him, calling him a *vile* and *despicable* person. He exposed himself by a thousand indecent actions to the scorn and ridicule of that numerous assembly, and caused more laughter than the best pantomimes; insomuch, that many of the spectators shocked at a conduct so unworthy of a prince, and so repugnant to all rules of modesty and decorum, fled from the shows and returned home. On this occasion he brought out before the people all the vases and valuable moveables in his treasury, which had never before been seen in public; and there is no doubt but the spoils of the temple of *Jerusalem* were the finest part of the show. Towards the *Roman* deputy *Antiochus* behaved himself with the meanest flattery, attending him like a slave, and giving him his own palace to live in, while he himself lodged in a borrowed house the whole time *Tiberius* continued at *Antioch*; nay, he even of-

The procession was closed by fourscore women in a very rich and expensive attire, carried in litters with legs, according to the fashion of those days, of massy gold, and five hundred more in litters with legs of silver. Besides the procession, sports, shews, and diversions of all kinds were exhibited every day for the space of a month; during which time the king entertained all the spectators of any note or rank at fifteen hundred tables, which were daily served at an immense charge with the most expensive dishes of *Europe* and *Asia*. In the rooms were placed fifteen large jars of gold, filled with precious ointments for the use of the king's guests. In short, the whole was performed with such order, elegance, and splendor, as can hardly be expressed. But most of the spectators were more offended at the mean and unbecoming behaviour of the king, than pleased with all the rest. At the procession he appeared on a little palfrey, riding full speed up and down, as if he had not been in his right senses. He waited in person sometimes at one table, and sometimes at another, walking in his royal robes, and with the diadem on his head, before those who brought in the dishes. Sometimes he took it in his head to lie down on the floor, and there with a thousand indecent actions put his guests quite out of countenance. He was once carried into the room, where his guests of most distinction were entertained, in the disguise of a pantomime, and laid down on the floor as if he had been dead; but being roused by a sudden flourish of instruments, he started up, and began to dance with so many ridiculous gestures, that the whole company, shocked to the highest degree at such a mean behaviour in a king, rose up at once, and left the room (66).

(66) *Polyb. apud Athenæum, l. v. c. 4. & l. x. c. 12. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valefii, p. 321.*

ferred to resign his crown to him ; which offer the wise *Roman* rejected with the utmost indignation, and judging of the king from what he himself had seen, he acquainted his republic, that they had no reason to be under the least apprehension of any danger from the king of *Syria* ^d.

SCARCE was the *Roman* envoy gone, when news was brought to *Antiochus*, that the armies, which he had sent against the *Jews*, were intirely cut off. Hereupon the king in a great rage drew all his troops together, which formed a very numerous army, being fully determined to destroy the whole *Jewish* nation, and settle new colonies in their country. But when he came to pay his army, he found his treasury so exhausted that there was not money in it sufficient for that purpose, he having expended vast sums in his late shows, and besides squandered away the greatest part of his revenues in the presents he bestowed on his friends and followers. For he was naturally very generous, and in this particular excelled, as the author of the book of the *Maccabees* tells us, *all the kings before him* ; and the prophet *Daniel* speaks of him as *scattering among his followers, the prey, and the spoil, and riches*. How he came by these *riches, spoil, and prey*, *Athenæus* tells us : All these expences, says he, speaking of *Antiochus*, were made partly out of the prey, which contrary to the promise he had made to *Philometor*, he took in *Egypt*, partly out of the gifts of his friends, but chiefly out of the spoils of the many temples which he had sacrilegiously robbed ^e.

BESIDES the straits and difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, he was greatly perplexed, according to the prophecy of *Daniel*, by tidings that came to him out of the east, and out of the north. For in the north *Artaxias* king of *Armenia* had revolted from him, and *Persia*, which was in the east, paid no longer the usual tribute, all things being there, as in the other parts of the empire, in the utmost confusion, by reason of a decree which the king had enacted, injoining all the nations subject to him to renounce the religion of their ancestors, and conform to that of the *Greeks*. To put a speedy end to these evils, and prevent their spreading, *Antiochus* resolved to divide his army into two parts, leaving one of them with *Lyfias* to reduce the *Jews*, and marching

^d POLYB. apud Athen. l. v. c. 4. p. 194, 197. & l. x. c. 12. p. 439. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 321. DANIEL. XI. 21. MACCAB. I. i. c. 1. v. 21. ^e MACCAB. I. i. c. 3. v. 27. & seq. ATHENÆUS Deipnosoph. l. v. p. 195.

in person with the other, first into *Armenia*, and afterwards into *Persia*, to restore the affairs of those provinces to their former condition. Accordingly having left *Lysias* governor of all the provinces on this side of the *Euphrates*, and committed to his care the education of his son *Antiochus Eupator*, who was then but seven years old; he crossed mount *Taurus*, and entering *Armenia* defeated *Artaxias* (Y), and took him prisoner. From *Armenia* he marched into *Persia*, in order to oblige the inhabitants of that rich province to pay him the arrears of their yearly tribute. He there was informed, that the city of *Elymais* was greatly renowned for its wealth, and that there was in the place a temple, dedicated, according to *Polybius*, to *Diana*, according to *Appian*, to *Venus*, in which immense sums were lodged. Upon this notice he flew to *Elymais* with a design to plunder both the city and the temple, as he had done at *Jerusalem*. But his design having taken vent, the inhabitants of the city and the neighbouring villages, taking up arms in defence of their temple, repulsed him with the greatest ignominy. *Antiochus*, greatly grieved at this disgrace, withdrew to *Ecbatan* in *Media*. Soon after his arrival thither, news was brought him of the defeat of *Nicanor* and *Timotheus*, two of his generals, in *Judæa*; which enraged him to such a degree, that he immediately set out from *Media* with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the most dreadful effects of his wrath, breathing nothing on his march but total ruin and utter destruction. As he was thus hastening towards *Babylonia*, through which he

(Y) *Artaxias* the first of that name, of whom mention is made here, had, according to *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Appian*, commanded the troops of *Antiochus the great* in the provinces of *Asia*, which were subject to the crown of *Syria*, and with the consent of his master made himself sovereign of a small state in *Upper Armenia*; while *Thariades*, another of the same king's generals, established a new kingdom, likewise with the consent of *Antiochus* in *Lower Armenia*. After the defeat of *Antiochus*, they both put themselves under the protection of the *Romans*. Nevertheless *Epihanes* made war upon *Artaxias*, cut his army in pieces, and took the prince himself prisoner. But his captivity, in all likelihood, lasted no longer than the life of *Epihanes*. For we find him soon after at war with *Mythrobuzanes*, the son of *Thoriades*, whom he forced to abandon his dominions, and fly for refuge to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. *Artaxias* did all that lay in his power to prevail upon *Ariarathes* to destroy the fugitive prince. But the king of *Cappadocia* was so far from being seduced with the flattering hopes *Artaxias* gave him of sharing with him the provinces of *Lower Armenia*, that he even had the generosity to re-establish at the head of a powerful army *Mythrobuzanes* on his throne.

was

was to pass on his return, he was met on the road by fresh messengers, bringing him an account that *Lysias* had been defeated, that the *Jews* had retaken the temple, thrown down the images and altars which he had erected, and restored their former worship. At this news his fury and rage increased, and being impatient to reach *Antioch*, that he might from thence march in person against the *Jews*, and execute his vengeance upon the whole nation, he commanded his charioteer to drive with the utmost speed, threatening to utterly extirpate the whole nation without leaving one single person of the *Jewish* race alive. He had scarce uttered these words when he was seized with a great pain in his bowels, which no remedy could cure or abate. But notwithstanding this violent shock, suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, he gave orders for proceeding with the same precipitation in the journey. But while he was thus hastening forwards, he fell from his chariot, and was by the fall so bruised, that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter. But not being able to bear even the motion of the litter, he was obliged to halt at a town called *Tabæ* (Z), situate among the mountains of *Paratacene* on the confines of *Persia* and *Babylonia*, and there keep his bed, suffering inexpressible torments, occasioned chiefly by the vermin which bred in his body, and the stench which made him insupportable even to himself. But the torments of his mind, caused by his reflecting on the former actions of his life, surpassed by many degrees those of his body. *Polybius*, who in his account of this wicked prince's death, agrees with *Josephus*, and with the authors of the first and second book of the *Maccabees*, tells us, that the uneasiness of his mind grew at last to a constant delirium or state of madness, by reason of several specters and apparitions of evil genii or spirits, which, he imagined, were continually reproaching him with the many wicked actions he had been guilty of. *Polybius* indeed ascribes all this to the sacrilegious attempt which he made on the temple of *Diana*

The unhappy death of Antiochus Epiphanes.
Year of the Flood, 2834.
Before Christ, 165.

(Z) *Polybius* and *Porphyrius* agree with the author of the second book of the *Maccabees*, as to the place where *Antiochus* ended his days. *Castaldus* is of opinion that *Tabæ* and *Ecbatan* are one and the same city. It is plain from the history of the *Maccabees* that *Tabæ* stood in a mountainous country, and such was the province of *Ecbatan* in *Media*. But *Niger* thinks that the situation of *Tabæ* agrees better with that of the present city of *Ispahan*. *Q. Curtius* places *Tabæ* in *Paratacene*, which is the most northern province of *Persia*.

in *Elymais*, without taking any notice of the many sacrileges and profanations which he had not only attempted, but actually committed at *Jerusalem*. But *Josephus*, with much more reason and justice, imputes his cruel death to what he did at *Jerusalem*; and of this *Antiochus* himself, as we read in the first book of the *Maccabees*, seems to have been well apprised. To what a condition, said he to his friends in the height of his torments, am I reduced! what a change of fortune have I undergone! Alas! I now remember with grief the calamities I brought on *Jerusalem*. I am but too sensible of the vengeance of the God, whom I have provoked; and it shall be now my whole business to appease him. I will restore to the *Jews*, whom I have persecuted, their antient privileges and liberties: I will make them as happy and independent as the city of *Athens*: I will restore the temple of the true God to its former lustre, and return the sacred vessels, and even increase their number. Nay, I will embrace the law of the circumcised myself, and zealously promote it in others. Thus spoke *Antiochus*, hoping he should appease the Almighty by these great promises; but as they were extorted from his mouth, and not from his heart, by the violence of his unrelenting torments, he did not obtain mercy, though he sought it with tears; and therefore, after having languished some time in this deplorable condition, he ended his unhappy life after having reigned eleven years and some months†. *Porphyrius*, *Eusebius*, *Jerom*, *Sulpitius Severus*, and others tell us, that he reigned only eleven years; but the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* says, that he began his reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and died in the 149th, which lengthens his reign to twelve years. To reconcile the abovementioned writers with the author of the history of the *Maccabees*, we must say with the learned *Usher*, that *Antiochus* began his reign in the end of the 137th year, and died in the beginning of the 149th year of that æra, after having reigned, according to that computation, eleven years and some months (A). As *Antiochus*

† MACCAB. I. i, c. 6. & II. c. 9, &c. POLYB. in excerpt. Valefii, p. 144. APPIAN. in Syriac. JOSEPH. Antiq. I. xii. c. 13. HIERONYM. in Dan. xi. 36. EUSEB. in Chron.

(A) As *Antiochus the great* attempted the same sacrilege in the country of *Elymais*, which *Antiochus* his son is said to have attempted in the city of *Elymais*, some have imagined that the identity of names may have led writers into a mistake, and made them ascribe to both the sacrilege, which was attempted only by one. On this sup.

chus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the *Jewish* church, and a type of the *Antichrist*, who in after-ages is to afflict the christian church, more is said relating to him in the prophecies of *Daniel*, than to any other prince. But of this more at length in our notes (B). *Antiochus*

supposition *Scaliger* (67) finds fault with *S. Jerom*, for saying in his comment on the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, that *Antiochus the great* was cut off with his whole army by the *Elymæans*, which he pretends not to be true of *Antiochus the great*, but only of his son *Epiphanes*. But what *Jerom* says is vouched by many other writers of no mean character, viz. that *Antiochus the great* was thus cut off in attempting to plunder the temple of the *Elymæans*, and none ever said that *Epiphanes* lost his life in such an attempt; for he escaped, with the loss indeed of many of his men, and died some time after, as *Appian* (68), *Polybius* (69), *Josephus* (70), and the authors of the first and second book of the *Maccabees* witness. Besides, though the attempt was made by both princes in the same country, yet it was not on the same temple; for that of *Antiochus the great* was on the temple of *Belus*, and that of *Epiphanes* on the temple of *Diana*, which goddess is said by *Strabo* to have had a very rich temple in the country of the *Elymæans* (71). The same author tells us, that this temple was plundered by one of the *Parthian* kings, who found in it ten thousand talents. This temple, as the same *Strabo* informs us (72), was called *Axara*, or, as *Casaubon* reads it (73), *Zara*; whence *Diana* was called by the *Persians* *Zaretis* (74).

(B) The eleventh chapter of *Daniel* from the twentieth verse to the end, is wholly concerning *Antiochus Epiphanes*. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the first relates to his war in *Egypt*, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the *Jews*. And first as to his wars with *Egypt*, the prophet after having spoke of his accession to the crown in the twenty-first verse; *And in his estate* (*Seleucus Philopator's*) *shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries* (75); after having thus, I say, pointed out his accession to the throne, the prophet goes on thus: *and with the arms of a flood shall they* (the *Syrians*) *be overflown before him, (Antiochus Epiphanes) and shall be broken; yea also the prince of the covenant.* *Heliodorus*, who had murdered *Seleucus*, and his adherents, as also the partisans of the king of *Egypt*, who had formed designs against *Syria*, were defeated by the forces of *Attalus*, and dispersed by the arrival of *Antiochus*, whose

(67) *Scaliger. in animadver. ad Euseb. chron p. 140.* (68) *Appian. in Syriac.* (69) *Polybius. in excerpt. Valesii. p. 144.* (70) *Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13.* (71) *Strab. l. xvi. p. 744.* (72) *Idem ibid.* (73) *Casaub. in notis ad pag. 744.* (74) *Hesych. in voce Ζαρετις.* (75) *Daniel. c. xi. v. 21. v. 22. v. 23. v. 25. v. 40.*

Antiochus before he expired, having sent for *Philip*, who
 Eupator. was his chief favourite, and had been brought up with him
 from

presence disconcerted all their measures. By the *prince of the covenant*, some suppose to be meant *Heliodorus*, the ring-leader of the conspirators; others *Ptolemy Euphates*, king of *Egypt*, who lost his life by a plot laid by his own subjects, while he was bent upon a war with *Syria*. In the following verses *Daniel* evidently speaks of *Antiochus's* four different expeditions into *Egypt*; *And after the league made with him* (with *Ptolemy Philometor* his nephew, king of *Egypt*) *he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people.* *Antiochus*, though he was already determined in his own mind to wage war, assumed a specious appearance of friendship for the king of *Egypt*; nay, he even sent *Apollonius* to congratulate his nephew on occasion of his coronation, and to assist in his name at that ceremony. Nevertheless soon after, on pretence of defending him, he marched into *Egypt*, defeated his forces, and returned to *Tyre* loaded with the spoils of the plundered people. What is said in the twenty fifth, fortieth, forty-second and forty third verses, was accomplished in his second expedition into *Egypt*, viz. *And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army, and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him: and at the time of the end shall the king of the south push at him, and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horsemen and with many ships: and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over.* *Antiochus*, after having employed the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into *Egypt*, invaded that country both by sea and land as soon as the season allowed him, and entered into *Egypt*, as we read in the first book of the *Maccabees* (76), *with a great multitude, with chariots, with elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy,--and made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt.* If we compare the history of the *Maccabees*, and indeed the profane writers, with *Daniel's* prophecies, we shall find a perfect agreement among them, with this difference alone, that the prophet is more clear and particular than any of the historians. *He shall stretch forth his hand,* continues the prophet, *also upon the countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt.* *Antiochus* after the victory, which he gained over *Ptolemy's* forces in his second expedition into *Egypt*, made himself master of all that country, *Alexandria* alone excepted, over running it with an astonishing rapidity, which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers, as the prophet expresses it. What we read in the twenty-sixth verse, viz.

(76) *Maccab. i. c. i. v. 17, 18, 19.*

See,

from his infancy, appointed him regent of the Syrian empire during the minority of his son, and delivered into his hands the

Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of Egypt's) meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow; and many shall fall down slain; this I say was fulfilled by the revolt of Ptolemy Macron from Philometor, and the treachery and male-administration of Lennæus, Eulæus, and other ministers employed under them. What is said in the twenty-seventh verse was fulfilled in the meeting of Antiochus and Philometor at Memphis; and both these kings hearts shall be to do mischief, says the prophet, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper; for yet the end shall be at the time appointed. The two princes, in the time of the second and third expedition of Antiochus into Egypt, met at Memphis, eat frequently at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have the nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose an intire confidence in his uncle. But all this was mere shew and out-side; they both spoke lyes; the design of Antiochus being to seize on the kingdom for himself, and Philometor's to lay hold of the first opportunity that offered, to disappoint him; as he did accordingly by agreeing with his brother and the Alexandrians, as we have observed in the text, out of Livy and other profane historians (77). Hereupon followed what is foretold in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth verses; *At the time appointed he shall return, and come towards the south, but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore he shall grieve and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant.* For advice being brought to Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he pulled off the mask, and openly owned that he intended to take possession of Egypt himself, and with this view he returned and came again towards the south, that is, into Egypt; but he did not prevail as in the former, and in the latter attempts upon that country, by reason of the ships that came from Chittim, or the country of the Greeks against him, having on board Popilius Lænas and the other Roman ambassadors. For these, having embarqued on some Greek ships, which they found at Delos, sailed from thence to Egypt, and finding Antiochus before Alexandria, obliged him to leave the country, to his great grief, and return to his own dominions. However, what the prophet foretold in the forty second and forty-third verses, *of his stretching forth his hand upon the land of Egypt, and his having power over the treasures of gold and silver, and all other the precious things of that country,* had its thorough completion; for in all his expeditions into Egypt, he miserably harassed that country, returning from thence loaded with spoils, and carrying treasures of gold and silver taken by him and his followers (78). And thus far the prophecies of Daniel

(77) Liv. l. xlv. c. 19. Athenæus, l. v. p. 195. (78) Athen. l. v. p. 195. Hieronym. in Dan. c. xi. v. 27.

the diadem, the seal of the empire, and the other ensigns of royalty, charging him above all things to give his son, then nine years old, such an education as might qualify him to govern his subjects with justice and moderation. But *Philip*, on his arrival at *Antioch*, found the employment, which the king had conferred upon him, usurped by another. For *Lysias*, upon the first advice of the king's death, had placed his son *Antiochus*, who was then under his care, on the throne, giving him the name of *Antiochus Eupator*, and assuming to himself the tuition of his person and the government of his kingdom. *Philip* well knew that he was not at that time in a condition to contend with so powerful a rival, and therefore retired into *Egypt*, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted to drive out the intruder, and take upon him the government which the king had intrusted him with^g.

Demetrius IN the mean time, *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopater*, who had been an hostage at *Rome* ever since his father's death, and was now in the twenty third year of his age, hearing of the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes* and the accession of his son *Eupator* to the crown, which of right belonged to him, as the son of the elder brother, applied to the senate, and strongly represented to them the indisputable title he had to the crown of *Syria*. The same destiny, said he, when he was introduced to the conscript fathers, which formerly deprived *Syria* of *Seleucus* my father, has just now taken from her my uncle *Antiochus*. They succeeded one another in the throne, and each of them left a son a minor. I was of the same age as young *Antiochus* is now, when upon the death of my father I was judged incapable of governing so great an empire. Afterwards I was brought from my native country to this place as an

^gAPPIAN. in Syriac. EUSEB. in Chron. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14. MACCAB. l. i. c. 6. v. 17.

relating to the wars between the kings of *Syria* and the kings of *Egypt*, or as the prophet styles them, between the *kings of the north* and the *kings of the south*. As to the other part of *Daniel's* prophecy, which relates to the cruel persecution he brought upon the *Jews*, we shall take notice of it in the history of that people. In the mean time we cannot help observing, that by *the prince of the covenant*, mentioned in the twenty-second verse, the prophet most likely pointed out *Onias* the high-priest of the *Jews*, who was deposed and banished by *Epiphanes*, and at last murdered by one of his lieutenants; and not *Heliodorus*, or the king of *Egypt*, as some interpreters would have it.

hostage,

hastage, and have here had the happiness to grow up under your eyes, and form myself by your examples. All the senators of this great metropolis are fathers to me, and all their children brothers. I am by the education you have given me become intirely *Roman*, and if I fill by your favour the throne of my ancestors, I shall only sit there to dispense your laws. How glorious will it be for you, and how advantageous for *Syria* to see two of your pupils succeed one another! Can you in equity suffer a child to usurp my rights, and let my residence among you be prejudicial to me? I am informed that *Antiochus* is already proclaimed king, and has taken the name of *Eupator*. My absence alone could authorise his friends to give him a diadem, which, by right of birth and order of nature, can belong only to me. I am the son of a king, and of the eldest of the two brothers, who have successively reigned in *Syria*. There is the same objection against the promotion of young *Antiochus* to the throne after his father, as there formerly was against my succeeding mine. He is too young to sustain the weight of public affairs. He has no right to the crown, but what he derives from *Epiphanes*; and *Epiphanes* himself pretended at first to hold the crown only in trust. Upon his death therefore my right revives, and I am now able to bear the burthen of the state; I am three and twenty years old, and have learnt the art of reigning from you. Let young *Antiochus* be brought to *Rome* for an hostage; his youth will make him susceptible of your instructions; and give me leave, conscript fathers, to go into *Syria*, and there take quietly possession of my crown, or make good my right by dint of sword ^a.

NOTWITHSTANDING the justice of this demand, the senators were divided in their opinions. The most sequitable among them thought they could no longer detain *Demetrius* at *Rome*, since by that means they debarred him from the crown, to which he had an indisputable right. But the less scrupulous, upon principles of policy and motives of interest, were for keeping the young prince still at *Rome*. These remonstrated, that such a king of *Syria* as *Demetrius*, who was in the flower of his age, of an aspiring genius, and of extraordinary parts, might in the end prove a formidable enemy to the republic, and raise new troubles in the east; whereas a child on the throne would court their friendship, and seek for protectors at *Rome*. Nay, these refined politicians went further, and without any regard to justice proposed declaring *Antiochus*

^a JUSTIN. [l. xxxiv. c. 3. POLYB. legat. 107. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 117.

The Romans usurp the guardianship of young Eupator.

ward of the republic, and sending guardians to govern his dominions in the name and under the direction of the Roman senate. This opinion, though repugnant, in a most flagrant manner, to all the laws of common justice and equity, prevailed in that venerable body; and accordingly three persons of consummate experience were immediately named to give law to Syria, under pretence of assisting and advising the new king during his minority. These were *Cn. Octavius*, who had discharged the consulate with great reputation, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius*. This iniquitous decree was enacted by the senate, and confirmed by the people without the consent or even privity of the Syrians, who had no thoughts of desiring any foreign guardians for their king. So despotic a power did the haughty Romans assume over kings, after the defeat of *Perfes*, and reduction of *Macedon*. Neither was the senate satisfied with opposing the just claim of *Demetrius* to the crown of his father, and setting it on the head of a child, to whom it did not belong; but moreover gave the guardians, who were to take care of the affairs of Syria, such instructions as tended to the weakening of the kingdom of their ward. For they were ordered by the senate to burn all the ships with decks, which the king of Syria had, as soon as they should be in possession of the guardianship, to hamstring all his elephants, and in short to weaken by all means possible the strength of that powerful kingdom. With these instructions *Octavius*, who was at the head of this commission, set out with his colleagues to govern in quality of guardians, the most powerful state in Asia.

Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus.

In the mean time *Lysias*, who, as we hinted above, had usurped the tuition of the young king and the government of the kingdom, was pursuing with the utmost ardor the war against the Jews, which *Antiochus Epiphanes* had begun. He had entered *Judæa* with fourscore thousand men, with all the cavalry of the kingdom, and fourscore elephants, proposing to make *Jerusalem* the habitation of Gentiles, and utterly abolish the worship of the true God. He had opened the campaign with the siege of *Bethsura*, a strong fortress between *Jerusalem* and *Idumæa*; but being there defeated by the brave *Judas Maccabæus*, with the loss of eleven thousand foot and sixteen hundred horse, he had struck up a peace with the conqueror, one of the articles of which was, that the decree of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked, and

free liberty allowed them to live according to their own laws. But this peace was of no long duration ; for the governors of the neighbouring provinces, not being satisfied with it, assembled all their forces to the number of an hundred and twenty thousand foot, and five and twenty thousand horse, and marching, under the command of *Timotheus*, into *Judæa*, put all to fire and sword. But *Judas Maccabæus*, full of confidence in the God of armies, attacked and defeated them with a handful of *Israelites*. On this occasion the *Syrians* lost upwards of thirty thousand men, and the victory was attended with many advantages on the side of *Judas*, who pursuing the remains of the shattered army, came up with them at the city of *Carnion*, and finding that many of them had there taken refuge in the temple of *Atargatis* (C), he caused fire to be set to it, which soon consumed the temple, and all who were in it. After this severe execution he fell upon the *Syrians* in the town, and put them all without distinction to the sword ; and on this occasion five and twenty thousand more of *Timotheus's* forces were slain ^k. On his return to *Jerusalem* the city of *Ephron*, which had been well garisoned by *Lysias*, refused him admittance, though he promised to abstain from all hostilities, since he could not possibly march his army any other way but through the city itself, which lay directly in the road. This refusal exasperated the *Jewish* general, who thereupon assailing the place, took it sword in hand, and after having put all the males, to the number of twenty five thousand to death, caused the city to be razed to the ground ^l. After this *Judas* made himself master of all the southern parts of *Idumæa* and the country of the *Philistines*, with the important city of *Azotus*, or *Ashdod*, demolishing

^k MACCAB. l. i. c. 5. v. 37—43. & l. ii. c. 12. v. 24, 25, 26.

^l MACCAB. l. i. c. 5. v. 45—51. & l. ii. c. 12. v. 27, 28, &c.

(C) This deity is said by *Strabo* (79) to be a *Syrian* goddess. *Pliny* (80) takes her to be the same with *Derceto*, and adds (81), that she was worshipped at *Joppa* in *Phœnice*. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us (82), that the inhabitants of *Ascalon* paid her a special worship, and that she was represented in that city by an image, having in the upper part the form of a woman, and that of a fish in the lower. Hence *Selden* conjectures this deity to have been the same with *Dagon* worshipped by the *Philistines* (83).

(79) *Strab. l. xvi. p. 748.* (80) *Plin. l. v. c. 23.* (81) *Idem. ibid. c. 13.* (82) *Diodor. Sicul. l. ii.* (83) *Vide Selden de Diis Syris Syntag. 2. c. 3.*

every-where the heathen altars, burning their carved images, and enriching his army with the spoils of the plundered cities. But the *Syrian* garison, which still kept possession of the fortress of *Jerusalem*, and frequently sallied out upon the *Jews*, as they went up to worship in the temple, was a great thorn in their sides. Wherefore *Judas*, to redeem himself from this annoyance, having first made the necessary preparations, laid close siege to the place. But some of the apostate *Jews* who served among the *Syrians* in the fortress, knowing that they were to have no quarter, if the place were taken, found means to make their escape, and flying to *Antioch* acquainted the king and his council with the posture of affairs at *Jerusalem*, and represented the distress to which the garison was reduced so effectually, that forthwith an army was drawn together of an hundred thousand foot, and twenty thousand horse, with thirty two elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in person, with *Lysias* the regent of the kingdom, put himself at the head of this formidable army, and entering *Judæa*, laid siege to *Bethsura*. Here *Judas*, with a small number of resolute men fell on the king's army in the night, and having killed four thousand of them, and thrown the whole camp into the utmost confusion, retired by break of day without the loss of one single man in so hazardous an attempt ^m.

THOUGH the *Syrians* were well apprised of the extraordinary valour of the *Jews*, yet they did not doubt but they should overpower them with the great number of their forces and elephants, and therefore leaving *Bethsura*, resolved to venture a general engagement, which *Judas* did not decline; nay he at the head of his small army began the onset, and killed about six hundred *Syrians*. But finding that notwithstanding all his efforts, he must at length be bore down, and perhaps hemmed in, by so numerous an army, he chose to withdraw in time, and retire in good order to *Jerusalem*. Upon his retreat the king returned to the siege of *Bethsura*, which after a long and vigorous defence was obliged to surrender for want of provisions ⁿ. From thence *Antiochus* marched against *Jerusalem*, and besieged the temple, which the garison was ready to deliver up for want of provisions when providence relieved them by an unforeseen accident ^o.

^m Ibid. v. 65, 68, &c. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 15—17. &c. ⁿ MACCAB. l. i. c. 6. v. 49, 50. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 18, 22. ^o MACCAB. l. i. c. 6. v. 48—54.

WE have observed above, that *Philip*, whom *Epiphanes*, a little before his death, had intrusted with the education and guardianship of his son, had retired into *Egypt*, in hopes of finding assistance there against *Lysias*. But being disappointed in his expectation, by reason of the divisions which had again broke out between the two brothers, who reigned jointly at that time, he left *Egypt*. and hastening into the east, drew together a considerable army of *Medes* and *Persians*, and taking advantage of the king's absence on his expedition into *Judæa*, seized *Antioch* the capital of the empire, and there took upon him the government of the kingdom. When news of this attempt was brought to *Lysias*, he thought it necessary to make peace with the *Jews*, that he might be at liberty to turn his arms against his rival in *Syria*. A peace was accordingly granted to the *Jews* upon very advantageous and honourable terms, and sworn to by *Antiochus*. After this *Antiochus* was admitted within the fortifications of the temple, which seemed so strong to him and his officers, as truly they were, that contrary to the articles which he had swore to, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for *Syria* ^p. *Lysias* on his return to *Antioch* defeated *Philip* in a pitched battle, retook the metropolis, and having got *Philip* into his hands, by his death put an end to all the disturbances he had raised ^q.

WHILE *Lysias* was carrying on this war with the *Jews* and his rival *Philip*, the *Roman* ambassadors, or rather guardians, arrived in the east, and were there kindly entertained by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, through whose dominions they passed in their way to *Antioch*. As this young prince had nothing more at heart than to gain the good-will of the *Romans*, he expressed great joy at the guardianship which they were going to take upon them over *Antiochus* his near relation. As he knew the temper of the *Syrians*, and suspected the intrigues of *Lysias*, he offered to conduct *Octavius* with an army into *Syria*, or to put the army under his command, in order to prevent disturbances, and guard the envoys against any treacherous attempts. For he thought nothing could be more bold than the enterprize they had in hand. They were going of their own authority, without any invitation from the king, or the *Syrian* nation, to assume the government of a people, who were subject only to their own king. *Ariarathes* therefore pressed *Octavius* to accept of a guard at least; but the *Roman*, relying on the majesty of

^p MACCAB. l. i. c. 6. v. 62.^q JOSEPH. l. xii. c. 15.

Octavius,
ambassador
of the Ro-
mans in
Syria, kil-
led.

Rome, which he thought a safer guard than a numerous army, with those only who had attended him from Rome crossed *Cappadocia*, and entered the kingdom of *Syria*. Their arrival raised no small jealousy in the heart of *Lyfias*, who as he was himself of the blood royal, could not brook that foreigners should come so far to deprive him of what he thought his right on many accounts. But *Octavius*, without even giving *Lyfias* notice of his arrival, or the commission on which he was come, advanced towards *Antioch* with all the pride of his republic, fancying that every thing would give way before him at the bare name of a *Roman*. *Lyfias* was then master of the person of the young king, of all the wealth of the kingdom, and had the troops at his command. However, as he was too wise to oppose the designs of Rome sword in hand, he hired an *African* born at *Leptis*, and then residing in *Syria*, to dispatch *Octavius*, without appearing to have any hand in the murder himself. The assassin soon found a favourable opportunity for making good his engagements with *Lyfias*. For *Octavius*, with an unheard-of presumption, arriving at *Laodicea*, a maritime city between *Tripolis* (D) and *Antioch*, began there to put in execution the unjust orders of his republic, and to act the sovereign before he had even taken possession of the regency. He caused all the *Syrian* ships which he found there to be burnt, and the elephants to be disabled from serving in war, under pretence that, by the treaty made with the *Scipios*, *Antiochus the Great* had engaged to build no more ships of war, nor to tame more elephants. This bold step exasperated the populace to a great degree, and the *African* in the height of the public indignation, falling upon *Octavius*, killed him in the gymnasium at *Laodicea*¹. This *Octavius* had been consul some years before, and was the first of his family who had attained to that honour². *Octavius*, who afterwards became emperor, and is well known by the name of *Augustus*, was of the same family with this *Octavius*, but of another branch, which had not as yet been honoured with

¹ APPIAN. Syriac. p. 117. POLYB. legat. 114. p. 944. & legat. 122. p. 954.

² CIC. Philip. 6. n. 4.

(D) *Tripolis* stood at the foot of mount *Libanus* at a small distance from the sea, and was so called because it consisted of three great quarters, which were like so many cities, being about a stadium distant from each other, as *Strabo* informs us; but *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that it was called *Tripolis*, because inhabited by three different nations, viz. *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and *Sidonians*. It still bears the same name.

the

the consular dignity. *Lyfias*, foreseeing the evil consequences of this attempt, did his utmost to clear himself from all suspicion of being any ways concerned in it. He caused *Ostavius* to be buried with extraordinary pomp, and immediately dispatched ambassadors to *Rome* to assure the senate, that neither he nor the king had any hand in the assassination. But *Rome* sent back the ambassadors without any answer, reserving the whole to a future enquiry. But in the mean time to honour the memory of *Ostavius*, they commanded his statue to be placed among those of the great men, who had sacrificed their lives for their country; and this statue was still standing near the tribunal of harangues in the time of *Augustus*. In the mean time the assassin did not leave *Laodicea*, but publicly owned the action, which he maintained to be very commendable, and done at the instigation of the gods. Nay, one *Isocrates*, a *Rhetorician*, made a public panegyric on the assassin, and exhorted the people to dispatch in like manner the other ambassadors and all their attendants, that none might survive to stir up the *Roman* senate against them, or give any information of what had happened.

Demetrius, thinking that the murder of *Ostavius* might have so far alienated the minds of the *Romans* from *Eupator*, that they would no longer detain him at *Rome* for his sake, resolved to address the senate a second time, and beg permission to return into *Syria*. But as he had contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendship with *Polybius* the historian, who was then a prisoner at *Rome*, and generally deemed one of the best politicians of his age, he first advised with him; and that great man and sincere friend, when the young prince asked his opinion, whether he thought it proper for him to apply to the senate once more for leave to return into *Syria*, and take possession of a crown to which he had an indisputable right, returned him the following answer: Take care not to stumble twice against the same stone. Have you but one way of getting into *Syria*? Should a man of your age depend on the capricious will of an unjust senate like a child? Only dare to set yourself at liberty, and you will reign of course. These words struck the prince, who had a great opinion both of the fidelity and wisdom of *Polybius*, and had long governed himself intirely by his counsels. But the advice of a more timorous friend effaced the impressions they made. This was *Apollonius*, a young nobleman of *Syria*,

^c CIRC. *ibid.*

C. 5.

^a POLYB. *legat.* 123. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv.

who

who had been bred up with *Demetrius*, and was afraid his master might, by stealing privately away, disgust the senate, and thereby ruin his affairs. He therefore told him, that it was impossible *Rome* should be so unjust as to detain him in the present circumstances; and that she would be glad to see an avenger of *Octavius* and an enemy to *Lysias* set out for *Syria*, now that he stood in no need of her armies or fleets to recover his right at her expence. The advice of *Apollonius* prevailed, and *Demetrius* had again recourse to the senate, joining entreaties to all those motives of mutual interest, which might well induce him to desire leave to depart, and the senate to grant it. But *Demetrius* was not so well acquainted with the *Romans* as *Polybius*; for they, having still the same reasons for keeping him in *Rome*, persisted in the same resolution. After all, said they, when the matter was debated in the senate, the powerful kingdom of *Syria* is governed by a child, and *Rome* has nothing to fear during a minority. Besides, are we sure that *Demetrius*, who is a young man of uncommon parts, will be as pliant on the throne, as he affects to be at *Rome*? Upon these considerations the second request of the prince met with a second refusal. When the decree of the senate, ordering him to continue in *Italy* till it pleased the conscript fathers to dismiss him, was read to him, he could not forbear exclaiming with great indignation against the unjust and undeserved usage he met with. He then remembered the advice of *Polybius*, and resolved to court the republic no longer, but to make his escape as soon as he could. He was greatly confirmed in this resolution by *Diodorus* his governor, who being just then returned from *Syria*, whither his master had sent him, told him that all *Syria* was in a flame, assuring him at the same time, that if he only shewed himself to his people, they would all receive him with open arms as their deliverer. However, before he took any step in so nice a matter, he desired the advice of *Polybius*, as to the manner in which he might best elude the vigilance of the *Romans*. The faithful *Achæan* took the whole management of the affair upon himself, and having communicated the design of *Demetrius* to an intimate friend of his, by name *Menithyllus*, who then resided at *Rome*, in quality of agent from the eldest of the two *Ptolemies*, he found out by his means an expedient to facilitate the prince's flight. There was at that time a *Carthaginian* ship riding at anchor in the port of *Ofsia*, and bound for *Tyre* with the first fruits, which the *Carthaginians* annually sent to the gods of the city from whence they originally came. *Menithyllus*, pretending busi-
ness

ness in the east, desired the commander of the ship to transport him and his attendants thither, and agreed with him on a price for his passage. As no body entertained any suspicion of him, he was allowed to carry on board what baggage and provisions he pleased. When every thing was got ready, *Demetrius*, to conceal his design from the many domestics he had in his household, sent most of his retinue with his hunting equipage to *Anagnia*, as if he designed to follow them thither the next day. *Diodorus*, who was a man well versed in business, was sent into *Syria* in another ship, that he might get there before him, and pave the way for his reception. *Polybius*, who was at the bottom of all this without ever appearing in it, being informed by *Menithyllus* that *Demetrius* the evening before his departure was to give a grand entertainment to his friends in a hired house, began to be very uneasy, lest he should let slip the opportunity; for he knew that the young prince, when in company with his friends, used to indulge himself in mirth and jollity without bounds or reserve. Being therefore at that time indisposed and obliged to keep his house, he sent him a letter, as night was already far spent, containing several sentences out of the antients touching the courage, secrecy, and sobriety, which were necessary for the executing of great designs (E). The bearer was desired to give it to the master of the house, and he to deliver it into the prince's own hands. *Demetrius* having perused it, knew from what hand it came, and with what intention it was wrote, and therefore pretending to be out of order, he immediately rose from table, took leave of his friends, and returned home. There he imparted his design of leaving *Rome* that very night *Demetrius escapes* to some *Syrian* noblemen of his retinue, inviting them to accompany him, which they readily consenting to, *Demetrius from Rome* set out in the dead of the night for *Ostia*.

(E) The sentences, which *Polybius* made use of on this occasion, were the following :

Ὁ δρῶν, τὰ τῷ μέλλοντι, ὀίχεται φέρειν
 Εἰς ὃ φέρει νῦν, τοῖς δὲ τολμῶσι τὸ πλέον.
 Τόλμα τι, κινδύνει, πράτ, αποτύγχανε,
 Ἐπίτυχε πάντα μάλλον ἢ σαυτὸν πρὸς.

To these he added the famous saying of *Epicharmus* : Νῆφε, καὶ μέμνητε ἀπιστῶν. ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν Φρηνῶν.

Menithyllus

Menithyllus had gone some days before to acquaint the commander of the *Carthaginian* vessel, that he had received fresh orders from the king his master, which would keep him some time longer at *Rome*; but, however, he would put on board of him the same number of passengers, at the same price and on the same conditions. These he earnestly recommended to him, telling him that they were officers of distinction, who were going to serve in the *Egyptian* army. The prince and his retinue to the number of sixteen persons arrived early in the morning, and by break of day the *Carthaginian* weighed anchor to the great joy of *Demetrius*, who already considered himself as sitting on the throne of his ancestors. Three days passed before he was missed at *Rome*, every one believing he was gone, according to his custom, to divert himself with hunting in the neighbourhood of *Anagnia*. The secret was not discovered till the fourth day, when one of his servants, who had been ill used by his fellow-servant, went to *Anagnia* to complain to his master of the ill treatment he had met with; but not finding him there he returned to *Rome*, and discovered how long *Demetrius* had been absent. Hereupon a strict search was made after him, but no one in the city, except *Polybius* and *Menithyllus*, being privy to his escape, the messengers, who were dispatched into all parts, returned without having heard any tidings of him. The senate met the sixth day, and being fully convinced that he had made his escape, thought it needless to send after him since he had got the start of them by six days. They therefore resolved to take no further notice of it for the present; but only to send three ambassadors into *Syria* to observe what effect the return of *Demetrius* would produce there, and to watch that prince's steps. Pursuant to this resolution, *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been two years before consul, *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucia* were a few days after appointed to go first into *Greece*, to appease the minds of the people there, who were dissatisfied with the *Roman* government, and from *Greece* to cross over into *Syria* *.

*Writes to
the senate.*

IN the mean time the fugitive prince landing in *Lycia*, wrote from thence a very polite letter to the senate: My design, said he, in making my escape, was only to revenge the death of *Octavius*, who was inhumanly murdered contrary to the law of nations. *Lyfias* was the author of the assassination, and my aim is wholly at him. As to young

* POLYB legat. 114.

Eupator, though he has usurped my right, I respect him on account of his age and the protection with which you honour him. These promises had no great weight with the senate, no one doubting but *Demetrius*, when he once saw himself seated on the throne; would sacrifice to his own safety the life of his young rival. But they thought it did not become *Rome* to oppose by force of arms the settling of the lawful sovereign on the throne of *Syria*; and therefore waited without much uneasiness to hear of the prince's arrival and adventures there. From *Lycia* *Demetrius* continued his voyage, and landed at *Tripolis*, a *Syrian* city on the confines of *Phœnice*. He no sooner appeared there; but he was acknowledged and proclaimed king by all the inhabitants. In order to gain a strong party; he gave out in all the places he passed through, that he was sent by the *Roman* senate to take possession of his hereditary dominions, and that *Rome* was resolved to support him to the utmost of her power. This report was no sooner spread abroad; but *Eupator's* cause was looked upon as lost, both officers and soldiers abandoning him in troops to join the new king. His army increased daily; the cities and strong holds strove which should first submit to him, and the whole kingdom with great joy acknowledged him for their lawful sovereign. He no sooner appeared before *Antioch*, the metropolis of the kingdom; but the citizens, throwing open their gates, crowded out to him, inviting him to take possession of the palace of his ancestors. At length *Lysias* and his ward *Eupator*, being seized by their own soldiers, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Thus *Josephus*, *Justin*, and *Appian* relate the unhappy end of young *Eupator* and his guardian ^γ. But the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that they were taken prisoners by the soldiers of *Demetrius*, and by them put to death after the prince had declared that he would not see them ^z. So that according to this writer they were slain by the soldiery, without any orders from *Demetrius*. *Eupator* reigned, according to *Josephus* ^a and *Eusebius* ^b, two years, according to *Porphyrus* ^c, and *Sulpitius Severus* ^d, one year and six months. The author of the second book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that both

Command's
Eupator to
be put to
death.
Year of
the Flood,
2836.
Before
Christ,
163.

^γ JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 117.
JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 3. ^z MACCAB. l. i. c. 7. ^a JOSEPH. ibid. c. 16.
EUSEB. in Chron. ^c In Græc.
EUSEB. SCALIGER. ^d SULPITIUS SEVER. histor. Sacra
l. ii.

he and his guardian *Lyfias* were killed in the third year of his reign, or, as others read it, after he had reigned three years ^e.

Honoured
by the Ba-
bylonians
with the
surname of
Soter.

No sooner was *Demetrius* fixed upon the throne, but he delivered the *Babylonians* from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*, two brothers, whom *Antiochus Epiphanes* had raised to great honours, upon no other merit but that of a ready compliance with his unnatural lust. The first he had made governor, and the other treasurer, of the province of *Babylon*, and their administration was insupportable to the inhabitants. *Demetrius* therefore, giving ear to the just complaints of his subjects, caused *Timarchus*, who was the most guilty, to be put to death, and banished the other. This deliverance was so acceptable to the *Babylonians*, that they gave *Demetrius* the title of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which he bore ever afterwards ^f. After this *Demetrius*, at the instigation of *Alcimus*, who on the death of *Menelaus* had been by *Eupator* appointed high-priest of the *Jews*, renewed the war with that nation, which had been carried on for so many years by *Epiphanes* and *Eupator* his predecessors. In this war the famous *Judas Maccabæus*, after repeated victories over the numerous armies of the king of *Syria*, lost his life, as we shall relate at length in the history of the *Jews*. Upon his death his brother *Jonathan* took upon him the command of the army, but the *Syrians* soon after withdrew their forces from *Judæa*, which, without all doubt, was owing to the letters sent by the *Roman* senate to *Demetrius* in behalf of the *Jews*. For that prince was at this time very cautious not to give the *Romans* any offence, and therefore ready to grant any thing they desired. His point in view was to get himself acknowledged king of *Syria* by the republic, knowing that this was the most effectual method to stifle all remaining factions at home, and keep up a good understanding with his neighbours abroad. Being therefore informed, that the *Romans* had three ambassadors at the court of *Artabazanes* king of *Cappadocia*, he sent *Menochares*, one of the chief lords of his court, thither to treat with them on this subject; and finding on his return by the report he made, that the good offices of the ambassadors were absolutely necessary for the gaining of his point, he sent again deputies to them, first into *Pamphylia*, and afterwards to the city of *Rhodes*, assuring them of his inviolable attachment to the in-

^e MACCAB. l. ii. c. 14. v. 1, 2.
P. 117.

^f APPIAN. in Syriac.

terest of *Rome*. At length by thus continually pressing and Demetrius soliciting them, he obtained what he desired. First the em-^{is acknow-} bassadors, and afterwards their republic, acknowledged the ^{ledged king} sovereignty of *Demetrius*, and gave him the title of king. ^{by the Ro-} To cultivate the amity of that powerful republic, he sent ^{mans.} the next year the same *Menochares* and others on an embassy to *Rome*, with a crown of gold of great value, in acknowledgment of the kind entertainment he had received while an hostage in that city. With the present he sent the assassin, who had murdered *Oetavius*, and *Isocrates*, who in his public declamations had maintained the justice of that action, and exhorted the people to treat the other ambassadors in like manner. The *African* was not under the least concern, but appeared gay during the whole journey, and boasted that he would make even the *Roman* senate approve of what he had done. But the *Rhetorician* sunk into a deep melancholy from the moment he was seized, in order to be delivered up to the republic, which he had offended. He let his beard and nails grow, and could not be prevailed upon without force to take any nourishment; by which means he grew so thin before he reached *Rome*, that he looked like a skeleton. This was perhaps an artifice in the declaimer to raise compassion. But the senate would see neither of them, thinking that the punishment of these two men was too small a satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador. They therefore rejected the two unhappy victims that were offered them, and kept *Syria* in fear of a more severe vengeance. As to the ambassadors, the senate received them with all the usual honours, accepted of the king's present, and gave him proofs of a perfect reconciliation ².

Demetrius, after the orders he had received from *Rome*, ^{to the} Sets up a had given *Judæa* some respite, as we have hinted above; ^{crown of} pretender but as he was in the flower of his age, and had a martial ^{Cappado-} genius, he could not live long in peace. He therefore ^{cia.} turned his arms against *Cappadocia*, where young *Ariarathes* then reigned. He was a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, of a sweet disposition, very gracious to his subjects, and highly esteemed and beloved by them. His kingdom under so mild a government would have soon become one of the most happy and flourishing states of *Asia*, had not great disturbances been raised by a pretender to his crown, supported in his unjust pretensions by the whole

² POLYB. legat. 122. p. 954, 955. APPIAN. in Syriac. ubi supra. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 25.

power of *Syria*. His rival's name was *Holophernes*, or, as others write it, *Orofernes*, and his claim was this: *Antiochis*, the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, was married very young to the king of *Cappadocia* named *Ariarathes*, as well as his son. The queen having lived some time without children, and on that account believing herself barren, to gain the affection of her husband and subjects, feigned herself twice to be with child, and pretending to be delivered first of one son, and afterwards of another, imposed two supposititious children on the king her husband; the first of whom was called *Ariarathes*, and the other *Holophernes*. They were both brought up at the court of their supposed father, as heirs to his crown. But afterwards the queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered first of one daughter, and then of another, and at last of a son, of whom she became passionately fond, declared to the king, that the two children, he had brought up as his eldest sons, were neither his children nor hers, and gave him strong proofs of the cheat she had put upon him. Hereupon the king immediately sent the two supposititious children out of the kingdom, with a sufficient sum of money to support them. The eldest, called *Ariarathes*, was sent to *Rome*, where he was carefully kept, and as he was a young man of a weak mind and slender parts, he was very little affected with his loss. But *Holophernes*, who was endowed with many great qualities, and had an enterprizing genius, was sent into *Ionia*, and commanded never more to set foot in the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. The true son, at first called *Mithridates*, taking thenceforth his father's name, was declared presumptive heir to the crown. Nay, the loving father, out of an excess of tenderness, as soon as the young prince was capable of governing, offered to resign the crown to him, and lead himself a private life. But young *Ariarathes* protested that he would rather die a thousand times than rob his father of his dignity; and by this generous behaviour he merited the name of *Philopator*, which the *Greeks* afterwards gave him ^b.

NOT long after *Ariarathes*, upon the death of his father, had ascended the throne, *Demetrius*, who had just then taken possession of the kingdom of *Syria*, offered him his sister *Ladice* in marriage. But she being the widow of *Perfes* king

^b POLYB. l. iii. p. 161. & legat. 126. Appian. in Syriac. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1. Epitome LIVII, l. xlvii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxxi. apud Photium cod. 244. p. 1160. ZONAR. l. ix.

of *Macedon*, an avowed enemy to the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* himself not being yet acknowledged by them king of *Syria*, *Ariarathes* was afraid this match might give them offence, and therefore rejected the offer. This *Demetrius* resented, and under pretence of settling *Holophernes* on the throne, as he said, of his ancestors, made war on the king of *Cappadocia*. Besides, *Holophernes* tempted the *Syrian* with great promises, engaging to pay him a thousand talents, if he placed him on the throne. *Demetrius* therefore made great preparations for the carrying back of *Holophernes* to his native country; and on the other hand *Ariarathes*, entering into an alliance with *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, raised a considerable army to maintain his right. But *Demetrius* carried all before him; and driving *Ariarathes* out of *Cappadocia*, placed *Holophernes* on the throne. The dethroned prince fled to *Rome*, where, after long debates, the affair was determined, rather according to the inclinations of the judges, than the rules of equity, as we shall relate in the history of *Cappadocia* ¹.

Demetrius, having now no wars to carry on, gave himself up intirely to pleasures and ease, leading a strange, or rather gives him-
fantastic, kind of life. For he caused a castle to be built self up to
near *Antioch*, flanked it with four strong towers, and there drunken-
shutting himself up cast off all care of the public, being self-
dom sober the whole time he lived in that retirement. As no nefs and de-
petitions were admitted, no grievances redressed, nor justice bauchery.
administred, the whole government was at a stand; which
giving just cause of offence to all his subjects, they formed
a conspiracy for the deposing of him. *Holophernes*, who had
been driven out of *Cappadocia* and at that time lived at *Anti-
och*, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering
himself that, in case the conspiracy took effect, the *Syrians*
would place him on the throne in the room of the deposed
king. But the whole conspiracy being soon discovered, *Ho-
lophernes* was seized, and kept under close confinement at *Se-
leucia*, *Demetrius* not caring to put him to death, that he
might again, when a proper occasion should offer, let him
loose upon *Ariarathes* ². *Demetrius*, on examining the con-
spirators, found that *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, *Attalus*
king of *Pergamus*, and *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt* were
at the bottom of the plot; and concluding from thence, that
if any misfortune should befall him, his son, named also *Deme-
trius*, might meet with opposition in his succession to the
throne, unless his title was approved by the *Roman* senate,

¹ APPIAN. in *Syriac.* p. 118. POLYB. legat. 126.
l. xxxv. c. 1.

² JUSTIN.

Alexander Balas
lays claim
to the
crown.

resolved to deprive himself of his child, and send him to *Rome* to be brought up there. Accordingly the young prince set out soon after for that metropolis with a retinue suitable to his quality. But the *Romans* reviving their former resentment against his father for making his escape, and taking possession of a sceptre which they had not put into his hands, received the king's son very coldly, and scarce treated him as a nobleman. These proceedings greatly provoked the young prince's governors, who thereupon carried him back to *Syria*, when they had scarce shewn him at *Rome*. This sudden escape of the son was no less resented by the senate than that of the father had been some years before. While the republic was thus full of resentment both against the father and the son, *Heraclides*, who had been some time at *Rome* watching an opportunity to raise new disturbances in *Syria*, thought this the most proper time to succeed in a plot against *Demetrius*, which had been contrived by the abovementioned kings, *Ptolemy*, *Attalus*, and *Ariarathes*, and privately carried on by *Heraclides*. These princes being highly incensed against the king of *Syria*, the former for an attempt he had made upon the island of *Cyprus*, and the two others for the war he had waged with them in behalf of *Holophernes*, employed *Heraclides* to find out some young man of parts and address, and suborn him to personate the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and under that title to lay claim to the crown of *Syria*. This *Heraclides*, as we have related above, had been a great favourite of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his treasurer in the province of *Babylon*, while *Timarchus* his brother was governor of it. But on the coming of *Demetrius* to the crown, the two brothers being found guilty of malversation and other crimes, *Timarchus* had been executed, and *Heraclides* banished. The latter being obliged to quit the dominions of the king of *Syria*, took up his residence at *Rhodes*, and there having found a young man named *Balas*, of mean extraction, but every way qualified for the abovementioned design, he thoroughly instructed him to act the part that was given him ¹.

HAVING thus formed him for the imposture, he caused him in the first place to be acknowledged by the three kings abovementioned, who acted underhand in concert with him; and then carrying him to *Rome* with *Laodice*, the real daughter of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, whom he had gained over, intro-

¹ LIV. Epitome, l. lii, POLYB. legat. 142. p. 966. JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 131. ATHENÆUS, l. 211. SULPITIUS SEVERUS, Hist. Sacr. l. ii. c. 22. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3.

duced them both to the senate, a few days after the flight of young *Demetrius*. As *Rome* was at that time highly incensed against *Demetrius* for the sudden escape of his son, the senate received them very graciously. *Heraclides*, who presented them to the senate, made on that occasion a very artful speech, which he concluded with the following words, after having expatiated on the inviolable attachment of *Antiochus Epiphanes* to the interest of *Rome*, and the cruelties supposed to have been practised by *Demetrius*, both over his subjects and the children of *Epiphanes*: But you, conscript fathers, are already too well acquainted with *Demetrius*, and my complaints will add nothing to the opinion you entertain of that subtle and crafty usurper. You have already openly discovered your sentiments by the reception you gave young *Demetrius*. You did not think the son of an usurper worthy of your education; nor would you form for the throne a person designed to perpetuate injustice on it. Nevertheless you did not then know, that two children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* had survived their father and their brother *Eupator*, who was cruelly assassinated. Appear then, you illustrious offspring of one of the heroes of *Asia*, I have rescued you from want and oppression, only to present you before the powerful and equitable tribunal of *Rome*. Make your demands yourselves; and be assured that the protection you will meet with, will be as favourable as your cause is just. Accordingly *Balas* spoke for himself, *The impostor Balas* and addressed the senate thus: The only favour I ask is, that you would remember king *Antiochus* my father. If his conduct was agreeable to you, you may as much depend on the submission of his son. Assist him with your protection, and he will soon give you proofs of his gratitude. If you desire to see *Syria* united in a close confederacy with *Rome*, give me only leave to return home. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced of the imposture, and therefore greatly surprized to hear that the senate had passed a decree in favour of the two pretenders. This famous decree was couched in the following terms: The senate and people of *Rome* having examined the petition of *Alexander* and *Laodice*, the children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, the friend and ally of the *Roman* people, give the son leave to recover the rights of his father; and our will and pleasure is, that our allies assist him therein^m. *Balas* had changed his name, and taken that of *Alexander*, as *Justin* informs us; whence he is commonly called by the antients

^m POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. JUSTIN. ubi supra.*Alexander*

Alexander Balas; the latter was, according to *Appian*, his mother's name.

Alexander being thus countenanced by the *Roman* senate, met with no difficulty in raising troops as soon as he landed in *Syria*. *Ariarathes*, *Ptolemy*, and *Attalus*, sent him immediately powerful succours; so that he was soon in a condition to appear before *Ptolemais* in *Palestine*, and even make himself master of that important place; the reduction of which was no sooner heard of in *Syria*, but great numbers of *Syrians*, out of disaffection to *Demetrius*, flocked to him from all parts. This brought *Demetrius* out of his castle to provide for his own defence; he drew together all the forces he could; took the field; and, at the head of a formidable army, marched out to meet the impostor. He was well apprised that *Rome* had set up this rival to his crown; and therefore to appease the republic, he sent to *Rome* an impostor, named *Andriscus*, who pretending to be the son of *Perses* was come to the court of *Syria* to solicit his establishment on the throne of his father in *Macedon*. The senate was well pleased to have this mock-king in their hands, but did not on that account discountenance in the least the pretender to the crown of *Syria*; nor shew any inclination to assist *Demetrius*. This prince, finding the *Romans* bent on his ruin, had recourse to *Jonathan*, who had succeeded the famous *Judas Maccabæus* in the command of the *Jewish* forces, and made him most tempting offers. He wrote a very obliging letter to him, appointing him commander in chief of all his forces in *Judæa*; and empowering him to raise what troops he thought fit. At the same time he commanded the governor of the fortress of *Jerusalem* to deliver up into his hands all the hostages of the *Jewish* nation, which were kept there as pledges of their fidelity to the *Syrian* interest. As the assistance of *Jonathan* was like to carry great weight with it, and turn the balance in favour of that side for which he should declare, *Alexander*, hearing what *Demetrius* had done to gain so powerful an ally, sent also his proposals to him, appointing him high-priest of the *Jews*, honouring him with the title of the king's friend (F), and presenting him with a purple robe, and a crown of gold, as ensigns of the high dignity conferred upon him, none but

(F) The title of *the king's friend* was highly esteemed under the *Syro-Macedonian* kings, being bestowed upon persons only of the first quality; and to wear a purple robe was a mark of great distinction, not only among the *Macedonians*, but other nations; whence the word *Purpuratus*, in the *Latin* tongue, signifies a man of quality, or a prince.

princes



princes and nobles of the first rank being in those days allowed to wear purple. *Demetrius*, being informed of the advantageous offers of *Alexander*, resolved to out-bid him, hoping, by that means to secure to himself an ally of such weight; he therefore sent a second message to *Jonathan*, offering to confirm all the grants of his rival, and adding to them many extraordinary gifts and privileges to be enjoyed for ever by him and the whole Jewish nation, provided he would espouse the cause, and maintain the undoubted rights of his family; but as he had, on all occasions, betrayed an irreconcilable hatred to the Jews, and endeavoured to extirpate the whole nation, *Jonathan* looked upon all these offers as extorted only by the necessity of his affairs, and which he would certainly revoke, as soon as he saw himself again in quiet possession of the crown. He therefore rejected the proposals of a *Jonathan* prince, on whom he could not, by any means, depend, and declares resolved to enter into an alliance with *Alexander*. Of him for *Alex-* he accepted the high-priesthood, and, with the consent of the *ander Ba-* people, on the feast of tabernacles, which happened soon af- las. ter, he put on the pontifical robes, and officiated as high-priest, after that office had been vacant seven years ⁿ.

THE two kings having taken the field at the head of their respective armies, *Demetrius*, who wanted neither courage nor conduct, when his reason was not impaired by immoderate drinking, gained the victory in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him, for *Alexander* being speedily reinforced by the three kings who first set him up, and vigorously supported both by *Jonathan* and the Romans, he still maintained his ground. The Syrians likewise, notwithstanding the overthrow of *Alexander*, continued to desert in troops from *Demetrius*, who, by his surly temper, had rendered himself odious to all his subjects; wherefore *Demetrius*, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, *Demetrius* and *Antiochus*, to *Cnidus*, a city of *Caria*, and there committed them, with a great treasure, to the care of a friend of his in that place, that, in case any misfortune should befall him in this war, his children might be out of the reach of his rival, and wait in a place of safety for some favourable turn of fortune ^o.

Demetrius, having thus secured his children, and recruited his army the best he could, took the field anew, and being resolved to put the whole to the issue of a battle, engaged his rival at the head of an army far superior in number to his own. Both parties

ⁿ MACCAB. I. i. c. 10. ver. 21. & c. 7. ver. 14. JOSEPH. Antiq. I. xv. c. 3 ^o JUSTIN. LIV. ibid & EUTROP. I. iv.

fought with incredible bravery, being encouraged by the example of their leaders. At first *Demetrius's* left wing put the enemy's right to flight; but, pursuing them too far, a fault which has occasioned the loss of many victories, on their return they found the right wing, in which *Demetrius* fought in person, quite routed, and the king himself killed in the flight. As long as he could prevail upon his men to keep their ground, he distinguished himself in a very eminent manner; and when they began to give way, being bore down by the enemy's numbers, he displayed an extraordinary skill in military affairs, by retiring in good order, and keeping his men together, in hopes that his left wing might return in the mean time from the pursuit; but in the retreat his horse having unluckily plunged into a bog, he was abandoned by his own men, and surrounded on all sides by the enemy. In this situation, quitting his horse, he fought a considerable time on foot with incredible bravery, putting all those to death who dared to approach him; insomuch that none venturing to come within his reach, they kept at a distance, discharging incessantly showers of darts, arrows, and javelins against him from all quarters. He fell at length, after having received a great many wounds, and for some time made head alone against the enemy's whole army^p (G). *Polybius* and *Porphyrus*, who were both intimately acquainted with this prince, give him a most extraordinary character, and tell us, that he was killed after he had reigned twelve years; but *Josephus*, upon what authority we know not, will have him to have reigned eleven years only.

Demetrius
defeated
and killed
Year of
the Flood,
2846.
Before
Christ,
153.

Alexander, by this victory, having made himself master of the whole *Syrian* empire, sent a solemn embassy into *Egypt*, to demand *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Ptolemy*, in marriage. The king not only complied with his request, but conducted her to him in person; and the nuptials were celebrated at *Ptolemais* with great pomp and rejoicings. *Jonathan*, the *Jewish*

^p MACCAB. l. i. c. 10. ver. 48, 49, 50. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 5. JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 1. APPIAN in Syriac. p. 131. POLYB. l. iii. p. 165.

(G) *Polybius*, *Justin*, and *Josephus* agree with the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* concerning the unfortunate death of *Demetrius*; and *Appian* tells us in express words, that *Demetrius* lost at the same time his crown and his life, though the *Latin* translator makes this author say, that the dethroned prince died in banishment; a sense which the *Greek* original will not by any means bear.

high-

high-priest, being invited by *Alexander*, to assist at the ceremony, went thither, and was received by both kings with all possible marks of honour, especially by *Alexander*, who caused him to be clad in purple, and inrolled among the first princes of his kingdom. He likewise honoured him with the chief command of all his forces in *Judæa*; and because many, out of envy, presented petitions against him, the king not only refused to peruse them, but issued a proclamation, forbidding any one to speak ill of him, or offer any complaints against his conduct ¹.

Alexander Balas, seeing himself in the quiet possession of the crown, thought that his only business now was, to glut himself with all the pleasures which the plenty and power he had attained to could afford him; and therefore, abandoning himself to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauchery, he shut himself up in the inner parts of his palace with lewd women, spending his whole time with them, and leaving the intire management of affairs to a favourite called *Ammonius*, who, to use the expression of *Justin*, discharged the office of a sovereign in his room. As this *Ammonius* was a man of a suspicious, cruel, and savage disposition, he behaved more like a despotic tyrant than a minister, putting all those to death whom he imagined capable of disturbing his master in the possession of the crown which he had usurped. All those of the blood-royal, who fell into his hands, were most inhumanly massacred, and, among the rest, *Laodice*, the sister of *Demetrius*, and *Antigonus*, one of his sons, who had remained in *Syria*, when the other two were sent to *Cnidus*: This conduct soon drew, both upon the king and his minister, the hatred of the whole nation; of which *Demetrius*, the eldest of the deceased king's sons, being informed, he thought this a favourable opportunity to recover his right; and therefore having, by means of *Lasthenes* (H), hired some

¹ MACCAB. l. i. c. 10. ver. 59—66. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

(H) The person with whom *Demetrius* intrusted his children, is supposed to be that *Lasthenes*, of whom mention is made in *Josephus*, and the history of the *Maccabees*. He was a native of *Cnidus*, and zealously attached to the interest of *Demetrius*, whose children he brought up with great care. Hence *Demetrius Nicator*, the eldest of the two, looked upon him, even after he came to the crown, as his father, and honoured him with this title in the letter which is still extant in the history of the *Maccabees*. And indeed *Lasthenes* could not expect less gratitude from a pupil who owed his

some companies of *Cretans*, he left *Cnidus*, where he had been educated, and set sail for *Cilicia*, which he soon made himself master of, the inhabitants flocking from all parts to join him. This roused *Alexander* from his lethargy; he quitted his seraglio, drew together what forces he could, and, having committed the government of *Antioch* to *Hierax* and *Diodotus*, who was afterwards called *Tryphon*, he took the field; but, upon advice that *Apollonius* (I) governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, had declared for *Demetrius*,

crown to him. This zealous tutor did not conceal from him any of those large sums, which *Demetrius Soter*, uncertain of the event, had deposited in his hands, but employed them all in making the necessary preparations for a war with the usurper of the crown of *Syria*. But, after all, *Lasthenes* no sooner got the power into his hands, upon his pupil's accession to the crown, but he proved a most cruel and oppressive tyrant, and, by his cruelties and oppressions, estranged the minds of the *Syrians* from their lawful sovereign.

(I) As the name of *Apollonius* often occurs in the history of these times, it being very common among the *Greeks* and *Syro-Macedonians*; to avoid confusion, we shall give an account of the persons who bore it, and are mentioned in the occurrences of the times which we are now writing of. The first we meet with of this name in the history of the *Maccabees*, is *Apollonius* the son of *Thraseas*, who was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, under *Seleucus Philopator*, when *Heliodorus* was sent to *Jerusalem* to plunder the temple, and who supported *Simon* against *Onias* the high-priest (84). He was also prime minister to the same king, but on the accession to the crown of his brother *Antiochus Epiphanes*, he left *Syria*, and retired to *Miletus*, finding himself in all likelihood excluded from the administration, and some way obnoxious to the new king. While he resided at *Miletus*, a son of his bearing the same name resided at *Rome* with *Demetrius* the son of *Seleucus Philopator*, then an hostage in that city. As this *Apollonius* was a great favourite of *Demetrius*, as soon as that prince recovered the crown of his ancestors, he bestowed on the son the same government of *Phœnice* and *Cæle-Syria*, which the father had enjoyed under *Seleucus Philopator* (85). And this we take to be the *Apollonius*, who, being continued in the same government by *Alexander Balas*, revolted from him, as we have related, to side with *Demetrius* the son of his old master (86). Another *Apollonius* is mentioned in the second book of the *Maccabees* (87), and said to be chief minister to *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but he seems to have been of another fa-

(84) *Maccab.* l. ii. c. 3. ver. 5. & c. 4. ver. 4. (85) *Polyb. legat.* 114. p. 944, 945. (86) *Maccab.* l. i. c. 10. ver. 69. (87) *Maccab.* l. ii. c. 4. ver. 21.

Demetrius, he began to suspect the fidelity of the *Syrians*, and thereupon called in king *Ptolemy*, his father-in-law, to his assistance^r.

Apollonius's first attempt, after he had declared for *Demetrius*, was to reduce *Jonathan*, who, mindful of the many favours he had received at the hands of *Alexander*, persisted in his attachment to that prince's interest. *Apollonius* having assembled all the troops that were dispersed in *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and the neighbouring provinces, advanced to *Jamnia*, a maritime city between *Azotus* and *Joppa*. From thence he sent a proud message to *Jonathan*, challenging him to an engagement. Hereupon *Jonathan*, marching out of *Jerusalem* with ten thousand men, advanced to *Joppa*, and being there joined by his brother *Simon*, who commanded a separate body, besieged and took the place in the sight of *Apollonius* and his army. Being master of *Joppa*, he fell upon *Apollonius*, and routed him with great slaughter. The remains of the enemy's army fled to *Azotus*, and not thinking themselves safe within the walls of the city, they took sanctuary in the temple of *Dagon*; but *Jonathan*, not thinking himself obliged to pay any respect to an idolatrous asylum, entered *Azotus* by force, and setting fire to the city, reduced

^r *MACCAB. l. i. c. 10. ver. 67. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 2. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valefii. p. 346.*

mily being called, in the above-mentioned history, the son of *Meneſtheus*. He was sent by *Epiphanes*, with the character of ambassador, first to *Rome* (88), and afterwards to *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt* (89). This *Apollonius* is in all likelihood the same, who, in the history of the *Maccabees*, is said to have been over the tribute, and who, on *Antiochus*'s return from his last expedition into *Egypt*, was sent with a detachment of twenty-two thousand men to destroy *Jerusalem*, and build the citadel on mount *Acra*, which kept the whole *Jewish* nation in awe for many years. Besides these, there are two others bearing the same name in the history of the *Maccabees*, one of whom, being governor of *Samaria* under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, was slain in battle by *Judas Maccabæus* (90), and the other called the son of *Gennaëus*, being likewise governor of some seigniory in *Palestine*, distinguished himself by his hatred to the *Jewish* nation (91).

(88) *Liv. l. xliiii. c. 6. (89) Maccab. l. ii. c. 4. ver. 21. (90). Maccab. l. i. c. 3. ver. 10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. & 10. (91) Maccab. l. ii. c. 12. ver. 2.*

it

it to ashes, together with the temple; all those who had fled thither for shelter, perishing in the flames. All the neighbouring places which had declared for *Demetrius* underwent the same fate; so that *Apollonius* lost on this occasion above eight thousand men. And now *Jonathan*, being master of the field, turned his arms against *Ascalon*; but the inhabitants, being struck with terror at his approach, opened their gates to him, and received him and his army within their walls. And now, having no more enemies to contend with in those parts, he led back his army to *Jerusalem*, loaded with the spoils of the conquered enemy and the riches of the plundered cities. *Alexander*, when informed of these successes, testified his gratitude with new marks of distinction, sending him a clasp of gold, such as the princes only, who were of the royal family, used to wear, and bestowing upon him the sovereignty of the city of *Accaron* and its territory^f.

IN the mean time *Ptolemy Philometor*, to whom *Alexander* had applied for succours, advanced to his relief, at the head of a mighty army. The author of the second book of the *Maccabees* emphatically compares his troops to the sand of the seashore. As he entered *Palestine*, all the cities, through which he passed, received him with loud acclamations. As he marched by the place on which *Azotus* formerly stood, some persons of his retinue, disaffected to the *Jews*, shewed him the ruins of that city, and of the once magnificent temple of *Dagon*, telling him, that these were the sad effects of *Jonathan's* fury; but notwithstanding these complaints, and the sight of many dead bodies, which still lay unburied on the road and in the adjoining fields, *Ptolemy* gave *Jonathan*, when he came to wait on him at *Joppa*, as favourable a reception as he could desire. Both princes spent the night in that city, and leaving it the next day, *Jonathan* accompanied the king as far as *Eleutherus* a river of *Phœnice*, and then returned to *Jerusalem*. *Ptolemy* pursued his march, hastening to the defence of his son-in-law and ally; but, upon his arrival at *Ptolemais*, he was, to his great surprize, informed, that *Alexander* had a design upon his life, and that *Ammonius*, the king of *Syria's* great favourite, had taken upon him to execute this detestable piece of treachery; Perhaps *Alexander* fearing that *Ptolemy*, coming with so powerful an army, might seize on *Syria* for himself, had resolved to prevent this danger, by cutting him off at *Ptolemais*; for in that city the conspirators were all assembled. *Ptolemy* could not be persuaded at first, that *Alex-*

^f MACCAB. I. I. C. 10. ver. 69—89. JOSEPH. Antiq. I. xiii. c. 8. DIODOR. in excerpt. Valefi p. 346.

ander had any hand in the plot, ascribing the whole to the jealous temper of his imperious minister, who, without any orders from his master, nay, even without his privity, had put to death many Syrian lords of great distinction. He therefore wrote a letter to the king of Syria, complaining of the attempt, and demanding the criminal to be delivered up to him; but *Alexander* refusing to comply with so just a demand, *Ptolemy* concluded from thence, that he was privy to the plot, and that *Ammonius* had only executed his master's orders. Hereupon, being highly exasperated, he resolved to turn his arms against the prince he was come to defend, and accordingly sent ambassadors to young *Demetrius*, offering him his daughter *Gleopatra*, *Alexander's* wife, in marriage, and promising to settle him on the throne of his ancestors. *Demetrius* willingly embraced this advantageous offer, went immediately to wait on *Ptolemy*, and received from him his daughter, who, too easily complying with her father's will, was not ashamed to break through her former engagements, and, abandoning her first, marry a second husband^c.

WHEN news of this was brought to *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that city, who had long groaned under the oppressions of the favourite minister, thinking this a proper opportunity to revenge the many violences he had committed in their city, rose up in arms in a tumultuous manner, surrounded his palace, and killed him, as he was attempting to make his escape from the rage of the incensed multitude in the attire of a woman^d. Nor did the death of *Ammonius* put a stop to the sedition; the *Antiochians* were uneasy to see a prince on the throne, whom his wicked ministers and his own indolence had rendered odious to the whole nation, and therefore thought of nothing but shaking off the yoke. *Ptolemy*, taking advantage of the present disposition of the *Antiochians*, did all that lay in his power to engage them in favour of *Demetrius*; but they, remembling the many evils they had suffered under *Demetrius Soter* his father, were afraid the son might prove a no less cruel tyrant when once fixed on the throne, and therefore refused to declare in his favour. However, their hatred to *Alexander* so far got the better of their prejudices against *Demetrius*, that they entered into a confederacy against the former, and opened their gates to *Ptolemy*, offering to place the crown on his head; but that prince, who, as *Josephus* tells us, knew how to set bounds to his ambition, when not agreeable to the rules of the strictest equity, rejecting their of-

^c JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 8. LIV. Epit. lib. l. MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 13.

^d JOSEPH. ibid. &

fer, and assembling all the inhabitants of that great metropolis, with a generosity scarce to be paralleled, declared, that he could not, without the most flagrant injustice, place himself on the throne of *Syria*, by excluding the lawful heir. He represented *Demetrius* to them as a young prince of such amiable qualities as promised a mild and peaceable reign; and, to calm their fears, he offered to be their guarantee for their new sovereign's conduct, undertaking to assist him with his advice, and teach him the art of governing. The disinterested representations of *Ptolemy* had the desired effect; *Demetrius* was proclaimed king of *Syria*, and placed on the throne of his ancestors ^w.

IN the mean time *Alexander*, who was then in *Cilicia*, having assembled a numerous army, advanced to *Antioch*; and being met in the neighbourhood of that city by *Ptolemy* and his new son-in-law, a bloody engagement ensued, in which *Alexander* being vanquished, all those, who had hitherto stood by him, abandoning his party, came over to *Demetrius*. The unhappy *Alexander*, instead of gathering together the remains of his shattered forces, betook himself to a precipitous flight, and, being attended only by five hundred horse, never halted till he got into *Arabia*. He there thought himself safe in the house of a chief lord of that country, whom the author of the history of the *Maccabees* calls *Zabdiel*, *Josephus*, *Zabel*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, *Diocles*; but the place proved fatal to him, for the treacherous *Zabdiel* stabbed him with his own hand, and made this base act matter of merit with *Ptolemy* and *Demetrius*; but the former was scarce able to taste the fruits of the victory, for his horse, terrified in the heat of the battle at the braying of an elephant, started and threw him; and, while he was on the ground, *Alexander's* men having surrounded him, wounded him mortally on the head, and would have killed him on the spot, had not his own guards rescued him out of their hands. But this only prolonged his life a short time; he lay senseless four days, the fifth he seemed to recover, and in this interval the head of *Alexander*, which *Zabdiel* had caused to be struck off, was brought to him as a present from the *Arabian*; but the joy he felt on this occasion soon put an end to his life ^x. As for *Demetrius*, he took, without any further opposition, possession of his father's dominions, stiling himself from this victory *Nicator*, that is, the Conqueror. *Alexander Balas*

^w MACCAB. I. i. c. II. ver. 8—19. JOSEPH. ubi supra: DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Photii. cod. 244. ^x JOSEPH. I. xiii. c. 8. LIV. Epit. I. lii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi supra.

had reigned, according to *Josephus*, five, according to the history of the *Maccabees*, six years, reckoning from the one hundred and sixtieth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, or the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*, to the one hundred and sixty-seventh, which was the first of the reign of *Demetrius Nicator* (K).

THIS

(K) *Alexander Balas* is called, in the first book of the *Maccabees*, (92), the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but as all the profane historians are unanimous in this, viz. that he was an impostor, and no ways related to the family of the *Seleucidæ*, we have, upon their authority, contradicted the writer of that book. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced, that *Alexander Balas* had no right to the crown of *Syria*, and that the whole was a cheat carried on by *Heraclides*, who had long waited in *Rome* for some opportunity of raising disturbances against *Demetrius* by whom his brother had been put to death, and himself banished. The same author adds, that the people of *Rome* were much surprized to hear, that the senate had passed a decree in favour of the impostor, and even began to suspect, that *Heraclides*, being well apprised of the present disposition of the senate, had set up this impostor to please them (93). *Livy* tells us, that he was meanly born, and that his descent was not well known (94). *Athenæus* calls him the supposititious son of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (95). *Appian* says, that he intruded himself into the family of the *Seleucidæ* (96). *Sulpitius Severus* calls him a *Rhodian*, and adds, that he impudently passed himself upon some for the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (97). Some modern writers urge the following argument to prove, that he was truly the son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, *Jonathan*, say they, the virtuous high-priest of the holy nation, preferred his alliance to that of *Demetrius*; whence it is plain, that he had a just title to the crown (98). But herein they run counter to their own principles; for allowing him to have been the true son of *Epiphanes*, yet, as he was the son of the younger brother, who had himself usurped the crown, he could have no right to it in the life time of *Demetrius*, who was the son of the elder brother. *Epiphanes* himself knew, that *Demetrius* had an indisputable right to succeed his father in the kingdom of *Syria*, and therefore pretended at first to govern the empire only as guardian to the young prince, who was then under age. Besides, *Jonathan*, that virtuous high-priest of the holy nation, did not afterwards scruple to side with the son of *Demetrius* against the son of *Balas*, as we shall see in the sequel of this history. The conduct therefore of *Jonathan*

(92) *Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 1.*(93) *Polyb. legat. 140.*(94) *Liv. in Epit. l. iii.*(95) *Athenæus l. v. c. 10.*(96) *Ap-**pian. in Syriac. p. 31.*(97) *Sulp. Sever. Hist. Sacr. l. ii.*(98) *The authors of the Roman history publishing at Paris. l. xlvii.*

THIS is the account which *Josephus* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*, and the death of *Alexander Balas*. But the author of the history of the *Maccabees* varies greatly from him, especially in what relates to the character of *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, whom *Josephus* highly commends, as we have seen, and the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* represents as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under foot the most sacred laws of nature and justice, to raise himself on the ruins of his own son-in-law. The account which the latter author gives us of this famous revolution, which put an end both to the life and reign of *Alexander Balas*, is as follows.

Ptolemy Philometor, being a prince of an unbounded ambition, had formed a design of uniting in his person the crowns of *Syria* and *Egypt*. As *Alexander Balas* had married *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and was in imminent danger of being driven from the throne by *Demetrius Nicator* the son of *Demetrius Soter*, the king of *Egypt* laid hold of this opportunity to put his design in execution. Accordingly, having raised a numerous army, he entered *Syria*, under the specious pretence of assisting his friend and relation against the attempts of his rival. All the cities through which he passed opened their gates to him, *Alexander* having commanded them to pay the king of *Egypt* the honours that were due to him as the father-in-law of their sovereign; but the treacherous *Ptolemy*, under plausible appearances, only took advantage of the credulity of the unfortunate *Alexander*, putting *Egyptian* garisons into the cities which had received him as a friend, and by that means securing the possession of them to himself. Thus he advanced into *Syria*, making himself master of all the places he found in his way as far

is no proof of *Alexander's* right, nor could those authors have alledged it as such, but out of a supine and unpardonable inadvertency.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that *Alexander* having some time before his death, consulted a famous oracle in *Cilicia*, was warned by the god to beware of a place which had given birth to a creature of two shapes. It was generally thought, that the city of *Abas*, where *Alexander* was killed, was pointed at by this answer; for, after his death, upon enquiry, they found, that a woman called *Herais* the daughter of *Diophantus* a *Macedonian*, and of an *Arabian* woman, after she had been some years married to one *Samiadas*, all on a sudden changed her sex, and took her father's name (99).

(99) *Diodor. Sicul. in fine. l. xxxii. apud Photium. cod. 244.*

as *Seleucia*, a maritime city on the mouth of the *Orontes*. And now it was in vain for him to dissemble any longer, the least sagacious being fully apprised of his wicked design; he therefore pulled off the mask, and sending deputies to *Demetrius*, inviting the young prince to join him against their common enemy, he offered him, in order to convince him of his sincerity, his daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander Balas's* wife, in marriage; and, the better to palliate his injustice, he pretended, that *Alexander* and his prime minister had formed a plot against him, and hired assassins to take away his life, without any regard to their affinity and ancient friendship. *Demetrius*, not daring to withstand the solicitations of the ambassadors from so powerful a prince, went to wait on *Ptolemy*, who had nothing in view but his own interest in this alliance; for not caring to contend with two enemies at once, he made use of *Demetrius* to hasten the destruction of *Alexander*, not doubting, but when he had once got rid of him, the other would fall an easy victim to his ambition. After the ceremonies of the marriage were over, *Ptolemy* set out for *Antioch*, and there treacherously caused himself to be crowned king of *Syria*, without any regard to the most sacred rights, and the solemn promises given to the unhappy *Demetrius*.

ALL these things were transacted in the heart of the kingdom, while *Alexander Balas*, deceived by the false promises of his father-in-law, was reducing the cities of *Cilicia* but the news of the unfaithfulness of his wife, and the treachery of *Ptolemy*, made him drop that enterprize; however, he did not sink under this shocking news, but assembling his troops without loss of time, he advanced, by great marches, to stop the progress of the usurper. *Ptolemy* met him, and offered him battle, which *Alexander* accepted, having no other resource but in his courage, which fortune did not prosper. His troops were entirely defeated, and himself forced to take refuge in *Arabia*, where he miserably perished by the hands of *Zabdiel*, one of the lords of that country. The *Barbarian* cut off his head, and sent it to *Ptolemy*, who did not long enjoy the fruit of his crimes, death three days after putting an end both to his ambitious projects and his life. Upon his death *Demetrius* took possession of the throne, and was by all the *Syrians* acknowledged for their sovereign.

THIS is the account which the author of the first book of the *Maccabees* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*. The

disagreement between him and *Josephus*, especially with relation to *Ptolemy*, is very palpable; and therefore, in this opposition, we leave the reader to judge which of the two deserves the preference. As for us, we cannot help thinking it highly improbable, that *Alexander Balas* should hire assassins to murder *Ptolemy*, while he was actually marching to his assistance with the whole strength of his kingdom. What great advantage could that prince propose to himself by cutting off so powerful an ally, and the only true friend he then had, as *Josephus* himself is pleased to tell us? Some writers have endeavoured to reconcile *Josephus* with the book of the *Maccabees*, by saying, that *Alexander* formed the design of assassinating *Ptolemy* by means of his favourite minister *Ammonius*, after the unjust proceedings of the king of *Egypt* had convinced him, that this prince had entered his dominions with a design to seize them for himself. But this is rather contradicting *Josephus* than reconciling him with the other writer; for the former tells us in express terms, that *Alexander* had received no provocation from *Ptolemy*, and this, in our opinion, has not the least appearance of truth. But *Josephus* is not the only author who contradicts the history of the *Maccabees*; for *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Alexander Balas*, having retired after the battle to *Aba* a city of *Arabia*, put himself there under the protection of *Diocles*, one of the chief lords of the country, whom he had a little before entrusted with the care of his son *Antiochus*, who was then a child. While he was here, the officers, who had attended him in his flight, entering into a conspiracy against him, sent privately messengers to the conqueror, offering to rid him of an enemy, who was formidable even in his retreat. *Demetrius*, who had no other view but to secure to himself the crown of *Syria*, accepted the offer made him in the name of the conspirators; whereupon *Alexander* was seized, and barbarously murdered by those, who, to that time, had acknowledged him for their sovereign. *Eusebius*² tells us, that *Alexander* survived *Philometor* four years; and that he married the daughter of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the brother of *Philometor*; and in this he not only contradicts the book of the *Maccabees* and *Josephus*, but all the profane historians whose works have reached us.

² DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valesii. l. xxxii. p. 194.

² EUSEB. in Chron.

A N

I N D E X

T O T H E

E I G H T H V O L U M E.

*The Numbers direct to the Page, and the great Letters
to the Notes.*

- A** *Bdalominus* made king of *Sidon*, by *Alexander*, 100.
 K. His answer to him, *ibid.*
Abissares's submission to *Alexander*, 209.
Abreas killed by the *Malli*, 220.
Abulites put to death for oppression, 234, 235.
Abydos forsaken by *Antiochus*, 531.
Accaron given to *Jonathan*, 606.
Acesines's river pass by *Alexander*, 210.
Achæus regent of *Syria's* valour and fidelity, 473. Forced to
 take the government, 483. Besieged in *Sardis*, 492.
 Betrayed to *Antiochus*, *ib.* Beheaded, 494.
Ada, the *Carian* queen's conduct towards *Alexander*, 85.
 Made by him governor general of all *Caria*, *ib.*
Admetus general of *Alexander*, killed at the siege of *Tyre*,
 108.
Æacides, king of *Epirus*, driven out, 337. Slain by the
Macedonians, 340, 341.
Ægyptians, why disaffected to the *Persians*, 115, & seq.
 ———astronomers flattery to *Alexander*, 124.
Æmilius sent against *Antiochus*, 524. Defeats his fleet, 530.
Æschines's character of king *Philip*, 16. Sent to the *Am-
 phyctions*

- phyetions* court, 36. Betrays the interests of *Greece* to *Philip*, 37.
- Ætolians* distressed by *Antipater*, 323. Make peace with him, *ib.* Invade *Thessaly*, 324. Defeated, *ib.* Treacherous to the *Acaruanians*, 339. Punished by *Philip*, 340.
- Agathocles*, the son of *Lyfimachus*, his success against *Demetrius*, 309. Suspected by his father of a design to usurp the crown, and poisoned, 355.
- Agis* defeated by *Antipater*, 132.
- Agrion* king of *Illyria*, his short success against the *Macedonians*, 366.
- Alcetas*, Brother of *Perdiccas* betrays *Eumenes*, 267. Proscribed, 270. Joins himself to him, 271. Defeated by *Antigonus*, 2 3. His death, *ib.*
- II. Murdered, 341.
- Alcimalus* sent, by *Alexander the Great*, to settle democracy in *Greece*, 81.
- Alcyonius* generously reproved by *Pyrrhus*, 362.
- Alexander the Great* born, 8, & C. Made regent during *Philip's* absence, 25, & seq. Saves his life, 36. Commands the left wing at *Cheronea*, 39. His rencounter with *Attalus*, 46. Recalled to court, 47. Whether privy to his father's murder, 54. P. His education and character, 49, N. 59. Punishes his father's murderers, 61. Declared general of *Greece*, 62. Invades the *Triballi* and *Illyrians*, 63. Makes a general peace with the barbarous nations, 65. His sudden return into *Greece*, 66. Takes and sacks *Thebes*, 67. Spares the house of *Pindar*, *ibid.* Continued generalissimo at *Corinth*, 70, 71. Visits *Dio-genes*, 71. Account of his troops, 72. His expedition into *Asia*, *ibid.* & seq. Spares *Lampsacus*, through the art of *Anaximenes*, 75. Victory at the *Granicus*, 76. Consequences of it, 79. Comes to *Ephesus*, 80. Dismisses his fleet, why, 81, & seq. Invades *Caria*, 85. Sends his married soldiers to winter at home, 86. Discovers a conspiracy, 87. His passage thro' the ladders, whether miraculous, 88, H. March thro' *Phrygia*, 90. Cuts the *Gordian* knot, 92. Enters *Cilicia*, 93. Cured by *Philip*, 94. Fights *Darius* at *Iffus*, 96, & seq. His generosity to his family, 97, I. Invades *Cæle-Syria*, 100. His letter to *Darius*, 102. Moderation towards the *Greek* ambassadors, 103. Besieges *Tyre*, 105. Cruelty to the *Tyrians*, 108. Answer to *Darius*, 111. Respectful behaviour to the *Jewish* high-priest, *ib.* & seq. Takes *Gaza*, 113, & seq. Cruelty to *Betis*, 114. Goes into *Egypt*, 115, & seq. Builds a new city there, 116. Consults

sults the *Hammonic* oracle, 118, & seq. Settles the *Egyptian* government, 121. Punishes the *Samaritans*, 122. Passes the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, 123. Defeats *Darius* at *Guagamela*, 126, & seq. Goes to *Babylon*, 130. To *Susa*, 133. Destroys *Persepolis*, 138. Marches into *Media*, 139. Pursues *Darius's* traytors, 143. Reduces *Hyrcania* and the *Mardi*, 144, 145. His vain attempt against luxury, 149. Conspired against, 151. Punishes the conspirators, 153, & seq. Pursues his designs, 157. His cruelty to the *Branchidae*, 160, S. Ill success against the *Scythians*, 167, & seq. Degenerates, and affects the *Persian* customs, 172, & seq. Kills *Clytus*, 174, & seq. W. Challenges divine honours, 180, & seq. Conspired against, 185. Re-enters *Sogdia*, 188. In love with *Roxana*, 193. Marches towards *Indus*, 195, & seq. His cruelty to the *Indians*, 200. Passes the *Indus*, 203. The *Hydaspes*, *ib.* & seq. His treatment of king *Porus* 209. Penetrates further into *India*, 209, & seq. Stops at the river *Hyphasis*, 213, & seq. His strange vanity, 214, E. Embarkes his army, 217. In imminent danger from the *Malli*, 220. Sails down the *Indus* into the ocean, 225. Goes by land to *Babylon*, 227, & seq. Takes two wives, 235. Endeavours to unite the *Macedonians* and *Persians*, *ib.* Generosity to his army, *ib.* & seq. Quells a mutiny on the *Tigris*, 236, & seq. Goes into *Media*, 238. *Babylon*, 241. Threatened with ill omens, *ib.* & seq. and N. His death, 246, & seq. and O. Character, 248. His vast designs set aside, 261. His corps buried in *Egypt*, 266.

—— the son of *Alexander the Great*, 250. Imprisoned by *Cassander*, 286. Murdered by him, 293, 342.

—— the son of *Polysperchon*, his character, 327. Favoured by *Antigonos*, 338. Made general of *Peloponnesus*, *ib.* Murdered, *ib.*

—— the son of *Cassander*, drives his brother out of *Macedon*, 348. Put to death by *Demetrius*, 305, & seq. & 349.

—— the son of *Pyrrhus* invades *Macedon*, 363.

—— the son of *Perseus* sent prisoner to *Rome*, 413. Forced to lead a private life, 415.

—— a sham son of *Perseus* invades *Macedon*, 425.

—— prince of *Syria* revolts against *Antiochus*, 474, & seq. His tragical end, 480.

- *Balas* set up against *Demetrius*, 598. Acknowledged by the *Romans*, 599. Courts the *Jews*, 600. Defeats and kills *Demetrius*, 602. Marries *Cleopatra*, *ib.* Degenerates, 603. Abandoned by *Philometor*, 607. Defeated and killed, 608. His character, 609, K.
 ——— the *Pherean* murdered, by his wife and brethren, 10.
 ——— the son of *Æropus* conspires against *Alexander the Great*, 87.
Alexandria, when and by whom built, 160. Besieged by *Antiochus*, 365.
Alexandrians, their fidelity to *Philometor*, 562.
Amastrius married to *Craterus*, 235.
Ammon, *Jupiter*, the temple and oracle of, 120. Consulted by *Alexander*, *ib.*
Ammonius's cruelties, 603. Murdered by the *Antiochians*, 607.
Amphimachus's lot after *Alexander's* death, 270.
Amphipolis taken by *Philip*, 6.
Amphyetians condemn the *Locrians*, 37. Chuse *Philip* general, *ib.*
Amyntas, *Alexander's* governor murdered, 66.
 ——— general suspected of treason, 156. Makes his defence and is cleared, *ib.*
Anaxarchus the sophist's flattering speech to *Alexander*, 180.
Anaximenes saves *Lampsacus*, 75.
Anchor, why and how born by the *Seleucidae*, 433, & A.
Andriscus set up for *Philip* the son of *Perseus*, 417. Sent prisoner to *Rome*, 418. Escapes into *Thrace*, *ib.* Invades *Macedon*, 420. Defeats the prætor *Juventius*, 423. Turns tyrant, *ib.* Defeated twice by *Metellus*, 424. Sent prisoner to *Rome*, 425.
Andronicus forced to surrender *Tyre*, 288.
 ——— *Perseus's* governor in *Thessaly* put to death, 391.
 ——— murders *Onias*, 559. Put to death for it, *ib.*
 ——— a cruel governor of *Samaria*, 564.
Anicius sent to *Illyria*, 396. His success there, 411, E. Carries *Gentius* to *Rome* and triumphs, *ib.*
Annius's forged history, how discovered 458, M.
Antigenes's lot after *Alexander's* death, 270. Treachery to *Eumenes*, 283. Cruel punishment, 284.
Antigonia razed by *Seleucus*, 443.

Antigonus,

Antigonus, his lot after *Alexander's* death, 258, 270. Defeats *Alcetas*, 272, & seq. Outwitted by *Eumenes*, 273. Repulsed with loss, 277. Defeated by *Eumenes*, 280. His treachery to him, 282, & seq. And to his own friends, 284. Marches into *Babylon*, 285. Calls *Seleucus* to an account, *ib.* Seizes *Syria* and *Phœnice*, 286. Repels *Cassander*, 287. The provinces recovered from him by *Ptolemy*, 287, 288. Makes a new partition with the confederates, 293. Invaded by them, *ib.* Takes the title of king, 296. His extraction and character, 297, & seq. Ill success against *Egypt*, 298, & seq. Invaded by the confederates, 301, & seq. Slain at the battle of *Ipsus*, 302.

—— *Gonatus* the son of *Demetrius*, his filial piety, 314. Gentleness, 351. Seizes the crown of *Macedon*, 359. Defeats the *Gauls*, 360. Invaded by *Pyrrhus*, *ib.* Expelled by him, 361. Defeats him at *Argos*, 362. Deserted by his men, 363. Takes the citadel of *Corinth*, 364. His death, 365.

—— *Doson* chosen regent of *Macedon*, 367. Afterwards king, *ib.* His character, *ib.* Courted by the *Achaëans*, 368. Friendship to *Aratus*, 369. Success against *Cleomenes*, *ib.* & seq. Kindness to the *Spartans*, 370. Defeats the *Illyrians*, 371. Overstrains his voice in the battle, and dies with a spitting of blood, *ib.*

Antioch, metropolis of *Syria*, 432. By whom built, 442. Described, *ib.* & seq. & E.

—— metropolis of *Mygdonia*, where situate, 479, R.

Antiochis, her spurious brood, 596.

Antiochus Soter's pretensions to *Macedon*, 359. Succeeds his father *Seleucus* in *Syria*, 458. Yields *Greece* to *Antigonus*, 460. Why surnamed *Soter*, *ib.* Defeats the *Gauls*, *ib.* His death, 461.

—— *Theos*, why so called, 461. Wars with *Egypt*, 462. Loses several provinces, 463, & seq. Makes peace with *Ptolemy*, 464. Poisoned by his wife, 465.

—— *Hierax*, why so called, 469. Wars against his brother, 470. Expelled *Syria*, 472. His death, *ib.*

Antiochus the Great invades *Egypt*, 476. Forced to retire, 477. Defeats his rebellious subjects, 480. Wars against *Ptolemy* 484, & seq. Takes *Ptolemais* and *Tyre*, 485. Defeats the *Egyptians*, 488. Marches into *Judæa*, *ib.* Defeated by *Ptolemy*, 489. Makes peace with him, 490. Marches against *Achæus*, 491. Against *Arsaces*, 494, & seq. Puts *Achæus* to death, 494. Invades *Bactria*, 496. *India*, *ib.* Joins *Philip* against *Egypt*, 497. Recovers *Palestine*, &c. VGL. VIII.

500. Allies with *Ptolemy*, 501. His conquests in *Asia Minor*, *ib.* & seq. In *Chersonesus*, 503. Answer to the *Roman* ambassadors, 504. Sends ambassadors to *Rome*, 508. Declares war against it, 510. Invades *Pisidia*, 513, & seq. His conference with the *Roman* deputies, 515. Marries a young wife, 520. Defeated at *Thermopylae* by the *Romans*, *ib.* At sea, 522. Invades *Pergamus*, 525, & seq. Defeated at sea, 527. His ill conduct, 530. Sues to the *Romans*, 532, & seq. His proposals rejected, 533. His gallant army, 535. Defeated at *Magnesia*, 536. Makes peace with *Rome*, 541, & 543, Q. His death and character, 545, & seq. Reign foretold by *Daniel*, 546, R.
-
- Epiphanes*, the son of *Antiochus the Great*, sent hostage to *Rome*, 542. Exchanged for *Demetrius*, 552. Mounts the *Syrian* throne, 554. His character, *ib.* & seq. Surnamed *Epimanes*, 555. War with *Egypt*, 561, & seq. His embassy to *Rome*, 560. Injustice to the *Jews*, 561, & seq. Conquers *Egypt*, 562. Marches into *Judea*, 563. Profanes and plunders the temple, *ib.* & seq. Returns into *Egypt*, 565. His career stopt by the *Romans*, 570. Wreaks his revenge on the *Jews*, 572. His gambols at the games of *Daphne*, 573, & seq. Repulsed at *Elymais*, 576. His miserable end, 577.
-
- Eupator* succeeds his father in *Syria*, 580. The *Romans* usurp the guardianship of him, 584. His ill success against the *Jews*, *ib.* & seq. Treachery to them, 587. Put to death, 593.
- Antipater's* character, 43. Conduct in *Greece*, 132. Victory over *Agis*, *ib.* Whether guilty of *Alexander's* death, 246, O, & 247. His post after that prince's death, 258. Chosen protector to his son, 270. Divides the provinces a-new *ibid.* His descent and character, 316, & seq. Marches against the revolted *Greeks*, 318. Defeated by *Leosthenes*, 319. By *Antiphibus*, *ib.* Makes peace with them, 320. Wars with the *Ætolians*, 323. Marches against *Perdiccas* *ib.* & seq. Chosen protector, 324. His death and successor, 325, 326, & B.
-
- the son of *Cassander*, his bloody parricide, 348. Expelled by his brother, *ib.* Flies to *Lyfimachus*, 349. Put to death by him, 350.
-
- the son of *Philip*, chosen king of *Macedon*, 358.
- Antiphibus's* success against *Antipater*, 319.
- Aornus*, a city in *India*, described, 201. The rock of, taken by *Alexander*, 202.

Apamea,

- Apamea*, by whom built, 445.
Apollonia, the country submits to *Glaucias*, 341.
Apollonius's bloody expedition against the *Jews*, 572, & seq.
 Defeated by *Jonathan*, 605. Several generals of that name, 604, 1.
Apollophanes's advice to *Antiochus*, 482.
Appius Claud. sent against *Perseus*, 390. Sadly distressed, 393.
Arabs invaded by *Antigonus*, 289, & seq.
Arachosia, surrendered to *Alexander*, 158.
Aratus, his policy against the *Macedonians*, 365, & seq. Revenge on the treacherous *Athenians*, 366. Surprizes *Corinth*, 365. Joins with *Antigonus*, *Dofon*, 369. Conference with him, *ib.* Poisoned by *Philip*, 372.
Arbela, the battle of, 126, & seq.
Archidamus, defeated by *Demetrius*, 305.
Argos, treacherously entered by *Pyrrhus*, 362. Relieved by
 Relieved by *Antigonus*, *ibid.*
Arians defeated by *Alexander*, 147. By *Erigynus*, 158.
Ariarathes II. crucified by *Perdiccas*, 263, 264.
 — VI. his character, 595, & seq. Dethroned by *Demetrius*, 597.
Arideus, *Alexander's* brother, appointed to succeed him, 254.
 Called *Philip* by the army, *ib.* Put to death by *Olympias*, 334.
Aristomenes, sent guardian of *Egypt*, 498.
Aristotle, whether conversant with *Moses's* writings, 86, & F.
Arfaces revolts from *Antiochus*, 463. Founds the kingdom of *Parthia*, 464. Invades *Syria*, 471.
 — II. Invades *Media*, 494. Makes peace with *Antiochus*, 495, & seq.
Arsanes, brought bound to *Alexander*, 170.
Artabazanes, invaded by *Antiochus*, 481.
Artabazus's fidelity to *Darius*, 142. Rewarded by *Alexander*, 144.
Artaxias I. king of *Armenia*, revolts against *Antiochus*, 575, 576, & Y. Defeated by him, 576.
Ascalon, taken by the *Jews*, 606.
Aspendus, its strong situation, 89. Surrenders to *Alexander*, *ibid.*
Asphaltes, the lake of, measured by *Demetrius*, 290. Computes the profit of its bitumen, 291.
Aspii, invaded by *Alexander*, 197.
Assaceni, invaded by *Alexander*, 198.
Aster, a famed archer, the story of, 9, note, D.

- Atalanta*, sister of *Perdiccas*, put to death, 269.
Atargatis, the temple of, burnt, 585.
Atheneus sent against the *Arabs*, 289. Slain by them, 290.
Athenians outwitted by *Philip*, 7. Assist the *Olynthians*, 13.
 13. Send *Phocion* against *Philip*, 34. Beaten at *Cheronæa*,
 39, 40. Their rank flattery to *Philip*, 50. To *Alexan-*
der, 68. Treachery to *Demetrius*, 303. Punished, 305.
 Forced to submit to *Antipater*, 322.
Athens taken by *Demetrius*, 305. Its government altered by
Antipater, 322. Garisoned by *Antigonus Gonatus*, 363.
Atropatia, where situate, 481, X.
Attalus's speech to *Philip*, 46. Abuse of *Pausanias*, 52.
 Treasonable views, 62. But to death, 63.
 ——— *Alexander's* admiral, 269. Joins with *Eumenes*,
 271. Defeated and taken by *Antigonus*, 273.

B.

- B** *Abylon*, the ruins of, described, 447, & 448, H.
Babylonians submit to *Alexander*, 131. Forced to abandon
 their city, 291. Freed by *Demetrius*, 594. Submit
 to *Seleucus*, 440.
Bactra, metropolis of *Bactria*, taken by *Alexander*, 162.
Bactria, the kingdom of, when and by whom founded, 464.
 Invaded by *Alexander*, 162.
Bagdad, where situate, 450, sub fin. note.
Bagoas's revenge on *Orsines*, 233, note.
Balas, vid. *Alexander Balas*, 598.
Balm of Gilead, a plantation of, near *Asphaltes*, 291.
Barsina married to *Alexander*, 235. Her issue by him, 250.
 Murdered by *Polysperchon*, 343.
Baryaxes put to death by *Alexander*, 234.
Barzaentes murders *Darius*, 143. Put to death by *Alexan-*
der, 148.
Bastarnæ invited into *Macedon* by *Philip*, 376. Fall out
 with the *Thracians*, 382. Ill treated by *Perseus*, 395.
Bazira taken by *Alexander*, 201.
Belus, the temple of, at *Elymais*, 546.
Berenice's intrigues at the *Egyptian* court, 355.
 ——— princess of *Lydia*, assassinated *Demetrius*, 463:
 ——— daughter of *Ptolemy* married to *Antiochus*, 464.
 Murdered by *Laodice*, 466.
Berosus, his character, writings, &c. 461, & note.
Bessus's treason to *Darius*, 142. Proclaims himself king,
 146.

146. His cowardly conduct, 162. Delivered up to *Alexander*, 164. His punishment and death, 171, & T.
Bethsura besieged by *Lyfias*, 584.
Betis defends *Gaza*, 113. *Alexander's* cruelty to him, 114.
Brachmans put to death by *Alexander*, 224, & H.
Branchidae massacred by the same, 160, S.
Bucephalus taken and restored by the *Mardi*, 145.
 — a city built by *Alexander*, 209.
Bythis defeats the *Achæans*, 366.

C.

- CALANUS** burns himself alive, 234.
Calisthenes's free speech against adoring *Alexander*, 180, & seq. His character, 184, Y. Death, 187.
Callas's success against *Polysperchon*, 334, & seq.
Callicrates prevents the *Achæans* succouring *Egypt*, 568, W.
Callines's speech to *Alexander*, 237.
Capros, a river in *Assyria*, 479, I.
Caramanians complain to *Alexander*, 231.
Carnion taken and burnt by the *Maccabees*, 585.
Cassander, whether he poisoned *Alexander*, 246, & seq. & O.
 His post after that prince's death, 270. Leagues against *Antigonus*, 286. Repelled by him, 287. Murders *Roxana* and her son, 293, 342. Invades *Peloponnesus*, 342. Corrupts *Polysperchon*, 343. Raises a confederacy against *Antigonus*, 345. Hatred to *Alexander*, 347, C. Defeated by *Demetrius*, 300. Makes a new alliance against *Antigonus*, 301. Why he did not succeed his father, as governor of *Macedon*, 326, B. His severity to *Demades*, 327. Attempt against *Polysperchon*, 328, & seq. Goes to *Nicanor*, 331. Marches against *Olympias*, 334, & seq. Against *Polysperchon*, 337. Outwits *Antigonus*, 338. Wars with the *Ætolians*, 339. Ill success in *Asia*, 341. His death, 346.
Cassandria, by whom built, 336.
Cathei confederate with the *Oxydracæ* and *Malli* against *Alexander*, 210. Defeated, *ib.* & seq.
Cebalinus discovers a conspiracy against *Alexander*, 152.
Celtes sue to *Alexander*, 65. Their answer to him, *ib.* Ranked in the number of his allies, *ib.*
Cestrius, river, described, 543, P.
Chalonitis, where situate, 481, W. Whence so called, *ib.*
Chares the *Athenian*, sent to relieve *Perynthus*, 26. The promise of *Chares* becomes proverbial, *ib.*

Charidemus

- Charidemus* put to death, 91.
Cheronæa, the battle of, 39.
Chersobleptes invaded by *Philip*, 21, & 22, note. Gives up the *Chersonese* to the *Athenians*, 21.
Chersonesus invaded by *Demetrius*, 303.
Choasprians subdued by *Alexander*, 196.
Chorienes besieged in his fortress, in the *Paratacæ*, 193. Surrenders himself, 194.
Cilicia invaded by *Demetrius*, 304.
Cilles defeated by *Demetrius*, 289.
Cleomenes's success against the *Achæans*, 368, & seq. Defeated by *Antigonus Doson*, 370.
Cleopatra put to death by *Antigonus*, 294. Daughter of *Antiochus*, married to *Ptolemy*, 512.
Cleophes, queen of *India*, subdued by *Alexander*, 198, & seq. His treatment of her, 200.
Clitander put to death for oppression, 231.
Clondicus, who, 394. Outwitted by *Perseus*, *ib.* & seq. Spoils *Thrace* and raises enemies to *Perseus*, 395.
Clytus, king of *Illyria*, revolts from *Alexander*, 65. Defeated, *ib.*
 ——— general of *Alexander* joined in command with *Hephestion*, 157. Reproves *Alexander*, 175, & seq. Killed by him, 176, & W.
Cæle-Syria reduced by *Alexander*, 99, & seq.
Cænus, general of *Alexander*, wounded at *Gaugamela*, 128. Made commander of *Bactria*, 189. Defeats the rebels, 190. His speech in behalf of the soldiers, 213. His death, 217, note F. Lamented by the soldiers, *ib.*
Colophon, the city of, described, 529.
Coracesium besieged by *Antiochus*, 502.
Corinth, the citadel of, taken by *Gonatus*, 364. By *Aratus*, 365.
Coryeus, the naval fight of, 521, 522.
Cossæans, why subdued by *Alexander*, 239.
Cotys II. joins the *Macedonians* against the *Persians*, 387.
Craterus appointed protector after *Alexander's* death, 258. Sent against *Eumenes*, 266. Defeated and killed, 268.
 ——— assists *Antipater*, 320. His death, 323. Defeats the *Massagetes*, 189. And other rebels, 195. Made governor of *Andaca*, 196.
Cratespolis, her conduct and bravery, 338.
Crenides taken by *Philip*, 8. Rebuilt by him and called *Philippi*, *ib.*
Crocodiles in the river *Indus* lead *Alexander* into a strange notion about the *Nile* 216, F. Changes his opinion, *ib.*
Cynane

Cynane put to death by *Perdiccas*, 265.
Cypriots assist *Alexander* against *Tyre*, 106.
Cyprus island taken by *Ptolemy*, 293. By *Antiochus*, 568.
Cyropolis taken by *Alexander*, 165, & seq.
Cyrus's camp abandoned to *Alexander*, 93.
 ——— tomb described, 232.

D.

Dagon's temple burnt by *Jonathan*, 605.

Damides's stratagem against *Polysperchon*, 332.
Daniel, several of his prophecies fulfilled, 466, O. 468, P. 546, R. 552, 554, 575, & 579, B.
Daphne, the infamous grove of, described, 444, E. ---- the sanctuary of, forced by *Laodice*, 466. --- the games of, described, 573, X.
Dardaniens expelled by the *Bastarnæ*, 382.
Darius marches against *Alexander*, 94, & seq. Defeated at *Issus*, 96. His first message to *Alexander*, 102. Second message rejected, 111. Defeated near *Guagamela*, 126, & seq. A great instance of his goodness, 131, sub fin. note. His treasure at *Susa*, 133 & P. Flies to *Ecbatane*, 139. Betrayed by *Bessus*, 142. Murdered, 143.
Delphic oracle corrupted by *Philip*, 39.
Demades's speech to *Philip*, 68, & seq. Successful embassy to *Antipater*, 321. His character, 325. Severe punishment, 327.
Demetrius son of *Antigonus*, left with the government of *Syria*, 287. His character, *ib.* Defeated by *Ptolemy*, 288. Defeats *Cilles*, 289. His gallantry to *Ptolemy*, *ib.* Sent against *Petra*, 290. Measures the lake *Asphaltus*, *ib.* Marches into *Babylon*, 291. Recovers *Cilicia*, 293. His conquests in *Cyprus*, 294, & seq. Saluted king by his father, 296. His ill success against *Rhodes*, 300. His behaviour to *Protogenes*, *ib.* Degeneracy, *ib.* & 352. Defeated at *Ipsus*, 302, 303. Gives his daughter to *Seleucus*, 304. Becomes king of *Macedon*, 305, & 350. Prepares for the conquest of *Asia*, 307. Driven out of *Macedonia*, 308. Ill success against *Lysimachus*, &c. 309. Against *Pyrrhus*, *ib.* 352, & seq. Retires to *Cassandria*, 353. Surrenders himself to *Seleucus*, 312, & seq. His last letter to his son *Antigonus*, 313. Death, 314. Funeral honours, *ib.* Wives and offspring, 315, & seq.
 ——— the son of *Demetrius*, king of *Cyrene*, 315.
 ——— the son of *Gonatus*, his early valour, 363. Marries

- ries *Nicaea*, 364. His troublesome reign, 366, & seq.
 — the son of *Philip*, his character, 373. Pleads for
 his father before the *Roman* senate, 375. Envied by his
 natural brother, 373, & seq. Suspected by his father,
 378. Put to death, 379.
 — prince of *Macedon*, marries *Apame*, 462. Mur-
 dered by her daughter, 463.
 — the son of *Seleucus* sent to *Rome*, 552.
 — the son of *Seleucus*, his suit to the *Roman* senate,
 582, & seq. Rejected, 584. Presents a second, 589.
 Escapes into *Syria*, 591. His letter to the senate, 592.
 Wars against *Antiochus*, 595. Degenerates, 597.
 Courts the friendship of the *Jews*, 600. Defeated, 602.
 His extraordinary valour, *ib.* Killed, *ib.*
 — *Nicator* repulsed by the senate, 598. Dethrones
Alexander Balas, 608. Allies with *Philometor*, 607.
 Restored to his kingdom, 608.
Demosthenes the orator, his character of king *Philip*, 10, note.
 Whether the pacific oration be really his, 18, E. His speech
 in favour of *Diopithes*, 20. Outwrestles *Philip*, 23.
 Withdraws the *Thebans* from him, 38, & seq. His cow-
 ardise at *Chæroneæ*, 40. *Philip's* character of him, 41,
 note. His excessive joy at the death of *Philip*, 62. Raises
 the *Greeks* against *Alexander*, *ib.*
Dicaearchus's impiety punished, 506.
Dinarchus put to death, 330.
Diodorus Siculus, how far preferable to *Plutarch*, 292, D.
 — a *Syrian* facilitates *Demetrius's* escape, 590.
Diogenes's treachery to the *Macedonians*, 368.
 — the philosopher's furliness to *Alexander*, 71.
Diopithes invades *Philip's* territories, 19.
Diophanes's brave attempt against *Seleucus*, 526, L.
Dioscuri substituted to *Bacchus*, 174, 179.
Doloaspis made president of *Egypt*, 121.
Dolopians reduced by *Perseus*, 383.
Doxareas's submission and presents to *Alexander*, 204.
Drypetis, daughter of *Darius*, married to *Hephestion*, 235.
 Murdered by *Roxana*, 261.
Dura, where situate, 480, U.
Dymnus conspires against *Alexander*, 151. Dies, 152.

E.

ECLYPSE of the moon, foretold by *Sulpitius Gallus*,
 399. Throws the *Macedonians* into a panic, *ib.*
Elateæ

- Elatea* taken by *Philip*, 37. Great advantages of seizing the place, 38, not. H.
- Elea*, where situate, 514.
- Emilianus Scipio* passes mount *Olympus*, 397.
- Emilius Paulus*, Roman consul, sent against *Perseus*, 396, & seq. Defeats him, 400, & seq. His speech to him, 405. Treatment of him, *ib.* & seq. New models the Macedonian government, *ib.* & seq. His triumph at *Rome*, 412, & seq. Behaviour to *Perseus*, 413.
- Epaminondas*, his character, 2, A. Parallel with *Philip*, *ib.*
- Ephesians*, their pride, 80.
- Ephesus* visited by *Alexander*, 80. Taken by *Antiochus*, 502.
 — the temple of, spared by *Demetrius*, 303.
- Epigenes* envied by *Hermias*, 475, & seq. Good advice to *Antiochus*, *ib.* Treacherously murdered by him, 478.
- Epigoni*, whence so called, 235.
- Erastratus's* stratagem in favour of *Antiochus*, 453, & seq.
- Erigyus* defeats the *Arians*, 158.
- Evander*, a cowardly Cretan, 389. His unlucky advice to *Perseus*, *ib.* — hated by the *Macedonians*, 401. Takes refuge in *Samothrace*, 403. Put to death by *Perseus*, 404.
- Eubœa* island invaded by *Philip*, 23, & seq.
- Euergetæ*, whence so called, 157. Favoured by *Alexander*, *ibid.*
- Eulæus*, regent of *Egypt*, 557. Corrupts the young king, 563.
- Eumenes II.* wars with *Antiochus*, 513, & seq. His bravery at the battle of *Magnesia*, 539. Assists *Antiochus*, 554. Wounded by *Perseus's* assassins, 385. Allies with *Rome* against him, 389. Repulsed from *Cassandria*, 392.
 — *Alexander's* secretary, his moderation towards *Hephestion*, 238, 239. Declares for *Aridæus*, 255. His character, *ib.* *vid.* 262, & seq. His fidelity, 263. Sent against *Ptolemy*, 266. Defeats *Neoptolemus*, 267. Is proscribed, 269. His defeat, and singular valour, 271, & seq. Loyalty, 274, & seq. Repulses *Antigonus*, 277. Marches to *Persopolis*, 278. His speech to his officers, 279, C. Defeats *Antigonus*, 280. Betrayed to him, 283. Put to death by him, *ib.*
- Eupalemus* defeated by *Ptolemy*, 340.
- Euthycrates* betrays *Olynthus* to *Philip*, 14.

Euthydemus, king of *Bactria*, invaded by *Antiochus*, 496.
Makes peace with him, *ib.*

F.

F*IRE-ships* invented by the *Rhodians*, 530.
Flaminius's answer to *Antiochus's* ambassadors, 509.

G.

G*abene* seized by *Eumenes*, 280. By *Antiochus*, 281, & seq.
Gadrosi subdued by *Alexander*, 228, & seq.
Galatia, whence so called, 459.
Galilee invaded by *Antiochus*, 488.
Gallogrecia, whence so called, 459.
Gangaridæ, where situate, 215, in fin. E.
Gauls first invasion of *Macedon*, 357. Second, 359. Third, *ib.* Rife the Royal tombs, 361. Defeated by *Gonatus*, 363. Settled in *Asia Minor* by *Nicomedes*, 459. Their treachery to *Hierax*, 470.
Gaza taken by *Alexander*, 113, & seq. Its governor cruelly treated, 114. By *Ptolemy*, 288. By *Antiochus*, 500.
—— in *Bactria*, taken by *Alexander*, 166.
Gentius, king of *Illyria*, ill treated by the *Romans*, 386.
Outwitted by *Perseus*, 394. Sent prisoner to *Rome*, 411, & E.
Getæ defeated by *Alexander*, 64.
Glaucias, king of *Illyrium*, invaded by *Cassander*, 339. Makes peace with him, *ib.*
—— officer of *Cassander*, murders *Roxana*, and her son, 342.
Glaufæ invaded by *Alexander*, 209.
Gold mines seized by *Philip*, 8.
Gordian knot, the origin of, 91. Cut by *Alexander*, 92.
Gracchus sent to watch over *Antiochus*, 573. Behaviour of *Antiochus* to him, 574. His report to the senate, 575.
Granicus, battle of, 76, & seq.
Greece invaded by *Philip*, 37, & seq.
—— the democracy, of, restored, 48.
—— alarmed at *Alexander's* success, 132. Forced to submit to *Antipater*, 141, & 320.
Greek mercenaries, how used by *Alexander*, 145, 146. Revolt after his death, 261. Massacred, 262, & 320.
Greeks arm against *Philip*, 39. Defeated at *Cheronæa*, *ib.* & seq. Chuse *Alexander* their general, 62. Revolt from him, 66.

Guagamela,

Guagamela, the battle of, 126, & seq.
Gymnic games instituted by *Alexander*, 108.

H.

- H** *Alicarnassus* besieged by *Alexander*, 83, & seq. Bravely defended by *Memnon*, 83. Demolished, 85.
Halonefus taken from the pirates by *Philip*, 30. By the *Pe-
 parethians*, *ib.*
Halys river described, 545, in fin. Q.
Hammon, *Jupiter*, the temple of, 118.
Hannibal shelters himself with *Antiochus*, 506. Sends *Aristo*
 to *Carthage*, 510, & seq. Outwitted by the *Romans*, 515.
 His advice to *Antiochus*, 518. Untimely rejected, *ib.*
Harpalus, *Alexander's* treasurer, why favoured, 140. His
 treachery, 238. Punished, *ib.*
Heliodorus's attempt on the temple at *Jerusalem* punished,
 550, & seq. Poisons the king, 552.
Hephestion wounded at *Guagamela*, 128. Made general of
 the horse with *Clytus*, 157. Sent towards *Indus*, 196.
 Rewarded by *Alexander*, 235. Reproved for his treat-
 ment of *Eumenes*, 238. His death and obsequies 239.
Heraclides banished for oppression, 594. Plots against the
 king of *Syria*, 598, & seq. His speech to the *Roman* se-
 nate, 599.
Heracon accused by the *Medes*, is acquitted, 231. Charged
 by the *Susans*, is put to death for oppression, *ib.*
Hercules the son of *Alexander* murdered by *Polyespercon*, 250,
 & 343.
Hermias first minister of *Syria*, his brutish character, 475.
 Treacherous advice to *Antiochus*, *ib.* Treachery to
Epigenes, 478. Tragical end, 482.
Hermocrates the sophist, his advice to *Pausanias*, 53, 54.
 note.
Hermolaus, why he conspired against *Alexander*, 185. His
 speech to the army, 186. Death, 187.
Hippias, *Perseus's* general opposes the *Romans*, 391. Sur-
 renders to them, 402.
Hippostratus made general of *Media*, 284.
Holophernes's pretensions to the *Cappadocian* crown, 596.
 Supported by *Demetrius*, 597.
Homer, his poems, why so much esteemed by *Alexander*, 60.
Hydaspes passed by *Alexander*, 203, & seq. Repassed, 211,
 & seq.

- Hydraotes*, river, passed by the same, 210. Repassed, 216.
Hyphasis, river, the boundary of *Alexander's* conquests, 214, E. & 215.
Hyrkania invaded by *Alexander*, 144.
Hyrchanus made governor of *Judæa* by *Seleucus*, 553.

I.

- J**ASON *al. Jesus*, buys the *Jewish* high-priesthood, 556
 Supplanted by his brother, 558 & seq. Drives him out, 563.
Jerusalem garisoned by *Scopas*, 499. Taken by *Antiochus*, 563, & T. Burnt and sacked by *Apollonius*, 572.
Jews planted in *Syria* by *Seleucus*, 450. In high favour with *Antiochus*, 500. Persecuted by his son, 572, & seq.
Illyria invaded by the *Romans*, 390, 393.
Illyrians subdued by *Philip*, 6, 8.
Indians, defeated by *Alexander*, 199. Treacherously treated by him, 200.
Indus passed by *Alexander*, 203.
John Hyrcan, *vid. Hyrcanus*, 552.
Ion's treachery to *Perseus*, 405.
Jonathan succeeds *Judas Maccabæus*, 594. Courted by the kings of *Syria*, 600. His victories 605, & seq. Honours, 606.
Joppa taken by *Antigonus*, 286. Retaken by *Jonathan*, 605.
Ipsus, the battle of, 302.
Isaurians, their desperate end, 264.
Issus, the battle of, 96, & seq.
Judæa, *Syria*, &c. seized on by *Antigonus*, 286. By *Ptolemy*, 287, & seq. Recovered by the former, 289. By the latter, 302. By *Antiochus*, 488. By *Philopator*, 490. By *Antiochus*, 499. How it continued in the possession of *Seleucus*, 553. Wasted by *Antiochus*, 563, & seq. & 572.
Juventius sent against *Andriscus*, 422. His rashness, *ib.* Defeated and slain, 423.

L.

- L**AMIA, concubine of *Demetrius*, 315.
 ——— a city in *Thessaly*, besieged, 319.
Lampsacus spared by *Alexander* by the address of *Anaximenes*, 75. Besieged by *Antiochus*, 502.

Langarus's

- Langarus's* known to *Alexander*, 65.
Laodice, married to *Perseus*, 384.
 — wife of *Antiochus*, 464. Poisons him, 465.
Laodicea, by whom built, and whence so called, 445.
Lasthenes, his character, 603, H.
Laurandians severely punished by *Perdiccas*, 264.
Lenneus, regent of *Egypt*, challenges *Palestine*, 557.
Leomedon's government after *Alexander's* death, 258, 270.
Leonatus rescues *Alexander* from the *Malli*, 220. His post after the king's death, 258. Succours *Antipater*, 319. Killed, *ib.*
Leonidas, tutor of *Alexander*, 60. Appointed to command the turbulent battalion, 157.
Leosthenes's zeal for democracy, 318. Success and death, 319.
Lepidus made guardian of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, 498, & B.
Liba, where situate, 479, S.
Ligoras's stratagem at the siege of *Sardis*, 491, Y.
Livius the Roman admiral, defeats *Antiochus*, 522. His success in the *Hellepont*, 523. Succeeded by *Æmilius*, 524.
Lycophron wars with *Philip*, 11.
Lycus, a river, described, 479.
Lyfandra married to *Agathocles* son of *Lyfimachus*, 355. Persecuted by *Arfione*, *ib.* Flies to *Seleucus*, *ib.*
Lyfias sent against the *Jews*, 575. Defeated by them, 577. Seizes on the government of *Syria*, 582. Defeated by *Judas Maccabæus*, 584. Causes *Octavius* to be assassinated, 588. Seized by his own soldiers, 593. Put to death by *Demetrius*, *ib.*
Lyficles, defeated by *Philip*, 40. Put to death, *ib.*
Lyfimachia, rebuilt by *Antiochus*, 503. Forsaken by him, 531.
Lyfimachus, tutor to *Alexander*, 60. His post after the king's death, 258. Defends it against *Seuthes*, 262. Gets *Thrace* by the new treaty, 293. Marches against *Antigonus*, 301, & seq. His success against *Demetrius*, 307. Seizes on *Macedon*, 355. Poisons his eldest son, *ib.* Defeated and killed by *Seleucus*, 356.

M.

MACCABEES, their victories over the *Syrians*, 573, 576, 584, & seq. Make peace with *Lyfias*, 584.
Macedonia,

- Macedonia*, invaded by the *Athenians*, 19. By the *Illyrians*, 22. Subdued by the *Romans*, 402, & seq. Its new division, government, &c. 407, & seq. Various changes since, 416, & seq.
- Macedonians*, rewarded by *Alexander*, 235. Mutiny, 236. Frighted at a lunar eclipse, 399.
- Macedonian* empire, how divided after *Alexander's* death, 258, 270.
- Macron's* treachery to the king of *Egypt*, 561, S. Mentioned often in the *Maccabees*, *ib.*
- Magas*, king of *Libya's* alliance with *Ptolemy*, 462. Broken by his widow, *ib.*
- Magnesia*, the battle of, 536, & seq.
- Malli*, confederate against *Alexander*, 210. Defeated, *ib.* & seq. & 219, & seq.
- Maracanda*, besieged by the *Scythians*, 167. Relieved by *Alexander*, 170.
- Mardi*, subdued by *Alexander*, 145.
- Marmarians*, their desperate defence against *Alexander*, 86. Force the *Macedonian* guard, *ib.*
- Maronites* plundered by *Onomastus*, 374.
- Martius* outwits *Perseus*, 387. Sent against him, 390. Gets into the vale of *Tempe*, 391. Ill success in *Macedon*, 392.
- Massaga*, besieged and taken by *Alexander*, 198, & seq.
- Massagetæ* defeated by *Craterus*, 189.
- Mazaces* surrenders to *Alexander*, 122, 123, 130, 131.
- Medius* feasts *Alexander*, 244.
- Megalopolitans* besieged by *Polysperchon* 331, & seq.
- Megasthenes's* character and writings, 457, & M.
- Meleager* declares for *Aridæus*, 254. His character, *ib.* Supplanted by *Perdiccas*, 256.
- brother of *Ceraunus*, chosen king of *Macedon*, 358. Deprived by his subjects, *ib.*
- Memnon* defeated by *Alexander*, 77. Defends *Miletus*, 81. Defends *Halicarnassus*, 83, & seq.
- Menelaus* the Jew, buys the high-priesthood, 558. Apostatises, *ib.* Causes *Onias* to be murdered, 559. Convicted of many crimes, 561.
- Menidas* wounded at *Guagamela*, 128.
- Menippus's* speech to the *Romans*, 509.
- Menythillus* facilitates *Demetrius's* escape, 590.
- Meroe* persuades *Porus* to submit to *Alexander*, 208.
- Messene* besieged by *Demetrius*, 305.
- Metellus* defeats the *Pseudo-Philip* in *Macedon*, 426. Reduces it into a *Roman* province, *ib.* & seq.

Metbone razed by *Philip*, 9.
Miletum besieged by *Alexander*, 81.
Minio's haughty speech to the *Roman* ambassadors, 516.
Mithridates goes over to *Alexander*, 85.
Molo, prince of *Syria*, revolts from *Antiochus*, 474, & seq.
 Defeats his generals, 476. Is defeated, 480. Kills himself, *ib.* His body crucified, 481.
Mosaic laws, whether copied by *Aristotle*, 86, F.
Musicanus's submission and presents to *Alexander*, 223. Revolts, and is crucified, 224, & H.
Mycaberna taken by *Philip*, 13, 14.
Myndians deceive with false promises, and repulse *Alexander*, 83.

N.

N *Abatean Arabs* invaded by *Antigonus*, 289. & seq. Make peace with his son, 290. Fall foul on his collector of the bitumen, 291.
Nearchus made admiral to *Alexander*, 218. Sails down the *Indus*, 226, & seq. & I. Rejoins *Alexander*, 231, 232.
Neolaus, his tragical end, 481.
Neoptolemus, a flattering poet to *Philip*, 46, L.
 ——— the son of *Amyntas*, killed at *Halicarnassus*, 84.
 ——— governor of *Armenia*, defeated by *Eumenes*. 267, & seq. Killed, 268.
Nicæa built by *Alexander*, 209.
Nicanor's lot after *Alexander's* death, 270. Defeated by *Seleucus*, 287. Refuses to obey *Polyperchon's* edict, 329. Defeated by *Clytus*, 332. Defeats him, *ibid.* Slain by *Cassander*, *ibid.*
Nicolaus, officer to *Ptolemy*, his fidelity to him, 487. Made his generalissimo, *ib.* Defeated by *Antiochus*, 488.
Nicias, *Perseus's* general, throws his treasure into the sea, 391. Put to death to conceal it, *ib.*
Nicomedes, prince of *Bithynia*, calls in the *Gauls*, 459. Gives them part of *Asia Minor*, *ib.*

O.

O *ATHS* how taken and given by the *Romans*, 544, 545.
Octavius, *Roman* admiral, 396. Discharges his duty well, *ib.* Brings *Perseus* prisoner to the consul, 405.
 ——— Sent to be guardian to young *Eupator*, 584. Murdered by *Lysias*, 588.
Olophernes, *al.* *Oraphernes*, dethrones *Ariarathes VI.* 597.
Olympias,

- Olympias*, Philip's queen, her character, 45. Divorce, *ib.* Message to *Alexander*, 121, 141. Forced to retire into *Epirus*, 274. Instances of her pride and cruelty, 326, B. Recalled by *Polysperchon*, 327. Her cruel behaviour at her return, 333. Shuts herself up in *Pydna*, 335. Besieged by *Cassander*, *ib.* Put to death, 336.
 ——— queen of *Acarmania*, allies with *Demetrius II.* 367.
Olympics instituted by *Philip*, 14.
Olynthians invaded by *Philip*, 13. & seq. Cause defended by *Demosthenes*, *ib.*
Onasiecritus, his character as an author, 215 sub fin. not. Made captain of a galley by *Alexander*, 218.
Onias, the worthy Jewish high-priest, falls out with *Simon*, 550. Opposes *Heliodorus*, *ib.* & seq. Deposed by *Antiochus*, 556. Murdered at *Antioch* by *Andronicus*, 559.
Onomarchus, general of the *Phocians*, defeats *Philip*, 11. Killed by him, *ib.*
Ora, a city in *India*, taken by *Alexander*, 209, & seq.
Oracle at *Delphi*, an account of it, 48, note.
Orchemenus, rebuilt by *Alexander*, 68.
Oreos in *Eubæa* taken by *Philip*, 24.
Oritæ subdued by *Alexander*, 228.
Oroandes's treachery to *Perseus*, 404.
Orantobates made governor of *Media*, 284.
Orophernes, vid. *Olophernes*, 596.
Orsines put to death for his cruelty, 233, & M.
Oxathres saves *Darius*'s life, 97, I. Put to death, 234, 235.
Oxicanus submits to *Alexander*, 224, & H.
Oxus, how passed by *Alexander*, 163.
Oxyartes surrenders to *Alexander*, 193. Prevails on *Chorienes* to do the same, 194. Receives marks of the conqueror's favour, *ib.* & seq. His lot after that monarch's death, 270.
Oxydraca confederate against *Alexander*, 218. Defeated, 222, & seq.

P.

- P***Antauchus* wounded in a single combat and defeated by *Pyrrhus*, 351, 352.
Paphlagonia submits to *Alexander*, 93.
Parisatis, daughter of *Ochus*, married to *Alexander*, 235.
Parmenio seizes on *Darius*'s treasure, 98, 103, & seq. Surrounded by *Persians* at *Guagamela*, 128. Succoured by *Alexander*,

- Alexander, ib. & O.* Accused by his son, 153. Put to death, 154.
- Paropamisus*, the country of, described, 158, note, and 159.
- the mountain of, 160.
- Parthia*, the kingdom of, when and by whom founded, 464.
- Patrocles* forced to abandon *Babylon*, 291. Defeated and killed by the *Bithynians*, 459.
- Pattala*, the king of, submits to *Alexander*, 225.
- Pausanias*, murderer of *Philip*, his motive, 52, & seq.
- Pella*, taken by the *Romans*, 402.
- Pelusium* taken by *Antiochus*, 562, 568. Surrendered to *Alexander*, 115.
- Perdiccas*, *Alexander's* general, his advice after his death, 253. Character, 254, & seq. Supplants and puts *Meleager* to death, 257. His great power, *ib.* & seq. Subdues *Cappadocia*, 263. Marries *Nicaea*, 264. Wars with *Ptolemy*, Murdered by his men, 269.
- a traitor to *Eumenes*, hanged, 271.
- Perga* delivered up to the *Romans*, 543, & P.
- Perinthus*, al. *Perynthus*, besieged by *Philip*, 25, 35. Relieved by *Phocion*, 35.
- Persepolis* destroyed by *Alexander*, 138, & seq.
- Perseus*, the natural son of *Philip*, cabals against his brother, 373, 377. Discovered, and disinherited, 381. Mounts the throne by main force, 382. His character, &c. *ib.* & seq. Falls out with the *Romans*, 383. Goes to *Delphi*, *ib.* Undermined by *Eumenes*, 384. Accused to the *Romans*, 386. Makes war with them, 387, & seq. Defeats them, 389. His pusillanimity, 391. Mad actions, *ib.* Covetousness, 393. Defeated by the *Romans*, 400, & seq. His miserable flight, 401. Takes sanctuary in *Samothrace*, 403. Surrenders to *Octavius*, 404. How treated by the *Roman* consul, 405, & seq. Vindicated against the *Roman* writers, 409, D. His miserable end, 413. Character and progeny, 414, & seq.
- Persians* worship *Alexander*, 182, & X.
- Petra* plundered by *Antigonos*, 290.
- Peucestas's* lot after *Alexander's* death, 270. Outwitted by *Eumenes*, 276, & seq. His treachery to him, 282. Punished, 284.
- Phalanx*, by whom invented, 4, B.
- Pharaimenes*, king of *Chorasmene*, 187. His embassy to *Alexander*, *ib.*
- VOL. VIII, 4 L *Phenophorus*,

Phernophorus, *Ptolem. Phil.* why so called, 465.

Philip II. comes into *Macedonia*, 1. His policy, 2, & A. Defeats *Argeus*, 5. Makes peace with *Athens*, *ib.* His conquests, 6, & seq. Loses an eye, 9, & D. His success in *Thessaly*, 10, & seq. Against the *Olynthians*, 13, & seq. Makes peace with *Athens*, 16. Puts an end to the sacred war, 17, & seq. Invades part of *Thrace*, 21, & seq. & F. *Eubœa*, 24, & seq. *Propontis*, 25, & seq. His letter to the *Athenians*, 27, & seq. Driven by *Phocion*, 35. Defeats the *Triballi*, 36. Chosen general by the *Anphictyons*, 37. Beats the confederates, 40. Makes peace with *Athens*, 42. Arms against *Xerxes*, 43, & seq. Marries *Cleopatra*, 45. Murdered, 53. His character, 55, & seq.

—— *Cassander's* general success in *Ætolia*, 340.

—— the son of *Demetrius II.* left an infant, 367. Prospers under his uncle *Doson*, *ib.* & seq. Mounts the *Macedonian* throne, 371. His treachery to *Aratus* and his son, 372. Overpowered by the *Romans*, 373, & seq. Vain struggles against them, 372, & seq. Family broils, 377. Puts his son to death, 379. Runs mad, 380. His death, 381.

—— the pretended son of *Perseus*, *vid. Andriscus*, 417.

—— a *Phrygian* and cruel governor of *Judæa*, 564.

—— regent of *Syria*, 580, & seq. Defeated and put to death by *Lysias*, 587.

—— the *Acarnanian*, his faithfulness to *Alexander*, 94. His lot after his death, 270.

Philistides, tyrant of *Oreus*, made so by *Philip*, 24, note.

Philla, daughter of *Antipater*, married to *Craterus*, 323.

Philo chosen chief of the rebels, 261.

Philocles betrays young *Demetrius*, 379. Put to death, 380.

Philotærus, first king of *Pergamus*, 454, K. Buys the body of *Seleucus*, 457.

Philotas suspected of treason, 153. Tortured and put to death, 154. His character, 155, & seq.

Philoxenus's lot after *Alexander's* death, 270.

Phocians war with *Philip*, 11, & seq.

Phocis entered by *Philip*, 17, & seq.

Phrygians, why submit to *Midas*, 92.

Pithon sent to reduce *Musicanus*, 224. Plots against *Perdiccas*, 262. Chosen protector of *Macedon*, 269. Put to death by *Antigonus*, 284.

—— attempt against *Eumenes*, 276:

Plataea rebuilt by *Alexander*, 68.

Polybius's advice to young *Demetrius*, 589, 591, & seq. & E.

Polydamas sent to kill *Parmenio*, 155.

Polysperchon chosen governor of *Alexander's* sons, 273.

Left with the care of *Macedon*, &c. 323. Appointed *Antipater's* successor, 325, 326, & B. His character, and wrong measures, 327, & seq. First edict confuses all *Greece*, 329. Cruelty to the *Peloponnesians*, 331. Defeated by *Callas* 334, & seq. Forced to flee into *Greece*, 337. Murders *Hercules* and his mother, 343.

Polyxenidas, defeated by the *Romans*, 522. His second defeat, 530.

Popilius, his speech to *Antiochus*, 570.

Porthmos in *Eubæa*, taken by *Philip*, 24.

Porus opposes *Alexander*, 205, & seq. Loses his son, 207.

Is defeated, 208. How honoured by the conqueror, 209.

— another of that name abandons his kingdom to *Alexander*, 210.

Potidea in *Macedon*, taken by *Philip*, 7.

Praxo discovers *Perseus's* treachery, 385.

Propontis invaded by *Philip*, 25, & seq.

Prusias king of *Bithynia*, rejects the offers of *Antiochus*, 528.

Ptolemy Soter sent to seize *Bessus*, 163. Defeats the *Aspii*, 197. His advice after *Alexander's* death, 253. Post and government, 270. Flourishing kingdom, 265. Invaded by *Perdiccas*, 266. Allies with *Seleucus*, 286. Takes *Syria* from *Antigonus*, 287, & seq. Beaten out of it, 289. Defeated by *Demetrius*, 295, & seq. Takes the title of king, 296. Allies against *Antigonus*, 286. Invades *Judæa*, &c. 302.

— *Ceraunus* persecuted by *Lyfimachus*, 355. His treachery to *Seleucus*, 356, 456. Seizes the *Macedonian* crown, 456. Treachery to *Arfinoe*, 357. Slain by the *Gauls*, 358.

— *Euergetes*, whence so called, 468.

— *Epiphanes* invaded by *Philip* and *Antiochus*, 497. Protected by the *Romans*, *ib.* & seq.

— *Philometor* invaded by *Antiochus*, 561. Taken by him, 563. Restored to his crown, 568. Divides his kingdom with *Physchon*, *ib.* Marches into *Judæa*, 606, & seq. Allies with *Demetrius*, 607. Reinthrones him, 608. His death and character, 608, & seq.

- Ptolemy Physcon* placed on the throne of his brother, 564, 565.
 Divides it with him, 568. Their joint authority established by the *Romans*, 570, & seq.
 ——— the son of *Selaucus* killed at *Iffus*, 96.
 ——— general of *Antigonus*, his treachery, 342, & seq.
 Poisoned by the king of *Egypt*, 343.
Pydna, a city of *Macedon*, subdued by *Philip*, 7. Besieged by *Cassander*, 335.
Pyrrhus II. brought up by *Glaucias*, 346. Allies with *Demetrius*, *ib.* With *Ptolemy*, 307. Drives *Demetrius* out of *Macedon*, 353. Made king of it, 354. Driven out by *Lyfimachus*, *ib.* Recovers it from *Gonatus*, 361.

Q

- Quinda*, the treasure of, plundered by *Demetrius*, 304.

R.

- Rabbath Ammon* submits to *Antiochus* for want of water, 488.
Rammius discloses *Perseus's* treachery to the *Romans*, 385, & seq.
Raphia, where situate, 512, G. The battle of, 489.
Rhodians ally with *Perseus*, 384. Their haughty message to *Antiochus*, 502.
Romans protect young *Ptolemy*, 498. And the free cities of *Asia*, 503. Their first embassy to *Antiochus*, *ibid.* & seq. The second, 514. Defeat him by sea and land, 520, & seq. And at *Magnesia*, 540, & seq. Make peace with him, 541, & seq. The treaty at length, 543, Q. Their degeneracy from that time, 545.
Roxana taken prisoner by *Alexander*, 193. Captivates him, *ib.* Her cruelty, 261. Imprisoned by *Cassander*, 336. Murdered by him, 342.

S.

- Salii*, among the *Romans*, their office, 532, M.
Salt of Jupiter Hammon, a royal present, 120.
Samaritans apply to *Alexander*, 112. Disgusted at his favour to the *Jews*, 122. Murder *Andromachus*, *ibid.* Severely punished, *ibid.*
Sambus submits to *Alexander*, 224, & H.
Samian war, whence began, 318.

Sandrocottus

- Sandrocottus* drives the *Macedonians* out of *India*, 441. Concludes a peace with *Selencus*, 442.
- Sangala* razed by *Alexander*, 210, & seq.
- Sardis* surrendered to *Alexander*, 79.
- Satibarzanes* murders *Darius*, 143. Revolts from *Alexander*, 146, & seq. Killed by *Erigyus*, 158.
- Satyrus*, his request to *Philip*, 15.
- Scipio Nasica* sent into *Macedon*, 421.
- *L. Cornel.* sent against *Antiochus*, 522. Comes to *Troy*, 532. Defeats *Antiochus*, 549, & seq. Makes peace with him, 551, & seq.
- *Africanus* serves under his brother, 522. His answer to *Antiochus*, 533. Advice to him, 534. His son restored to him, 534, 535. Speech to his ambassadors, 541.
- Scopas's* services to *Egypt*, 499, & C. Taken prisoner, ib.
- Treasonable attempt against *Ptolemy*, 505. Punished, 506.
- Scythians* defeated by *Alexander*, 127. Reduced by him, 165, & seq. Make peace with him, 168.
- Seleucia*, by whom built, 444, & F. Recovered from the *Egyptians*, 484.
- *Trachiotis*, by whom built, 505, E.
- on the *Tigris*, described, 445, & seq.
- Seleucidae*, whence so called, 432. A list of them, 433. Their reigns and history, ib. & seq.
- the æra of, how and whence computed 438.
- Selencus Nicator*, founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, 433. His several attempts against *Eumenes*, 276, 434. Attachment to *Antigonus*, 285. Falls out with him, 285, 435, & seq. His reception at the *Egyptian* court, 436. Invades *Babylon*, ib. Defeats *Nicator*, 437. Gains *Susanna*, *Media*, &c. ib. His great strength, 438. Recovers *Babylon* from *Demetrius*, 440. Assumes the royal title, ibid. Goes into *India*, ib. & seq. Defeats and kills *Antigonus*, 303, 442. Builds *Antioch*, 442. Allies with *Demetrius*, 446. Strips him of *Cilicia*, 447. Imprisons him, 312, 451. Yields his wife and part of his empire to his son, 452, & seq. His kindness to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, 355. Defeats and kills *Lyfimachus*, 356, 455. Takes the name of *Nicator*, 455. Treacherously murdered by *Ceraunus*, 356, 456. His character, 457, & seq.
- *Callinicus* mounts the *Syrian* throne by parricide, 465. Invaded by *Ptolemy*, 467. Defeated by him, 469. By his own brother, 470. Drives him off, 471. Taken prisoner by *Arfaces*, 472. His death, 473. Why called *Callinicus*, ibid.

Seleucus

- Seleucus Ceraunus*, his character, 473. Death, 474.
 ——— *Philopator*, the son of *Antiochus*'s success in *Asia*, 523.
 Driven out of *Pergamus*, 526. Succeeds his father, 547.
 His generosity to the temple of *Jerusalem*, 549. Poisoned
 by *Heliodorus*, 552.
Selga, where situate, 513, H.
Sibyrtius promoted by *Antigonus*, 284.
Sidon taken by *Antiochus*, 499. *Abdalonimus* made king there,
 100, K.
Simon, a *Benjamite*, plots against the *Jews*, 549, & seq.
Sisygambis, how treated by *Alexander*, 99, 135, & seq. Her
 death, 261.
Sitalces, put to death for oppression, 231.
Smyrna confederates with *Seleucus*, 469. Besieged by *Antiochus*, 503.
Sogdia invaded by *Alexander*, 161, & seq.
Sogdian rock taken by him, 191, & seq. Described, 192,
 194, B.
Sogdians revolt against *Alexander*, 188, & seq.
Sostrhenes chosen general of *Macedon*, 359. Totally destroys
 the *Gauls*, 358. Slain by a new inundation of them,
 359.
Spitamenes offers to deliver up *Bessus* to *Alexander*, 163. Be-
 sieges *Maracanda*, 167. Defeats *Pharnaces*, 169. Dri-
 ven off by *Alexander*, 170. Heads the revolted *Sogdians*,
 189. Defeated by *Cænus*, 190. Murdered by the *Scy-
 thians*, *ib.* & A.
Statira's death and burial, 123.
 ——— daughter of *Darius*, married to *Alexander*, 235.
 Murdered by *Roxana*, 261.
Stesantor's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 270.
Strato, king of *Arados*, submits to *Alexander*, 100.
Stratonice married to *Seleucus*, 304. Yielded by him to his
 son *Antiochus*, 452, & seq.
Suffes at *Carthage*, what, 507.
Sulpitius sent to *Antiochus*, 513, & seq.
Susa delivered up to *Alexander*, 133. The great treasures
 there, *ib.*
Syllanus Jun. accused by the *Macedonians*, 427. Condemned
 by his own father, 428. Hangs himself, *ib.* Inference
 drawn from his punishment, *ib.* note K.
Syria, the kingdom of, described, 432. Its boundaries af-
 ter *Alexander*'s death, *ib.* & 445. Kings, 433. Why
 called *Tetrapolis*, 445. Invaded by *Eumenes* and *Attalus*,
 471. See the rest under its respective kings.

T.

T*Abæ*, where situate, 577, & Z. Thought by some to be *Ecbatan*, *ib.*

Taxila, a city in *India*, described, 204, D.

Taxiles's submission and presents to *Alexander*, 195, & seq. Speech to him, 204, D. Sent back to his dominions, 209.

Telmiffians great soothsayers, 91.

Telmiffus, the pass of, taken by *Alexander*, 90.

Teos, the city of, described, 529.

Thebans join with *Philip* against the *Spartans*, 23. Join the *Greeks* against him, 39. Defeated, *ib.* Revolt from *Alexander*, 66. Defeated by him, 67.

Thebes destroyed by *Alexander*, 67, & seq. Rebuilt by *Cassander*, 337. Besieged and taken by *Demetrius*, 350.

Theodotus I. founder of the *Bactrian* kingdom, 464. Invades *Syria*, 471.

—— II. allies with *Arfaces* against *Seleucus*, *ib.* Defeated by *Euthydemus*, 496.

—— *Ptolemy's* general goes over to *Antiochus*, 485. Made governor under him, 486. Attempt on *Ptolemy's* life, and escape, 489.

Thessalonica, taken by the *Romans*, 402.

Timbro defeated and crucified, 266.

Thoas, *Ætolian* ambassador's speech to *Antiochus*, 519.

Thrace, the kingdom of, invaded by *Philip*, 22, & note.

Thrasylæus, made king of *Thessaly* for his flattery, 46, L.

Timarchus, a creature of *Antiochus*, put to death for oppression, 594.

Timotheus defeated by the *Maccabees* with a prodigious loss, 585.

Tlepolemus, *Alexander's* general, his lot after that prince's death, 270.

Torquatus, *Tit. Man.* an instance of his great justice, 428.

Tralles razed by *Alexander*, 85.

Triballi, defeated by *Philip*, 36. Make peace with *Alexander*, 65.

Tripoli, whence so called, 588, D.

Tuta succeeds her husband in *Illyria*, 366. Her ill conduct, *ib.*

Tyre besieged by *Alexander*, 105. Taken and resettled, 108, & seq. Taken by *Antigonus*, 286. By *Ptolemy*, 288. Betrayed to *Antiochus*, 485.

Tyrians

I N D E X:

Tyrians refuse to admit *Alexander*, 104. Their brave defence, 105, & seq. Cruelly butchered by him, 108.

U.

U *XIANS* defeated by *Alexander*, 134, 135.

X.

X *ENOCRATES*'s character, writings, and death, 321, A.

Xenoctas, general of *Antiochus*, defeated and killed, 476.

Xenxes's salutary advice to *Antiochus*, 479.

Z.

Z *ABDIEL* murders *Alexander Balas*, 608.

Zariaspa, surrendered to *Alexander*, 170.

Zeira taken by *Philip*, 13.

Zeno, general of *Antiochus*, defeated, 476.

Zephyrium and other cities submit to *Antiochus*, 501.

Zaida Crata surrendered to *Alexander*, 146. Solemn games celebrated by him there, *ib*.

Zipetes I. king of *Bitthunia* dies for joy, 459.

——— II. defeated by his brother, 459.

The End of the Eighth Volume.



